A STUDY OF POWER
IN A NORTH CENTRAL STATE COMMUNITY

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A STUDY OF POWER
IN A NORTH CENTRAL STATE COMMUNITY

BY

GERHARD FREDERICK GETTEL

A THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan
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The purpose of this thesis has been to explore a particular phase of social organization in an American community -- social power. This study concerns social power as it enters into the making, legitimizing and executing of major policy decisions. Two initial hypotheses were developed: (1) Major policy decisions are made in informal structures and legitimized in formal structures. (2) Economic or financial worth (wealth) is a prime determinant of social power in a community.

This study was conducted in a city of about 60,000 people located in the northwestern part of a northcentral state. Three sets of interview questions were developed and used with the top ranked power leaders, with sub-leaders and with male heads of households secured through random sampling in selected areas of the community. The writer also lived and worked in the community while the study was made and was, therefore, able to use the participant observation method in addition to personal interviews.

The findings show that both informal and formal structures play an important role in the exercise of social power in a community. Eight cases were selected in which community leaders were engaged in formulating policies; in six of the eight cases important decisions on major issues were made informally by the important community leaders. Major decisions in the remaining two cases were made in the context of formal structures. In all cases legitimation for these decisions occurred in formal community structures. The social facts, therefore, indicate that the first hypothesis is affirmed.

The survey of capacities for decision-making examined eleven relevant bases of social power. Bases of authority were: position, control and length of community residence. Influence bases were access,

ability, time, success, community interest, mutual obligations, prestige and wealth. Position and control were found to be highly important bases for authority. The most important influence capacities were found to include access, ability, success and community interest.

Since only five out of the fifteen most prominent community decision-makers were found to be wealthy, the resource of wealth can not be considered as a prime determinant of social power, although wealth must be considered as a minor power resource. The second hypothesis is, therefore, revised.

Based on previous research, and findings of the present study, the following areas for further research are suggested. Empirical investigations on the relationships between the various levels of leadership with the ordinary community residents, and the role of sub-leaders in relation to the most prominent community leaders. A great deal of research is needed in the general area of resources for social power. More field work is required to distinguish legitimation procedures in community decisions.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose and Scope

This study consists of an attempt to analyze a particular phase of social organization in American society -- social power. This is not a new concept, nor has it been only recognized recently. Social power is universal. It existed long before the written word, and is woven into the fabric of our society.

The problem remains for us to understand the social power concept for what it is, and what part it plays in our daily lives.

The writer has long been interested in community dynamics. It is indeed helpful and informative to have an understanding of community, agency or organizational structure, as well as the personality and background of the various individuals composing any particular group, but these types of information do not necessarily explain the dynamics of individual or group actions.

Decisions are made and executed in what often seems to be a "behind the scenes" move with few people actually taking part in these processes, and most people not knowing how they came about.

Little attempt has been made to provide a scientific analysis of the dynamic aspects of American community life. Yet public and private agencies are continually amazed at the lack of participation in their "community" programs. Hicks states this dilemma when he

says, "...it seems to me purely romantic to assume that any large number of people will continuously devote any large amount of time to public affairs. If it is important to secure their participation--and nothing seems to me more important--it is necessary to devise ways and means of getting it."[1] How can we expect people to participate in community programs when they don't understand how their talents fit into these programs?

High status individuals think they can manipulate authority, middle class groups try to work with existing systems, while the working class is frequently suspicious of those who try to manipulate authority.

We will not attempt to moralize on the ethics of social power. One basic assumption is that social power is not bad as such, but that it is a universal reality which enters into the decision-making process in all walks of life. This applies to both formal and informal structures in our society.

We will analyze how decisions are made, ligitimized and carried out. This assumes that certain individuals participate in these processes. Who these individuals are, and why these particular individuals are in positions of power, and have influence and authority will be an integral part of this study.

This study will not only be an analysis of the men of power who make decisions of importance, but consideration will also be given to the subordinate power leaders in the process of decision-making and

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[1] Granville Hicks, Small Town, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1946, p. 233.

implementation. Sub-leaders often play an important role which is little understood.

We will, in addition, delve into the laymen's viewpoint of the decision-makers, how they think decisions are made compared to how things actually happened.

The images which decision-makers have of themselves, of each other, and of the ordinary members of the community will be analyzed. How dissident elements are brought into line; what is felt to be co-operation or manipulation; what are the "rules of the game"; what type of actions are considered "dirty politics" and what kinds of social sanctions are brought to bear will be analyzed as well.

It is necessary to have some understanding of these processes if we are to participate intelligently in them, and if we are to fully understand how our system of democracy works. Many different decision-making processes take place simultaneously at different levels. We are confused by these processes because we like to think of a true democratic structure as fitting an ideal culture pattern. Actually, society is made up of many sub-groups differentially participating in the sharing of power. A major problem of any executive or administrator is the coordination of these different groups and interests into a working unit. The dynamic, ever-changing societal pattern in which we live warrants serious consideration of these elements in our society.

It is the writer's opinion that social science has a definite opportunity to study the social dynamics of our communities, and to bring forth theories and principles of human relations which will further explain the intricate functions of our societal pattern. We need

to study existing theories, refine and reformulate these and develop new, more workable theories which can be applied to explain how decisions are made, and to serve as guides to social action.

Many early American studies of social power were in the general field of political science. These studies often dealt with pressure groups and their tactics. A good example of such studies is exemplified by Key. He points out that politics is the study of political power which concerns the factors of control and influence, and is a contest for control by "inner circle" groups in the arena of government.[2]

The exercise of political power is probably brought to our attention more frequently and more forcefully than other arenas in which power operates, because of the widespread coverage of governmental operations by the press and radio. We must not assume, therefore, that political power is the only type of social power or even the major arena in which it is manifest. This is pointedly stated by MacIver when he comments that this is "...only one of several foci and kinds of power within a society."[3]

There have been numerous studies of community social organization in recent years. Many of these have dealt primarily with a structural aspect of the community in a descriptive manner. Some

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[2] V. O. Key, Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1950, pp. 3-6.

[3] Robert MacIver, The Web of Government, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1947, p. 87.

examples are: cultural description in West's Plainville,[4] community stratification by Warner and his colleagues,[5] and community leadership studies as exemplified by Tead.[6]

There is need for basic studies of community dynamics to provide a more adequate basis for understanding and implementation of action programs. This need has long been recognized. Steiner stated in 1928 that, "It is not enough to make a 'cross-section' survey of a community to understand it. We must see the community in action."[7] Taylor wrote in 1945 that, "No one...has...completely analyzed a single rural community of all its activities--those relating to family life, informal associational life, institutional and agency participation and participation in currents of behavior and thinking of the many segments of the Great Society."[8] MacIver stated in 1947 that, "There is no reasonably adequate study of the nature of social power."[9] More recently Murdock stated that, "To date, community studies have been infinitely more concerned

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[4] J. West, Plainville, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945.

[5] W. W. Warner and P. S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941.

[6] Ordway Tead, The Art of Leadership, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1935.

[7] J. F. Steiner, The American Community in Action, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1928, pp. 3-4.

[8] C. C. Taylor, "Techniques of Community Study and Analysis as Applied to the Modern Civilized Societies", in The Society of Man in the World Crisis, R. Linton, Editor, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945, p. 437.

[9] Robert MacIver, op. cit., p. 458.

with social structures than with social action....It is in this area, I predict, that the great sociological discoveries of tomorrow will be made."[10]

This thesis is a study of a form of community dynamics, namely, social power as it enters into the decision-making and legitimation process. Not all community projects succeed. Is this because the project was ill-conceived? Were the "wrong" persons involved? Was the project untimely? Or was a "citizens' committee" organized which "threw a monkey wrench in the machinery?"

For several years the writer was employed as department head of a unit of government in a county in a north central state. In this capacity he was able to personally observe and occasionally participate in decision-making processes. Personal access to individuals of power and some of the arenas in which they operate contributed greatly to gathering information and gaining knowledge of social power processes.

During this time many decisions, some of major consequence and many of lesser importance, were made in the county. This, therefore, presented an excellent opportunity for a study of social dynamics. It would be folly to try to analyze all of these activities in this study. Primary consideration will be centered on the social power structure as it exists and operates in the city of Denton.* It is hoped that this thesis will

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[10] G. P. Murdock, "Feasibility and Implementation of Comparative Community Research", American Sociological Review, Vol. 15, No. 6, December 1950, p. 717.

* Throughout this thesis pseudonyms are used for names, positions, places, events and organizations to protect both the community and the members of it from being identified.

make some contribution to understanding the concept of social power, and how it operates. It may help to clarify some concepts and add further documentation to existing theories.

B. Theoretical Frame of Reference

A frame of reference is the "ground" which influences the way in which perception is structured. It sets the bounds within which analysis takes place. There is considerable importance attached to concisely defining concepts employed in an analysis and to define certain limits, otherwise a proposed study might well ramble over many fields in a general way and yet not adequately delve into a particular area of investigation.

Based on personal experience and a perusal of pertinent literature, the following assumptions seem relevant to this study: (1) Social power involves relationships between groups and individuals. (2) A person possessing social power must have avenues or groups through which to exercise this power for it to be effective. (3) Each individual has his own specific set of skills, some of which are peculiar to himself. (4) A limited number of individuals in any group make most of the major decisions for that group. The carrying out of these decisions, however, may involve many more individuals. (5) Major decisions, in order to be effective, must be acceptable to those for whom they are intended.

There are many patterns of social organization in our society which govern our actions. Social organization refers to, "human action in so far as the actor takes into account the actions of others....and as interaction continues over time, more-or-less definite patterns

emerge."[11] An organization may be relatively permanent or it may be only a transitory public. Williams defines a public as an organization, "that momentarily crystallizes around a political issue, acts upon it, and then dissolves to reform into a succession of other publics."[12] Many citizens groups or pressure groups fall within this category.

We must not assume that all organizations are formal and base our analyses solely on this assumption. Many types of social organizations are quite informal and, unless we give adequate credence to this fact, we may not understand the true operation of social power in the decision-making process.[13] This is particularly so in the older, longer settled parts of the nation.

Small, informal, primary groups are significant both in the development of the individual and the role he plays as a member of the social system. The influence which primary groups have in our society has been well documented by Cooley.[14]

All types of social actions, whether they be formal or informal, take place in, or operate within a larger unit of our society--a social system. An excellent explanation of social systems and their operation has been developed by Loomis and Beegle.[15] They start with

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[11] Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1951, p. 444.

[12] Ibid., p. 446.

[13] Ibid., p. 455.

[14] C. H. Cooley, Social Organization, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1929, pp. 23-31.

[15] Charles P. Loomis and J. Allen Beegle, Rural Social Systems, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, Chapter 1, 1950.

the definition developed by Sorokin that a social system means, "meaningful interaction of two or more individuals by which one party tangibly influences the overt actions or the state of mind of the other."[16] Loomis and Beegle point out that members of such a system interact more with members than with non-members, that the system has a goal in mind and that there may be many sub-groups within a particular social system.

A frequently used term in the social sciences to designate small, informal groups is the clique. The term clique refers to a small group, usually under ten persons, which is not formally organized, but in which there is frequent personal interaction of its members.[17] It will be shown later that cliques do play a prominent role in the decision-making process in all walks of life.

An analysis of the dynamic aspects of social systems includes a study of power. It is this concept and certain others closely related to it which will be examined in the pages which follow.

1. Power

The concept of social power has been variously defined and used in the literature. Not all of these definitions agree. This makes it difficult for the reader, the student, and even the social scientist to use the term so it will have the same meaning for everyone. If the term, social power, is to have validity and meaning for the purpose of

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[16] P. A. Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics, Harper and Bros., New York, 1947, p. 40.

[17] W. W. Warner and Paul S. Lunt, op. cit., pp. 110-111.

a particular problem, it certainly is necessary to refine and delimit it within acceptable bounds.

Many references to social power stem from Max Weber. He stated that, "We understand by 'power' the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action."[18] Weber indicates that power is based primarily on laws which may be enforced either by physical or psychical compulsion. This is a form of power, but there are also other forms not specifically based on laws or statutes.

Merriam writes that power involves group situations, and that individuals with adequate capacity must be present and willing to utilize the opportunity if power is to be brought into play.[19] Although he does not give a concrete definition of power, Merriam points to the salient fact that we often find powers within powers.

A good definition of power is given by Tawney when he says it is, "the capacity of an individual, or group of individuals, to modify the conduct of other individuals or groups in the manner which he desires."[20] According to Tawney's definition an unanticipated change in conduct resulting from the manipulation of available means can not be considered a true exercise of social power because the resultant conduct

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[18] H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, Oxford University Press, New York, 1946, p. 180.

[19] Charles E. Merriam, Political Power, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1950, pp. 22-31.

[20] R. H. Tawney, Equality, Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1931, p. 230.

does not conform to expectation.

Lasswell and Kaplan suggest that power involves participation and threats of sanctions.[21] It is doubtful if threats of sanctions are always present in the exercise of social power. Their discussion of power includes many other concepts rather than one empirically explored concept. An apt appraisal of this work is given by Bowa when he calls this a "shotgun approach to social power."[22]

MacIver states that, "By social power we mean the capacity to control the behavior of others either directly by fiat or indirectly by the manipulation of available means."[23] He points out further that the bases of power are property, status, position, knowledge and control of communication.[24] These bases, however, vary with the culture and with the social system in which power operates.

A simple and incomplete definition of social power is given by Gouldner: "The control of social power is ability to supply or to deprive something to someone."[25]

An early sociologist, E. A. Ross, equates power with prestige and classes within a society. He stated that, "The class that has the most prestige will have the most power."[26] This does not recognize that

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21 Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1950, pp. 74-77.

22 Donald H. Bowa, An Analysis of the Social Power Position of the Real Estate Board in Grand Rapids, Michigan, Unpublished Ph D Thesis, Michigan State College, East Lansing, 1952, p. 3.

23 MacIver, op. cit., p. 87.

24 Ibid., pp. 88-90.

25 Alvin W. Gouldner, Studies in Leadership, Harper & Bros., New York, 1950, p. 671.

26 E. A. Ross, Social Control, Macmillan, New York, 1901, p. 78.

there may be other sources of power, and that social power operates within classes and social systems.

Bierstedt comments that, "Power is the ability to introduce force...the ability to apply sanctions...the presentation of force."[27] He points out that power refers to forces which may be applied in a situation and that it is always successful. If it is not successful, it is not power.[28]

Hunter defines power in operational terms in his recent study of power in a large metropolitan area. He uses it to, "describe the acts of men going about the business of moving other men to act in relation to themselves or in relation to organic or inorganic things."[29] Hunter points out in his study that power involves social relationships and operates within a framework of socially sanctioned authority.[30]

Hunter indicates further that power is not necessarily based on laws. Some of the more important bases of power Hunter found in his study are: positions occupied by power wielders, length of residence in the community, success in business and a fund of mutual obligations possessed by power wielders which they have built up over a long period of time. He points out that, although wealth is not a prime requisite for power, "Within the policy-forming groups the econo-

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[27] Robert Bierstedt, "An Analysis of Social Power", American Sociological Review, Vol. 15, No. 6, December 1950, p. 733.

[28] Ibid., p. 733.

[29] Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1953, pp. 2-3.

[30] Ibid., p. 7.

mic interests are dominant."[31]

From the above references we find that a number of basic ingredients are necessary for the exercise of social power. These include: a social system in which power can become operative, groups or organizations through which power is exercised, individuals with capacity and willingness to participate in the system and definite objectives toward which the exercise of social power is directed.

For our definition of social power we will use one developed by Useem when he states, "Power is the concentration of influences and authority within a social system for making, legitimizing, and executing decisions which have consequences, intended or unintended, on the social chances of the members of that social system."[32] This indicates that power is the capacity of individuals or groups to influence others. It implies that the power-wielder has certain forms of social capital or resources which give him power, that power is exercised in social systems as a function of that system and that the exercise of social power results in anticipated changes in actions of other members of the social system either directly or indirectly.

Since power refers to the concentration of authority and influence it is meaningful to explore these concepts in more detail. These two concepts will be examined next.

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[31] Ibid., p. 82.

[32] John Useem, "The Sociology of Power", Unpublished paper read at the American Sociological Society, Denver, 1950.

2. Authority

Authority refers to that aspect of power which consists of the right of a group or an individual to command the respect, services or obedience of others in the decision-making process. One of the end products of authority, therefore, is social control. Homans points out that, if a decision is accepted by a member of a social system so that it controls or directs his or the system's actions, then the decision or the maker of the decision is said to have authority.[33] In the realm of business, Bernard also points out that, unless a decision is honored and acted upon, it can not be considered to have authority in that organization.[34]

Although authority is considered the right to enter into decisions, this assumes that this right is legitimized as pointed out by Lasswell and Kaplan[35], Loomis and Beegle[36], Barnard[37], Bierstedt[38] and others. Authority can not exist unless it is accepted by those for whom it is intended.

In American society the rights and privileges upon which authority is based may vary with the locality and the individual pos-

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[33] George C. Homans, The Human Group, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1950, p. 418.

[34] Chester I. Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1951, p. 163.

[35] Lasswell and Kaplan, op. cit., p. 133.

[36] Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., p. 344.

[37] Barnard, loc. cit.

[38] Bierstedt, op. cit., p. 735.

sessing authority. Miller has presented a detailed analysis of various bases of authority.[39] Miller points out that the various positional elements of a decision-maker are the bases of his authority. Among these elements are listed office, kinship, status and old family residence in the community.

There may also be minor elements contributing to the entire complex of position of an authority. The major bases of authority, however, are the socially sanctioned positions or offices occupied by the person in authority.

3. Influence

The second component of social power is influence. By influence we mean the attributes or social capital of an individual which can be used to affect decisions of those in positions of authority. Laswell and Kaplan include in this category such items as wealth, skill, enlightenment, respect and affection.[40] Miller also includes the influence factors of prestige, status, time, access and mutual obligations built up by an individual during the course of time.[41]

Although the various influence factors will be analyzed in detail in a subsequent section, a few illustrations from the present study may help to clarify these concepts. Lester M. Mint, because of

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[39] Paul A. Miller, A Comparative Analysis of the Decision-Making Process in Community Organization Toward Major Health Goals, Unpublished Ph D Thesis, Michigan State College, East Lansing, 1953, pp. 27-30.

[40] Laswell and Kaplan, op. cit., pp. 83-84.

[41] Miller, op. cit., pp. 30-38.

his position as chairman of the board of a large corporation, has great authority within the corporation. Mr. Mint has at his disposal considerable wealth, he has great respect and high status, is a proven success, has versatile abilities and has enough men under his control so the resource of time is readily available. The great amount of authority and influence of Mr. Mint places him in the position of the most powerful man in his community.

Gregory Heintz is a successful businessman and an officer in a recognized business organization. He has time and ability and ready access to others of power. Mr. Heintz, therefore, has power with his own group, but not in the community at large. His influence and authority is quite limited within a narrow scope.

Harry Putz, on the other hand, because of his position, technical skill, status and ability, has considerable authority and influence. The fact that Mr. Putz operates mainly in the political sphere accords him power in this area, but in the community at large he is not considered a great social power.

4. Decision-making

It is in the decision-making process that the authority and influence components of social power are exercised. Decision-making refers to the process of considering alternative choices, eliminating all but the most acceptable choice, and adopting that one as the policy to follow on any particular problem. It assumes that a policy or program which is decided upon will be acceptable to the members of the system or that it can be enforced in the system. We are not speaking here of an ideal culture. If we were, we could agree with Barnard when

he states, "The art of executive decision consists in not deciding questions that are not now pertinent, in not deciding prematurely, in not making decisions that cannot be made effective, and in not making decisions that others should make."[42]

5. Legitimation

A policy decision does not become effective within a social system unless the system grants legitimation either to the decision-makers or to the decision itself.

Legitimation of decisions in American society is not a promiscuously granted right. In a unit of government the legally constituted legislative body has the right of legitimation. In non-governmental social systems, the socially sanctioned right to legitimize actions is accorded to specific individuals or groups. In some cases it may reside in the position of an individual or the role played by individuals in a system. Merton states that, "Power may be legitimized for some without being legitimized for all groups in a society."[43] Mr. Mint, for example, certainly has the right to legitimize his actions as chairman of the board within that particular system. One of his shop workers, however, has very little right of legitimation. The mayor of a city is accorded the legitimation authority on many matters, but this function in no way falls to other citizens of the community except indirectly as community members sanction the actions of their elected officials.

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[42] Barnard, op. cit., p. 194.

[43] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, Free Press, Glencoe, 1949, p. 116.

Legitimation, to be effective, and to be accepted in an American social system, must appear right to members of the system. This is one factor which bears heavily on persons in position of authority. They know that they cannot have decisions legitimized and executed for very long unless those decisions fall within limits of what the members of the social system feel is rightful action.

Three distinct types of legitimacy are proposed by Weber. These are: (1) rational-legal, which is based on formal rules and can be exercised by those persons who hold a specific office or status in the social system; (2) traditional, which is based on established customs with ascribed status and (3) charismatic, which is based on "gifted" personal qualities of the leader.[44] These three types of legitimacy were proposed as pure types although Weber recognized that the pure type is rarely found in reality.

We must not lose sight of the fact that informality often plays a vital part in arriving at formal decisions or in the formal legitimation process. Barnard has ably pointed out that, "an important and often indispensable part of a formal system of cooperation is informal."[45] Many community projects fail for the simple reason that their sponsors did not take into account the informal structures in the community.

6. The Problem Studied

A well designed scientific investigation conforms to the

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[44] Gerth and Mills, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

[45] Barnard, op. cit., pp. 120-121.

following general scheme: (1) stating assumptions, defining terms and outlining hypotheses, (2) arranging the situation to be analyzed, (3) making controlled observations of actions, (4) analysis of actions and (5) confirming, revising or rejecting hypotheses based on findings.

Within this frame of reference, the working hypotheses used in this study are: (1) Most major policy decisions are made in informal structures and legitimized in formal structures. Major policy decisions, for purposes of this study, refers to those decisions which will, or are intended to modify the behavior or actions of a large proportion of individuals and groups in the community. A minor decision is one which has consequences for a small proportion of the people or only for certain groups. (2) Economic or financial worth (wealth) is a prime determinant of major social power in a community.

CHAPTER II

METHODS AND PROCEDURES OF STUDY

A. The Locale

Denton is a city of nearly 60,000 people located in the northwestern part of a north central state. Its very early development was as a trading post and lumbering center. Its population has been growing at about the same rate as that of the state and the region in which it is located.

Net migration accounted for only three percent of the population increase in Denton during the past decade, while it accounted for 55 percent of the increase in the rural areas of the county.

The county in which Denton is located contains about 140,000 people. The close proximity of this county to two large metropolitan areas is beginning to have an effect on the county and on Denton. Metropolitan expansion is reaching into this county and making itself felt in many ways. Agriculture is the main enterprise in the outlying area of the county with dairying, tobacco and wheat being the biggest sources of revenue.

In addition to Denton, the county contains seven smaller cities ranging from 1,000 to 6,000 in population. There are also six incorporated villages in the county.

The county in which Denton is located is urbanizing quite rapidly. About 25 percent of the total population was classed as

rural in 1930, but by 1950 this had decreased to less than 20 percent. At the same time the rural non-farm population of the county increased from 15 percent to nearly 30 percent. In the past 10 years there was a decrease of about 1,000 farms in the county. This trend is not unlike many other urbanized areas throughout the nation.

The area immediately surrounding Denton, like many other urbanized areas in the nation, is growing about ten times as rapidly as the city. This growth pattern is causing many problems such as providing adequate schools, streets, police protection, water, sewers, and other public services.

The median age of the population in Denton and the county is somewhat higher than in the state. In Denton the median age is 30.4 years, in the county it is 29.9 years and in the state 29.4 years. We also find a higher proportion of older people in the Denton area than in the state. About nine percent of the population in Denton and the county are over 65 years compared to the state average of only seven percent.

Denton has a high proportion of females with a sex ratio of 93 compared to a sex ratio of 98 for the county and 100 for the state.

The 1950 U. S. census showed about 85 percent of the county population being native white with 10 percent being foreign born white and about five percent Negro. The Negro population, although small, is increasing at a more rapid rate than any other group.

The average number of years of school completed for the adult population of Denton is 10.4, that of the county is 9.5 and for the state 10.2. Rural areas, of course, have the lowest at 8.9 years. It is reliably estimated that the total school enrollment of the

county will increase about 40 percent between 1950 and 1960.

Denton, the county seat of its county, is the "hub of the wheel" in its trading area. There is no other city anywhere near the size of Denton to compete for the major trade in this area. Good roads lead to the city from all directions. One important rail line as well as several smaller ones pass through the city. One commercial airline uses the municipal airport which is located in Denton.

Denton has a council-manager form of government, which has been in operation for over 20 years.

The occupational composition of the labor force in the county is about 37 percent manufacturing, 12 percent service and government, 13 percent wholesale and retail trade, nine percent agriculture, nine percent transportation and communication and the remaining 20 percent in construction, other industries or unemployed.

Denton and the general area have not been subject to any major labor disputes except for occasional small jurisdictional strikes. The availability of jobs in nearby metropolitan areas is drawing many men from this county. More than 2,000 people daily drive to work in these metropolitan areas.

Politically, Denton and the county have been predominantly Republican for many years. The Republican majority in recent elections at all levels has been about two to one.

Churches in Denton, and in the county, play a vital role in the life of the people. We find over 150 different church congregations in the county. A number of the larger denominations maintain day schools with four parochial high schools serving the county.

The main types of industry in Denton are cement, leather,

milling, small tools, metal fabricating, railroads, some mining and the trucking industry. Retail and wholesale trade, of course, are important to Denton since it is the trading center for an area of about 250,000 people. The location of Denton on Oyster Bay, a favorite recreation area, plays a large part in its economy. The Oyster Bay area is a mecca for vacationists of all types during the summer, and a large amount of revenue is derived from this source.

A daily newspaper published in Denton serves the general trade area. This paper is read daily by practically all families in the county. The city also has two radio stations with another smaller station located in another part of the county. The more powerful stations in the two nearby metropolitan centers have many listeners in this area.

Within the city one finds a local unit of all the major civic clubs such as the Rotary, Lions, Exchange, Kiwanis and others as well as a number of citizens organizations. Denton has an active Chamber of Commerce and a well organized and successful community chest. Some of these play a role in the power picture of the city, but usually of minor significance.

B. Organization and Procedure of Study

In the selection of a locale in which to conduct this study certain requirements had to be met. The community had to be large enough to contain special groups which did enter actively into the decision-making processes. Such groups must be recognized in the community and play a major role in the development of community programs.

On the other hand, the community should be small enough so

the study could remain within the bounds of scope and time available to the investigator doing the study. It would have been considerably more difficult, with the limited time available, to make a complete study in a very large metropolitan area and at the same time do a study in enough detail to conform to the basic frame of reference adopted.

It was not necessary, for the purposes of this study, to find a community which was "typical" of, or representative of all communities. We merely assumed that, within American society, a large enough community would contain the necessary ingredients to fulfill the requirements of this study.

A major factor in the selection of Denton for this study was that the writer had accepted employment in the county before the study was started. This provided an excellent opportunity to learn of community activities.

The writer's position as a department head of a unit of government in the county put him in a position where he had some access to the arenas of decision-making and also to the men of power. As it subsequently developed, the writer actually participated in some instances with certain of the men of power in the decision-making process. One might suspect that this could have some effect on the objectivity of the investigator. This is, of course, a possibility, but the role played by the investigator, when he did participate in these processes, was primarily that of an expert. The writer's position and role actually constituted a type of power position in the county. His participation as a man of power was, however, in a very limited capacity in the major decisions discussed in this study. The

writer's position contributed materially to gaining access to groups and individuals and to understanding of various functions as they materialized.

Another feature of the community selected was that its population growth over the past 50 years has been what might be considered "normal". That is, without any very rapid increases or decreases, but with steady growth comparable to the region in which it is located.

It was also found that, shortly before this study was begun, a specific power structure had developed which included most of the men of power as well as some men of lesser standing in the community. This group later formed a specific formal organization. Its activities and decisions had consequences for everyone in the entire community. The organization was not a closed corporation, because any citizen could become a member by payment of small annual dues. The board of directors of the group, however, consisted mainly of the power personnel of the community. The alignment of powers in the community in a new system, it seemed, would provide an excellent opportunity for this study.

Another advantage which could be utilized was that the county in which the selected community is located was at that time experiencing a decision-making process as to whether a new county recreation center should be built, or whether it should be a city-county project, or neither, and where the proposed structure should be located, if one were built. It was, therefore, possible also to view the exercise of power in the decision-making process on a county-wide basis.

The city of Denton met the above qualifications and was

selected as the locus for this study.

At the start of the study there was some degree of question among some of the power leaders as to whether the investigator should be taken into their confidence and whether he should be given access to decision-makers and their arenas, or whether he ought to be kept at a distance. Knowledge of the operation of power leaders in the decision-making process is considered a form of private property. Social power in American society is frequently viewed with some degree of suspicion. The men of power recognize that, and are skeptical of anyone "looking over their shoulder" as they go about the business of making decisions which may affect others in the community. These fears were short-lived since the investigator was able to establish, and be recognized, as having a right to be present in these situations. After all, as one man indicated, "He is head of a department of government and his work is for the county as a whole; we are part of the county." The investigator, under these circumstances, was permitted to play his role of expert, but this was carefully watched by the decision-makers to assure themselves that he did not violate his prescribed role.

The writer, in his position as head of a department of government, had occasion to make a detailed study of the history, growth and development of the county and of Denton. This presented a worthwhile method of learning what the significant events have been in the development of the community.

During his early employment in the county, the writer was able to identify the men of power for later intensive interviewing. This was accomplished by a detailed analysis of current issues of the

daily newspaper, and through informal discussions with selected community leaders. The same applies for the sub-leaders or what might be called the "lieutenants" who served as legmen for the power leaders. In subsequent discussions the term power leader will be used to refer to one or more of the fifteen men in Denton found to possess the most social power. Sub-leaders will refer to men of considerable social power, but not considered among the highest fifteen men of power.

Three sets of interview questions were developed for use in this study. One set was used in interviewing the power leaders, a second set with the sub-leaders and the third set with male heads of households secured by area sampling. These questions were memorized and used in focused interviews[1] with their respective groups.

The fifteen top power leaders were intensively interviewed. Notes were taken as the interview progressed, with no apparent objection, after it was explained that any information given would be kept in the strictest confidence. Occasionally, as an interview went on, the informant would say, "You understand that I'm assuming you will keep this in confidence." All but two of these interviews took place in the office of the informant. The remaining two were held in the informants' homes. All but two informants talked freely and at length in answer to questions. Occasionally an informant would go back and trace the complete development of a particular situation.

The power leaders were asked to name the persons whom they considered to belong to the second tier of influentials in the community. In this way we were able to determine who the sub-leaders were

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[1] See R. K. Merton and P. L. Kendall, "The Focused Interview", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 51, No. 6, 1946, p. 541.

and the roles they played in relation to the power leaders.

A total of 72 sub-leaders were named by the various power leaders. Thirty of these were intensively interviewed. These 30 were the ones most often mentioned by the power leaders. They are the persons who obviously played a more important role than the remaining 42 who were not intensively interviewed. The investigator was well acquainted with many of these 72 sub-leaders. This aided in gaining a better understanding of them and of the roles they played.

Finding and interviewing representative heads of households in the community presented a more difficult problem. It was not possible to contact all of the households in Denton, so a method of sampling was devised for use in the city. Denton is a relatively old city. The central part of the city on Oyster Bay developed first. In this area we find many of the older homes and apartments while in the areas further toward the city limits one finds newer, smaller and more modern homes.

The community was surveyed and analyzed and then discussed in detail with the city building inspector. In this manner, four areas of about 24 blocks each were selected as being representative of the city in general.

Two of these areas are in the older section of the city where the homes are old and of frame construction. The homes are located on relatively small lots, most of them are two stories high and some have been subdivided into apartments. Many of these homes were in need of paint, and lawns and landscaping were not well developed. These two areas contained about 10 houses per block.

The other two areas were at or near new elementary schools, the homes were of recent construction, many of them of stone, most of them were only one story, one-family homes with an average of nine houses per block. Building lots in these areas were somewhat larger than those in the older sections of the city. Building sites were neat and well landscaped and most homes were well cared for and painted. Figure I on page 30 shows the approximate location of the four areas selected.

The city directory was then used and the following information was compiled for each household in each of the four areas selected: name of head of household, street address, telephone number and occupation. A 10 percent random sample, 96 households, was drawn from the four areas. These names were then used for the interviews of laymen in the community.

The elements necessary for a study of community power structure in the decision-making processes were available in the city of Denton. The city was "normal" in many respects such as, population composition, growth pattern, a balanced economy and Denton was the trading center for a large area.

The writer held a responsible position in Denton, he was thoroughly familiar with the community, he had access to community leaders and occasionally participated in decision-making processes. This greatly facilitated the present study, and contributed to gaining a deeper insight of community decision-making processes.

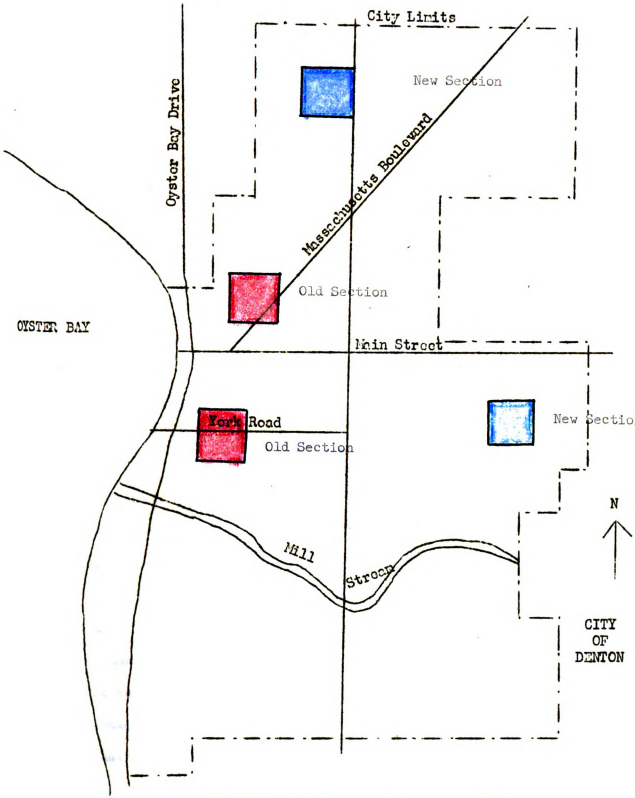

Figure I. Residential Areas Selected for Sampling of Laymen.

CHAPTER III

COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

A. The Men of Power

Hunter states that, "Within the physical setting of the community, power itself is resident in the men who inhabit it."[1] It is, therefore, necessary to identify some of these men who wield power in the community. The following sketches of these men will of necessity also include something about their physical surroundings and how they act. Details of the latter, however, will be more adequately covered in a later section.

The following men are those about whom this study is primarily concerned: Lester M. Mint, Jim Montgomery, Oliver P. Smith, George Russel, August Mint, Herman Schultz, Ralph Meister, Tim Randall, Lloyd Buckman, J. J. Latrick, Carl Buckman, Horace Giner, Gregory Heintz, Harry Putz and Arthur Jones.

What these men do, and the positions they hold, is an important factor contributing to their place in the power structure of the community. Table 1, page 32, shows the occupational position of these men in the community. It can be seen at a glance that most of the power leaders hold important positions as president of their firms or chairman of the board. All but three of these men have had at

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[1] Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1953, p. 10.

TABLE 1

OCCUPATIONAL POSITION OF POWER LEADERS IN DENTON

Occupation	Name	Affiliation	Position
Manufac-turing	L. Mint	Laswell Woolen Mills	Chairman of Board
	J. Montgomery	Trenton Leather Co.	President
	O. Smith	Oyster Bay Metals	Chairman of Board
	G. Russel	Old State Cement Co.	Chairman of Board
	A. Mint	Laswell Woolen Mills	Vice President
Finance	H. Schultz	Schultz Loan Co.	President
	R. Meister	Denton National Bank	President
Commercial	T. Randall	Randall Wholesalers	President
	L. Buckman	Denton Enterprise	Vice President
	J. J. Latrick	Denton Mill Supplies	President
	C. Buckman	Denton Enterprise	President
	H. Giner	Cambridge Pub. Co.	President
Real Estate	G. Heintz	Heintz Realty	President
Govern-ment	H. Putz	City Government	City Manager
	A. Jones	City Government	Mayor

least some university training, with most of them holding a college or university degree. The three with no college training are among the older group who either started their own business many years ago or started in the business early and eventually acquired control of the business enterprise.

One man stands out above all the rest as the possessor of the greatest social power in the community. He is Lester M. Mint. "L. M.", as he is affectionately known, was named as the foremost power leader by each of the other power leaders interviewed, by practically all of the sub-leaders and by most of the laymen who had some understanding of the structure.

Mr. Mint is chairman of the board of the largest firm in Denton. This is a very old firm which makes all kinds of woolen goods. The firm has several other plants further west and has recently been branching out into several other fields to diversify their interests. Mr. Mint attended business college after which he started with the Laswell Woolen Mills as manager of one of their other plants. He used his inheritance plus substantial earnings to acquire controlling interest of Laswell Woolen Mills some years ago. Mint is 68 years old, of good health and still takes a very active part in many community activities. Because of Mr. Mint's long experience as a successful business manager, his recognized intelligence and shrewd ability to logically analyze situations, he is the person to whom the lesser power leaders go for advice and counsel.

Although still very active in the community, Mr. Mint now works mainly behind the scenes and through other men in important decision-making situations. Mint has been an excellent athlete in

his time and is still active in golfing circles. His close acquaintances in Denton indicated that Mr. Mint is as thorough in his recreation activities as he is in business. He excels in whatever he does. "L. M." has had his turn as head of some of the more important local organizations, but now, even though he maintains membership in a few and sometimes appears as honorary chairman on community projects, he concentrates his efforts more toward business and is director of several national business organizations.

The following are some of the statements made by Mr. Mint during our interview. "A city can't stand still. We must look to the future. Everybody owes it to his community to participate in its programs and make it a better place to live. We must provide schools, recreation facilities, good medical facilities, and so on, to have the young people stay here and have other good people want to live here. Jobs are important in advancement of the community."

One informant stated that, "Mr. Mint is always ahead of the rest of us." When it appears as if a major decision needs to be made by the power leaders, several of the lesser men will usually analyze the problem and only then present it to Mr. Mint for his opinion. The stated idea is that Mint is too busy, and too important a man to be bothered with details. His time is too valuable. Mint, on the other hand, has been the instigator of numerous community activities. Some comments made by other leaders to describe Mr. Mint are that he has vision, is an excellent thinker, very able, versatile, a patriot, a sportsman and a top executive. Mr. Mint fully recognizes his stature in the community and that many men cater to him. As one of the leaders put it, "They have several special occasions like dinners or

such every year just to honor 'L. M.'. He likes that, and we must be careful not to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs."

Jim Montgomery is a man 56 years old with a university degree in economics. He started as accountant for the Trenton Leather Company and gradually worked his way up until he finally gained control a few years ago. He is now president of the company. Early in his career he became president of one of the service clubs in Denton. He considers this as his biggest stepping stone into community work. He has subsequently held many important positions in various civic groups, often being the head of the group. Mr. Montgomery is now gradually relinquishing his membership in various civic groups and training his son to take his place. His son, however, is just out of college and not yet ready to take his place in the community power structure.

Jim Montgomery is not the most powerful man in the community, but several power leaders stated that he is the most likely person to succeed Lester Mint. He is starting to play the role of advisor to younger men coming up into the structure. Mr. Montgomery's wide experience and proven ability, both in business and in community programs, seem to have given him unquestioned stature in the eyes of other power leaders. During the interview he started many of his replies with "I". Statements by other leaders indicate that about the only thing one could say against Jim is that he likes himself quite a lot. This certainly doesn't seem to detract anything from his ability or success.

Jim is variously referred to by other leaders as a good "builder", positive of his ideas, and gives liberally of his time and money even though he is by no means wealthy. He is considered very able, conservative, a clear thinker, good at expressing himself, civic minded,

a driver and one of the most prominent citizens in the area. Jim was mentioned by a number of the other top leaders as the man most likely to get a job done. Jim has headed up community-wide endeavors several times and each time he did an outstanding job.

A man considered among the real power leaders in Denton is Oliver Smith, chairman of the board of Oyster Bay Metals. Mr. Smith became affiliated with Oyster Bay Metals shortly after finishing his university training in engineering. He has been very active in various community programs during his years in the community, but his participation has usually been behind the scenes and working through others. He is quite outspoken and has on several occasions, even after he found that most of the other power leaders disagreed with him, refused to change his stand. Several informants mentioned that, because of the above characteristic, Mr. Smith is seldom a member of a major project committee or board, but he is usually a part of the team of power leaders who develop a program or community-wide project before it is presented openly in the community. Mr. Smith is 64 years old and is gradually relinquishing the management of his firm to younger men.

George Russel, a man of 56 years, is chairman of the board of the Old State Cement Company. Mr. Russel is a distinguished man with university degrees in engineering and economics. He has taken a very active part in various community affairs for many years. Through this activity, Mr. Russel has built up many mutual obligations among other power leaders and sub-leaders. As one informant stated, "George can always be counted on to take his share of responsibility in anything worthwhile going on." He is highly respected for his ability and willingness to give his time to the community. Mr. Russel stated

that he does not like to see his name in the papers too often, but, because of his many activities, his name usually appears among those men heading up major community projects.

August Mint, a son of "L. M.", is 39 years old, is a business school graduate and has recently taken a special business management course in an eastern university. He is being given considerable authority in his father's business. August is now vice president of the firm and rapidly building his place as a member of the community power structure. He has proven his ability in community work by serving on a number of boards of directors of major community organizations. August Mint is taking over many of these positions for his father thus giving his father more time for local business activities and to attend to national management associations in which he is becoming quite prominent. Because August Mint is a relatively young man, he has not been accorded prestige as have some of the other power leaders. He is, however, considered among the power leaders in the community.

Another of the power leaders is Herman Schultz, one of the financial men of Denton. Mr. Schultz is rated high among the power leaders. He is university trained, 46 years of age and a highly successful man who came to Denton as a young man and started the Schultz Loan Company. Under his guidance, this enterprise has grown into the largest business of its kind within a large area.

By dint of hard work and attention to his business, Mr. Schultz has gained high status in his community but has never played a very active role in civic enterprises. He worked through other men when he did take part. During his rise in the community he has gained the

respect of people of wealth by his shrewd operations, and many of these people have put considerable money in his investment business. He has been given authority by some of these people to speak for them in the community, which he has done effectively.

Mr. Schultz is recognized by his peers as being farsighted, a good businessman, a good thinker and a man not afraid to speak his convictions. As Tim Randall said, "I have seen him make a decision and state it when others of equal ability were afraid to make it."

Ralph Meister started his own small business in Denton many years ago. By dint of hard work and diligent frugality he has acquired considerable wealth. He is currently president of the Denton National Bank. Mr. Meister is 64 years of age and recently sold his interest in the profitable enterprise which he started so many years ago. He has never actively participated in community projects but has always given freely of his money to support a worthwhile cause. Mr. Meister is one of the power leaders and takes an active part in many major policy-making decisions. His business success is highly respected by other power leaders, and his present position allows him considerable time to work with other power leaders in addition to having several respected sub-leaders in his employ whom he frequently "lends" to major community projects.

Tim Randall took over a small wholesaling business from his father and has built it into a large business which covers a wide area. He has a college degree in economics, is 57 years old and has played a very active role in community affairs.

Randall is one of the most powerful men in the community. He is wealthy and, through his very active life in the community, has

built up a huge "fund of good will"[2] among other power leaders. He has served on the board of directors or as chairman of practically all the larger civic groups in the community. Randall is director of a number of regional and national business groups, and is also on the board of directors of his alma mater. His local interests for years have leaned to youth service groups in which he has been very active. Mr. Randall is the kind of a man who always has time to listen to anyone, to serve on a committee, support a worthwhile cause and to help the underdog. It is said of Tim that on numerous occasions he has taken a family of limited means and outfitted the whole family with new clothes, then paid the whole bill leaving a substantial tip to the surprised clerk. Tim is well liked by his co-workers and has a host of friends ranging from the top to the bottom of community status groups.

Lloyd Buckman is vice president of the Denton Enterprise, the local daily newspaper of general circulation in this area. He is in his early 40s and has only recently assumed his present position. Mr. Buckman is a university graduate. He worked on another daily newspaper before coming back to Denton and taking over the general management of the Enterprise when his father, who owns the newspaper, began thinking of retirement. Lloyd Buckman is considered among the power leaders in Denton primarily because of his position, and his control

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2 See C. P. Loomis, in "Foreword", p. 2, to Patterns of Community Involvement, C. Sower, J. Holland, K. Tiedke and W. Freeman, Free Press, Glencoe, "This 'Fund of good will'...is built into the sentiments of interpersonal and intergroup relationships and rests on social obligations, reciprocities and responsibilities derived from past friendships, interaction and services."

of an important medium of communication. Other power leaders indicated during the interviews that Lloyd Buckman needs more time to prove himself in the community and, as one respondent put it, "To get his feet on the ground."

One of the men who has been a very powerful man in Denton during the past is J. J. Latrick, president of the Denton Mill Supplies Company. Mr. Latrick is now over 70 years of age and is semi-retired. He does not take a very active part in community life now, but does enter into the decision process on most major community undertakings. He is highly respected by the power leaders, and several indicated that they would not like to proceed on any major project without making certain that Mr. Latrick fully concurred with the proposal. Mr. Latrick repeatedly minimized his accomplishments during the interview, always trying to give credit to one of the other power leaders or one of the sub-leaders for decisions which actually reflected his thinking. He is looked up to by other power leaders and sub-leaders as the seasoned philosopher in the community.

Carl Buckman, father of Lloyd Buckman, is president and owner of the Denton Enterprise. He is 71 years old and has recently retired from active management of the Enterprise because of illness. He does not now actively participate in community affairs. While Carl Buckman was active, however, he was considered the most powerful man in the community. He is given credit by present power leaders for guiding the development of the Denton community for many years. Mr. Buckman is still considered as one of the power leaders in Denton and is frequently consulted by his pears.

One of the fifteen major power leaders in Denton is

Horace Giner, president of the Cambridge Publishing Company. Mr. Giner is 63 years old and is a business college graduate. He is highly respected for his ability in analyzing problems and selecting other men in the community to carry out a project once the major decisions have been arrived at by the power leaders. He has many acquaintences in all walks of life in the community and a number of the sub-leaders indicated that many of them had used Mr. Giner as confidential advisor on a number of occasions. Mr. Giner's period of active community life has been relatively brief, but he has served in various capacities with great distinction.

Gregory Heintz inherited a prosperous real estate business from his father. He has broadened the scope of his business in recent years and has had many dealings with the larger industries or merchants who have located in the Denton area. He is 46 years old, a college graduate, and, according to other informants, still growing in ability and performance. Mr. Heintz has many contacts outside of Denton throughout the state. These contacts are occasionally used to pull strings with state officials, if needed by the power structure in Denton. Other leaders in Denton consider Gregory as being honest, civic minded, a driver, very active and a good starter, but sometimes a poor finisher. As one leader put it, "Greg has more ideas than 10 ordinary men." He is considered as an idea man and an exceptional salesman. He is one of the men who, some leaders indicated, has to be kept in line from time to time. His ideas sometimes tend to run away with him, but he is considered among the top ten men of power.

The Denton city manager, Harry Putz, is a very able man. Putz is 51 years old and has a university engineering degree. He has

had several similar posts with each subsequent appointment having been in a larger city with more responsibilities. Mr. Futz is given credit for his expert knowledge of municipal affairs and for his ability to work with people from different walks of life. He has seldom taken credit for municipal accomplishments but rather has given public credit to others who were interested in a particular community project. Such unselfishness, a number of respondents indicated, has endeared him to "everybody in the community." Mr. Futz frequently participates with the power leaders in the decision-making process, but usually assumes the role of advisor or expert. Several sub-leaders indicated that the major power leaders like this attitude because it enhances their prestige in the community.

Arthur Jones is considered among the power leaders primarily because of his position as mayor of Denton. His power rests mainly within the political structure of the community. One should not overlook, however, that he is a native of Denton having followed his father's footsteps in many respects. Jones is 52 years old and the kind of solid citizen who fully understands his community and has that rare ability to work successfully with all groups. One informant stated that, "Art Jones could be elected to any office he wanted in Denton by just throwing his hat in the ring." Mr. Jones has served in a number of elective positions with great respect and admiration. He is talked of as being sincere, competent, broadminded, intelligent, knows how to work with others, is conscientious and considerate. An apt expression describing Mr. Jones was given by one of the power leaders when he said, "What can you say about Art Jones? He is the salt of the earth." Although Jones is toward the bottom of the list in the ranking of power leaders,

he is generally respected for his ability and fairness. He is used by the power leaders as their main liaison man with the governmental structure in Denton.

Each of the power leaders in Denton were asked to name those persons which they believed to be the most prominent power leaders in the community. The fifteen persons about which there was most general agreement, and the votes received by each, are listed in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Power Leaders in Denton by Number of Votes Received From Other Power Leaders.

Leader	Number of Votes
Lester M. Mint	14
Tim Randall	14
Jim Montgomery	12
Herman Schultz	12
Lloyd Buchman	10
Gregory Heintz	9
Oliver P. Smith	8
J. J. Latrich	7
August Mint	7
Ralph Meister	7
Carl Buchman	7
George Russel	6
Arthur Jones	6
Harry Putz	5
Horace Giner	5

This table shows the alignment of the power structure, and indicates that there is close agreement about most of the men mentioned as having a place in the power structure of Denton.

We must not infer from the above ranking of power leaders by their peers that the same rank order applies in all major decision-making processes. There is very little feeling of subordination among the power leaders except that they all recognize Lester Hint as the most powerful man. One man may take the lead on a project in which he has great interest while another man will take the lead on some other project. Hunter pointed out a similar system in his study on social power.[3] Jim Montgomery illustrated how this system operates among the board of directors of one of the Denton banks. "If the board needs to make a decision about something pertaining to industry, they usually accept my opinion. If it concerns a matter of real estate someone qualified in that field will be looked to for direction. That's how we get a lot of work done in a short time."

It was learned in the course of this study that the fifteen persons described above are considered the most outstanding men of power in Denton. Not all of these power leaders possess the same qualities or capacities for entering into the decision-making process. Nor do those who possess similar capacities possess them in the same degree. More detailed analysis of capacities for decision-making will be presented in a later section of this work.

Patterns of mutual choices isolate the very top leaders. Mutual choices <u>among</u> the fifteen power leaders indicate that the most

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[3] Floyd Hunter, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 66.

prominent power leaders tend to choose one another more frequently. This pattern of choices, however, does not show the true working relationship among the power leaders. The sociogram in Figure II, page 46, shows that L. M. Mint was chosen by eleven others whom he also chose. Each of the other power leaders chose Mint, but he did not choose all of them in return. Mr. Randall, however, chose and was chosen by each of the other leaders. This is an indication of the fund of good will and mutual obligations which Randall has built up over the years he has been active in the community.

A further indication of the mutual choice pattern is that semi-retired individuals included in the power structure such as J. J. Latrick, C. Buckman and Horace Giner had fewer mutual choices than the more active power leaders. A. Mint is one of the youngest men included in the upper power structure. A. Jones and H. Putz operate primarily in the political sphere. These facts account for these three men having fewer mutual choices than such mature and still active men as Tim Randall, J. Montgomery, L. Mint, H. Schultz and G. Heintz.

The pattern of one way choices among Denton power leaders shown in Figure III on page 47 adds clarification to the mutual choice pattern. We notice that Tim Randall had no one way choices while Jim Montgomery, L. Mint, H. Schultz, C. Buckman and G. Russel each received three one way choices. Harry Putz gave a total of seven one way choices. This reflects his feeling that, as an appointed government official, he cannot accomplish a great deal without the support of the power leaders in the community, as well as his desire to give credit to other community power leaders whenever possible. Next to Harry Putz, the following four men, G. Russel, J. J. Latrick, A. Mint and

Figure II

Mutual Choices by Power Leaders in Denton

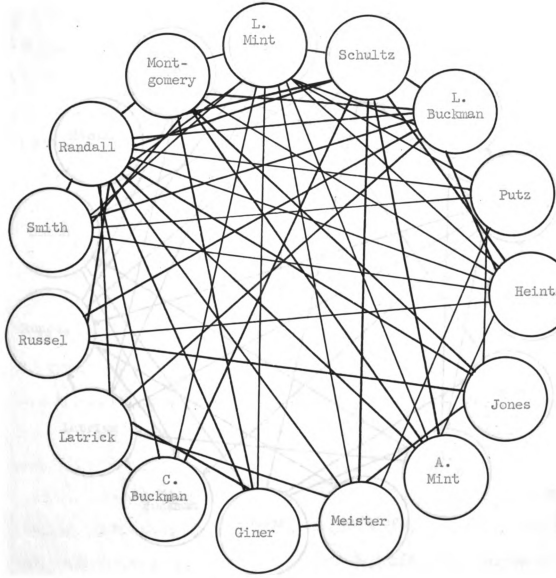
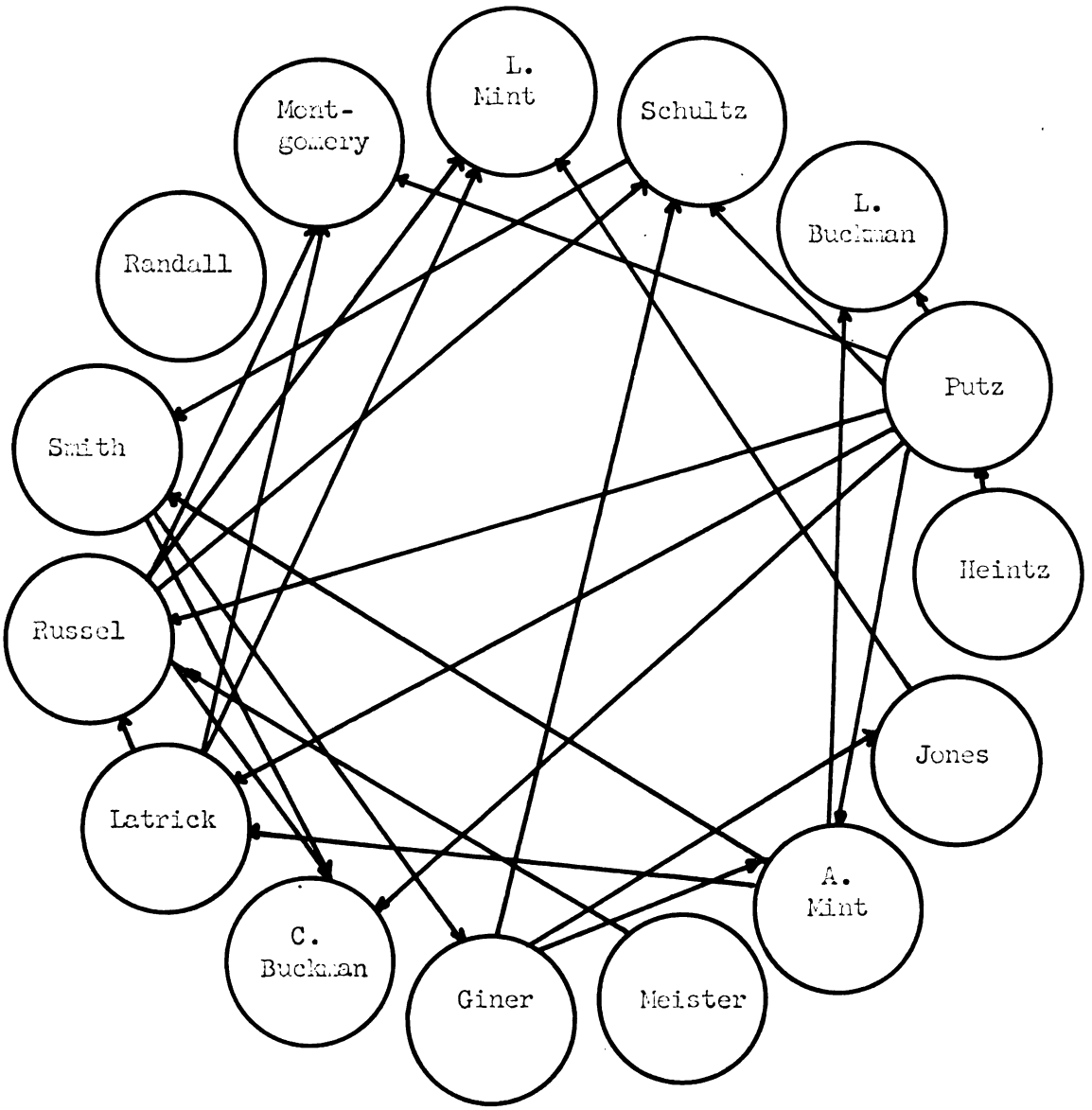


Figure III

One Way Choices Among Denton Power Leaders



H. Giner gave the next highest number of one way choices to other power leaders. This again reflects the retiring attitude of G. Russel, J. J. Latrick and H. Giner and the fact that A. Mint has not yet attained the maturity and prestige of some of the other power leaders.

Where men live is usually one of the marks which sets men of power off from the rest of the community. From Figure IV, page 49, one can see that the homes of the power leaders are, for the most part, located in the most desirable residential sections of the city. Their homes and their location, in part, contribute to the status and prestige of the individuals.

B. The Sub-Leaders

A complete analysis of a community power structure includes not only the men of power and how they operate, but also those persons comprising the second tier of influence. The task of carrying out policy decisions is delegated to this group of sub-leaders. The following section, therefore, is a discussion of some of the more prominent sub-leaders, and of the roles they played in the community decision-making processes.

The power leaders in Denton were asked to name the people who they consider to comprise the next lower tier of authority and influence in the community. Some mentioned only a few and spoke at length of these while others mentioned as many as 20 individuals.

It is interesting to note that only two of the power leaders mentioned any women as belonging to the sub-leader group. Four women were mentioned in this way, two of these were also mentioned by several sub-leaders. The respondents indicated that these women played an

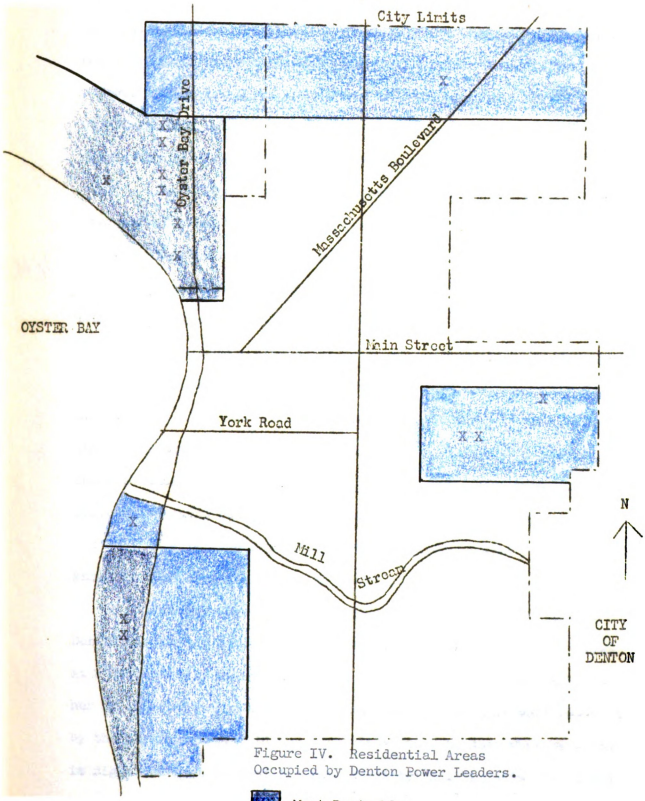


Figure IV. Residential Areas Occupied by Denton Power Leaders.

Most Desirable

Desirable

X Homes of Power Leaders

important role as sub-leaders in women's circles. Informants indicated further that these four women exerted indirect influence in the community through their husbands. One of these four women is the wife of a power leader and three are married to more prominent sub-leaders. One respondent, a sub-leader, pointed out that women are expected to remain in the background leaving the men to "run the town".

The thirty most prominent sub-leaders who were intensively interviewed averaged 42 years of age compared to an average of 53 for the power leaders. Many of the sub-leaders either hold prominent positions in enterprises managed by the power leaders or they operate a smaller business of their own.

Sub-leaders were found to have less experience in community participation than the power leaders, but they were frequently found as officers in the major civic clubs such as Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions and the Chamber of Commerce. It was further learned that the sub-leaders usually make up the bulk of membership on committees which are selected to carry out major policy decisions in the community.

A brief description of a few sub-leaders will be given to show the type of person included in this position.

Ben Fry is a businessman about 40 years old. He came to Denton to start his business after graduating from a business course at a university. He is a competent businessman, has served on a number of important committees and boards and is generally well regarded by the top men. Fry told the interviewer that he does what he thinks is right and what is good for the community and, "I don't give a damn what anybody thinks." He has a habit of being quite firm in his convictions which occasionally causes moments of disturbance among the

power leaders. Two respondents stated that Fry frequently, "talks before he thinks", and that his public statements occasionally have reflected limited knowledge of a particular situation. Fry is admired by some of the power leaders for his staunch stands. The top leaders consider Fry to be smart, a conscientious worker and one who gives liberally of his time to the community. Fry is seldom used on any major project until it has been determined that he is fully informed and, agrees with the decisions made, otherwise he can be difficult. Fry does not feel too friendly toward several of the top men in Denton. He considers Montgomery and Heintz as being too egotistical, and L. Buckman as being quite ignorant.

Joe Kelley is another younger man who is developing a successful business and has taken a very active part in community affairs. Kelley is a very agressive type of man. Once he has his mind made up, he doesn't like anyone or anything to be in his way. Several of the power leaders mentioned that Kelley is one of the men they have to watch and bring back into line from time to time. The top men like his drive and ability, and hope that he will mature in judgment to such an extent that they can accept him as a top policy maker in the community. Kelley and Fry have many qualities in common.

Fred Hoffman is another younger man who has only recently come to Denton to accept a special position with the Laswell Woolen Mills. This position carries with it considerable authority and influence in the company. Fred has not failed to exercise these prerogatives, much to the consternation of some of the power leaders. Mr. Hoffman is intelligent and he has demonstrated great capacity for work. He has on several occasions pointed out errors in judgment by some of

the present power leaders. One of the top men confided that they like this type of man, but are a little surprised at his aggressiveness. Yet, he felt, Fred is usually right, and they can't curb his ambitions too severely without having it look bad or without Fred's taking them to task for it.

The type of aggressiveness displayed by Fred Hoffman is frowned upon by some of the top men. Not only does this threaten their position as power leaders, but also because this type of action is not in line with "the American way of doing things." This isn't the first time this type of a man has come along, but the top men haven't had enough experience in handling such a situation since they organized themselves formally only a few years ago. Several informants expressed the opinion that Fred Hoffman will eventually be accepted as a peer by the present decision-makers.

Bob Pierce is a prominent official in the Denton public school system. He has been in the community for 15 years and, because of his position, he has actively participated in many community programs as well as having been consulted frequently by both the power leaders and sub-leaders in the community. Mr. Pierce has limited his public participation mainly to social service types of community programs such as school matters, health and welfare activities.

Nate Overman is president of the largest labor union in the Denton area. He is a quiet man and, although he is often selected as a member of an important committee on community projects, several informants indicated that he was selected because he represents labor and it is desirable to "keep on the good side of labor." The feeling is that Mr. Overman serves as a means for the power leaders to be more aware

of how labor feels on certain proposed projects. A typical statement from power leaders is, "We can't afford not to recognize labor. They might try to give us trouble if they are not in on things." Lester Mint, however, stated that the views of labor are needed in the community since they make up a large part of the members of the community.

Sy Denton is an accountant with one of the banks in Denton. He is spoken of as a brilliant young man and is widely recognized for his abilities. Mr. Denton usually does not participate in decision-making processes, but he is frequently consulted on technical procedures by one or more of the power leaders. Mr. Denton is growing in respect and prestige in the community, and may eventually take his place as one of the power leaders.

A young man among the sub-leaders who exerts most of his influence in the political sphere is Harold Winston. He holds a prominent political appointment in Denton and has shown much promise by ability in politics. Mr. Winston is often found as chairman or co-chairman of a committee carrying out some worthwhile community project. Both the power leaders and sub-leaders indicated that Mr. Winston is likely to "go a long way" in politics in the Denton community as well as in the State.

Henry Cabot is an industrial manager who has recently come to Denton. He is manager of one of the large local utilities and has time to devote to worthwhile community projects. His company, in fact, urges him to play an active role in the community, but to keep away from controversial issues. Mr. Cabot has some of the characteristics of Joe Kelley in that he is quite outspoken and thereby occasionally has antagonized some of the more prominent power leaders in the com-

munity. The position of Mr. Cabot, however, gives him considerable authority in the community.

Another man who is considered a sub-leader is R. White. He is about 55 years old and has inherited great wealth. It is primarily because of this fact that he is considered in this group. Mr. White is a professional person but does not play a very active role in community affairs except where his interests might be concerned. The fact that he refuses to "accept his share of jobs" in community affairs antagonizes many of the top men. When asked about White, most of the power leaders indicated that he is not likely to become closely associated with the top power group.

Two ministers from the two largest churches in Denton were mentioned by a number of top men as being among the sub-leaders. They do not, nor are they expected to, participate actively in many of the community affairs as other sub-leaders would. Their place is as advisors and effective speakers when something needs to be put over. Their specialized training well equips them for these tasks.

In Table 2, page 43, we have presented a ranking of community power leaders according to votes received from other power leaders. Additional light is thrown on the community power structure when power leaders were ranked from the viewpoint of sub-leaders.

Each of the thirty sub-leaders intensively interviewed was asked to name those persons whom they believed to be most powerful in the community, based on their relative degree of power. Table 3, page 55, lists these persons ordered by votes received from sub-leaders.

Reference to Table 3 indicates that the sub-leaders mentioned more individuals among the power leaders than were mentioned by the

TABLE 3

Denton Power Leaders According to Number of Votes Received from Sub-Leaders

Leader	Number of Votes
Lester M. Mint	24
Tim Randall	24
Herman Schultz	21
Gregory Heintz	20
Lloyd Buckman	20
Jim Montgomery	18
Ralph Meister	15
Harry Putz	15
Joe Kelley	15
Fred Hoffman	12
Oliver P. Smith	9
August Mint	9
J. J. Latrick	9
H. Jones	9
R. White	9
Arthur Jones	9
Bruce Dunn	9
Winn Clay	9
Ben Fry	9
Horace Giner	6
Sy Denton	6
Henry Cabot	6
George Russel	5
18 others	5 (each)
R. Kelley	3
Nate Overman	3
Harold Winston	3
C. Buckman	2
45 others (includes 2 women)	2 (each)

( )

( ) ( )

power leaders themselves (i.e. There was less agreement), as was indicated in Table 2. We also see that Joe Kelley and Fred Hoffman received a higher ranking from sub-leaders than did some of the power leaders. Both Kelley and Hoffman have been quite active in community affairs during the past few years. At the same time we note that Horace Giner, George Russel and C. Buckman received a relatively low rank as power leaders from the sub-leaders. The fact that Giner is semi-retired, Buckman is completely retired and Russel likes to work mainly in the background accounts mostly for this low rank by sub-leaders. (A further analysis of comparative rankings of power leaders will be developed in a later section of this chapter.)

The sub-leaders know that major policy decisions are made on a very high level, but they are not fully cognizant of just how these decisions are arrived at, or who the specific individuals are who participate in any particular major policy decision. This lack of awareness elicited divergent opinions of how major decisions were formulated at the top power level.

Most of the sub-leaders have visions that sometime in the future the opportunity will present itself for them to participate on a par with the power leaders in the decision-making process. Because of this reason we find a number of sub-leaders playing up to, or trying to identify themselves with individual power leaders. A younger man who is "on the make" eagerly "grabs up" committee assignments for experience hoping that one of the top men will notice the fine work he is doing. The power leaders are watched closely for any indication of a nod to a sub-leader to sit next to him or to speak or act for the top man on some occasion.

The power leaders, of course, feel honored when a younger man who looks good uses them as his model. What they do not appreciate is when a sub-leader presses more than is considered proper. Mr. Latrick expressed this feeling when he said, "Some of these young fellows look silly playing up to 'L. M.' as they do."

C. The Laymen

A picture of the total decision-making process in a community is incomplete without consideration of the general public. Sooner or later in a democracy the ideas developed by a few must be legitimized in the community if they are to have effect on the general public.

When plans for this study were made it was decided, therefore, that a random sample of the general public (hereafter referred to as "laymen") should be interviewed. It was felt that this would provide the community's perspective of power leaders and the decision-making process.

A ten percent random sample of male heads of households was drawn from four 24-block areas located in different parts of the city (see map page 30). The sample of laymen did not include any colored individuals, but this was not considered a serious deficiency since a very small percentage of the Denton population is colored. Nor was any attempt made to ascertain whether any of the laymen were foreign born. None of the laymen interviewed indicated that they were foreign born although a number of respondents had recently moved to the Denton area.

A total of 96 male heads of households were interviewed. This group included individuals from many different occupational groups although nearly half of the respondents were laborers who were employed

in the Denton area.

The age of these respondents ranged from 22 years to 84 years of age. Some of the oldest men were retired and most of them had little conception of the power structure in Denton. A few of these had moved to Denton after retiring from their position in a large metropolitan area. Among the youngest group, only a few had any understanding of the Denton power structure. Most of them felt that this is to be left to older people. A frequent reply was, "They know more about what is needed than we do."

Some of the answers given relative to the decision-making process by other laymen interviewed will be referred to in a later section. We found that those who had taken part in community programs did have some idea of what was going on. This, however, was usually colored by their personal opinion of one or more power leaders.

Several of the power leaders were highly praised for their awareness of community needs and for trying to do something to meet these needs. Among those referred to in this manner were Tim Randall, Lester M. Mint, Harry Putz, Arthur Jones and J. J. Latrick. Randall, as has been pointed out, had personally assisted numerous poor families; he has worked with youth and church groups for many years and he has many friends in all levels of the community. Mint is recognized as the outstanding power leader while Latrick is well known for his many years of public service. Putz and Jones are presently in important positions of the city government and both of them have the facility of getting along well with all the different community interest groups. Those laymen who personally knew some of the power leaders, or who have worked for their firm, expressed the most satisfaction toward actions

of the power leaders.

Occasionally a layman referred to the power leaders as a "bunch of wealthy people who don't know what to do with their time or money." They are "just a bunch of selfish people who are out to milk the community." "They are always playing golf and don't know anything about the poor people in town nor do they care about them." Comments such as these were not frequent and were made by persons who seemed to have very little knowledge of the decision makers, and by those laymen who staunchly disagreed with projects approved by the men of power.

The interviewer mentioned some of these comments to Lester Mint to find out what his reaction would be. Mint replied that, "People who say such things just are ignorant of the facts. We pay the highest wages in the community. Fringe benefits cost us another 50 cents per hour. We give in many ways that few people know about. We loan men to civic projects and pay them just the same." This seemed to be the opinion of several other men among the top group whose opinion was requested.

In order to provide a more complete picture of the power leaders and the public image of them, the laymen were also asked to name the power leaders in Denton along with a question about which one they felt was the "biggest man in town". Table 4, page 60, shows the ranking of power leaders by laymen.

Here again we find that Lester M. Mint was ranked as the outstanding power leader in the community. Next to Mint we note that Arthur Jones and Harry Putz were given the second and third rank respectively. Jones, it will be recalled, is mayor of Denton while Putz is the city manager. Their public positions plus the fact that their names

TABLE 4

Denton Power Leaders According to Number of Votes Received from Laymen

Leader	Number of Votes
Lester M. Mint	64
Arthur Jones	40
Harry Putz	25
Larry Bryan	22
Lloyd Buckman	19
R. White	16
Tim Randall	15
Herman Schultz	15
Carl Buckman	10
Ralph Meister	10
Jim Montgomery	10
Oliver P. Smith	10
O. P. Wier	10
J. J. Latrick	8
Bob Pierce	8
Gregory Heintz	8
G. Russel	7
A. Mint	7
Joe Kelley	7
Fred Hoffman	7
Henry Cabot	7
Ben Fry	7
Bruce Dunn	7
9 others	5 (each)
42 others with less than 5 each (includes one woman)	

are frequently in the news is responsible for many laymen being familiar with these names. Both Jones and Butz are, in addition, very capable and have many dealings with people from all walks of life in the community.

Larry Bryan is ranked high by the laymen because he is a popular head of a department of the county government and has many employees under his jurisdiction. Bryan holds an elective position to which he has been elected repeatedly without strong opposition. Mr. Bryan and his assistants make it a point to attend many public functions and to mingle with the people at every opportunity.

O. P. Wier was ranked high on the list because he occupies an important position in one of the Denton banks. Many of the laymen interviewed seemed to have had dealings with Mr. Wier and they liked his attitude. Pierce, on the other hand, has an important position in the Denton school system and frequently is in attendance at meetings where laymen also attend. Mr. Pierce is a fluent and diplomatic public speaker. His long tenure indicates that he is well liked in the community.

In the foregoing sections we have discussed the most prominent persons in the Denton community decision-making processes as well as how they were ranked by various community elements, namely, by power leaders themselves, by sub-leaders and by laymen. We observe that there was general agreement by each community segment about who are the power leaders in the community. At the same time it must be pointed out that a few power leaders were accorded a radically different rank by the various segments in the community. A more detailed comparison of the relative rankings of decision-makers is presented in the following section.

Comparative ranking of power leaders. Reference of Table 5, provides a comparison of the relative rankings of men of power by power leaders, by sub-leaders and by laymen. We notice that Lester M. Mint is given first rank by each of the three groups. Both the power leaders and sub-leaders agreed upon the six persons who received the

TABLE 5

Comparative Ranking of Denton Power Leaders by: Power Leaders, Sub-Leaders and Laymen

Leader	Ranked by		
	Power Leaders	Sub-leaders	Laymen
Lester M. Mint*	1	1	1
Tim Randall*	2	2	7
Jim Montgomery	3	6	11
Herman Schultz	4	3	8
Lloyd Buckman	5	5	5
Gregory Heintz	6	4	16
Oliver P. Smith	7	11	12
J. J. Latrick	8	13	14
August Mint	9	12	18
Ralph Meister	10	7	10
Carl Buckman	11	45	9
George Russel	12	23	17
Arthur Jones	13	16	2
Harry Putz	14	8	3
Horace Giner	15	20	
Joe Kelley		9	19
Fred Hoffman		10	20
H. Jones		14	
R. White		15	6
Bruce Dunn		17	23
Winn Clay		18	
Ben Fry		19	22
Sy Denton		21	
Henry Cabot		22	21
R. Kelley		42	
Nate Overman		43	
Harold Winston		44	
Larry Bryan			4
O. P. Wier			13
Bob Pierce			15

* Although Lester Mint and Tim Randall received an equal number of votes from power leaders and sub-leaders, informants agreed that Mr. Mint ranks first among power leaders.

highest rank although the order among the six highest ranked individuals differed slightly.

Sub-leaders differed considerably in their ranking of a number of power leaders. We see that, while the power leaders ranked Carl Buckman in 11th place, the sub-leaders accorded him a rank of 45th which is far down the list from other power leaders and far below many of the recognized sub-leaders. This ranking of Mr. Buckman reflects again the fact that he has been retired for several years and most of the sub-leaders doing the ranking have never worked with Mr. Buckman. They do not seem to recognize him as important in the community decision-making processes. Sub-leaders ranked Harry Putz high because all of them know Putz well and most of them have served with him on committees of various kinds. They respect his fairness and his ability. Joe Kelley and Fred Hoffman were ranked relatively high by the sub-leaders because, as one informant stated, "They are not afraid to speak up to the big men in town". Neither George Russel nor Horace Giner were ranked high by sub-leaders. This reflects the retiring attitude of these two individuals, both of whom like to work behind the scenes rather than taking the lead on any particular project.

The comparative ranking of power leaders by laymen differs considerably from that of the power leaders themselves and from that of the sub-leaders. We see that Montgomery and Heintz are ranked much lower by laymen than by either of the other groups. Both of these two men are not considered to have a strong following among laymen. They are, however, recognized for their ability and drive by the power leaders and by most of the sub-leaders. Arthur Jones, Harry Putz and Larry Bryan, as has been mentioned, are ranked very high by laymen because of

their position in public life and their ostensible facility at making friends.

The foregoing discussion indicates that, the farther removed an individual is from the decision-making process the less familiar he is with the decision-makers or with the process. Friendship and personal admiration frequently play a part in evaluating a person's ranking as a man of power.

CHAPTER IV

DEVELOPMENT OF A DECISION-MAKING SYSTEM IN THE COMMUNITY

A. Historical Perspective

In the preceding chapters we have explored the concept of social power in a theoretical setting, the necessary procedural steps in an analysis of community dynamics were delineated and the central actors in the Denton power structure have been brought to life.

It has been necessary to define and delimit the concepts employed in this study in order to keep the study within manageable limits of breadth. It is not the intent of this study to analyze the overall community organization and structure (there have been many such studies), but rather to analyze the social power concept as it enters into the decision-making process. Nor have we attempted to analyze decision-making processes in all levels of the community. The study is limited to decision-making at the highest level in the community power structure

In order to further understand the actions of the highest ranked decision-makers in the community, one needs to study community perspectives of decision-makers as viewed by the sub-leaders who carry out major decisions and as seen by ordinary members of the community. The community view of decision-makers is an area which has been somewhat neglected in studies of social power. This aspect of the present study, therefore, constitutes a significant phase of community dynamics which

needs to be further explored.

In order to gain insight and understanding of social power positions as they are manifest in a community, it is necessary to explore the historical development of the community insofar as it has a bearing on present decision-making processes. This applies particularly to the Denton community which has had a slow and normal growth without any profound disturbances within the community which would cause the emergence of long standing power structures.

It is the purpose of the present chapter to trace those historical developments which helped set the stage for the decision-making processes observed. We will note that, because of the slow but steady growth of this community, community pressure has been building up for needed civic improvements. A number of citizen efforts to provide these improvements had failed to materialize. Eventually the men of power in the community took stock of the situation and formed an organization which they could control for the purpose of leading the community forward toward desired goals. The men of power had an additional purpose in forming such an organization in that they were able to gain considerable community sanction of their power position and thereby more firmly entrench themselves as the recognized power leaders in the community.

We pointed out in Chapter II that Denton's earliest development was as a trading post and a lumbering center. Soon after this era, coal was discovered near Denton. The discovery of coal resulted in a rapid influx of new people into the area. The availability of cheap fuel enticed several new industries to locate in Denton. Some of these new industries went out of existence shortly after it was found that the coal mining industry never would develop to the extent originally anticipated.

Numerous factors in the historical development of Denton have a bearing on an understanding of the present social power positions. A man, or a group of men, do not acquire positions of social power overnight. It takes considerable time and, in this process of development, some "would be" power holders fall by the wayside, while others have social power thrust upon them. This process in itself would be an instructive study. It is not the intention to go into detail and trace the complete history of Denton; only those items will be mentioned which seem to have had a bearing on the development of social power as we know it today.

One of the key figures in laying the groundwork for the power structure observed in Denton is Carl Buckman. The initiative and drive he displayed when a crisis developed about rebuilding the burned out railroad shops contributed to his position of influence in the community. When Buckman gained control of the Denton Enterprise his position as a man of power was further enhanced. For many years thereafter Mr. Buckman was recognized as the most powerful man in the community.

Oliver Smith, another key figure, has long been active in the community. His first major experience was as a committee member responsible for building the original Denton hospital. We will see later that Mr. Smith made a serious social error in connection with the hospital program. It is because Mr. Smith has proved his ability in subsequent community programs that has gained him a prominent position among the Denton power leaders.

Most of the other present power leaders in Denton gained prominence through their active and successful participation in various civic clubs, and by demonstrating great ability in business matters.

In the following paragraphs, after sketching the "power

history" of two present power leaders, Carl Buckman and Oliver Smith, several significant community efforts which failed to materialize will be examined. The failure of these efforts to provide needed community facilities created a "near crisis" situation which served to crystallize the thinking of community power leaders. It was following these events that major decisions were made which served as the basis for this study.

The rise of Carl Buckman. Carl Buckman's attainment of a position of prominence was closely linked with the early development of the railroad industry in Denton. Shortly after the coal discovery, some of the city fathers decided that, since one of the main rail lines of the country passed through Denton, plus the large freight tonnage originating here, Denton would be a logical location for a railroad repair shop. This possibility caused a great stir in the community. It could mean the employment of several hundred people with the possibility of employment growing into the thousands as time passed. The people of Denton were successful in their dealings with the railroad firm and within a few years the railroad started construction of its repair shops in Denton.

The railroad shops were almost completely destroyed by fire at about the time that the coal mining industry was starting its decline. At that time Carl Buckman was a young man who had a responsible position with the Denton Enterprise. He felt that Denton could hardly afford to loose this valuable railroad industry with its large local labor force and consequent huge annual payroll, most of which was spent in Denton. He started a one-man campaign to arouse others in the community to pressure the railroad to rebuild their shops. The tremendous effort of

Buckman resulted in the community finding a new, more suitable location for the railroad shops. He mobilized enough money in the community to buy the new site and offered it to the railroad company. The company accepted the site offered, and built their new shops on the edge of Denton.

This series of events greatly enhanced the influence of Mr. Buckman. He eventually rose in stature, acquired control of the Denton Enterprise and for many years was considered the foremost power leader in Denton. Mr. Buckman retired from active management of the Denton Enterprise a number of years ago. He is also gradually relinquishing his many other community activities.

Control of an important channel of communication in Denton was a contributing factor to the eminent position of Mr. Buckman. After the retirement of Mr. Buckman, his son, Lloyd, became manager of the Denton Enterprise. Lloyd, thereby, had thrust upon him an important position and great responsibility with high ascribed status. Lloyd does not have the abilities that his father possessed, but his position has placed him among the top power leaders in Denton.

The Denton Hospital. The development and construction of the present Denton hospital in the early 1920s served to introduce another of the present power leaders in the community. Oliver Smith played an active role in this original hospital program. Smith was a member of the hospital construction committee headed by Harold Sassman who at that time was one of the most powerful men in the community. Mr. Smith made a serious blunder during this hospital building program. His actions greatly impaired his subsequent participation in various community programs with the result that Mr. Smith seldom is seen as the

head of an overall major community project, but rather he participates behind the scenes with other present power leaders in major decision-making processes.

The following discussion will reveal why Mr. Smith operates mainly behind the scenes. It will, in addition, set the stage for later analysis of a major decision by the Denton power leaders.

The present Denton hospital was promoted, paid for and built in 1921 almost singly handily by Harold Sassman. Mr. Sassman spent so much of his time and money on this project, without what he considered sufficient community interest, that he became bitter toward the community and later moved away. One of the present men of power in Denton, Oliver P. Smith, worked with Sassman in getting this original hospital. Smith made a serious blunder when he proposed that Sassman give the final $10,000 toward the hospital. Smith's proposal was made after Sassman had already donated many times that amount. Sassman became so infuriated that he set out to break Smith forever in the community. As a result of this Smith suffered greatly. Several of the power leaders mentioned that Smith has never been used since as the head of any project in the community. "We wouldn't dare make Smith chairman of a drive or an important project," said one of the leaders, "because too many of the older men in town are still sore at him as the result of the hospital deal." Smith is recognized for his ability, however, and is among the twelve most prominent power leaders in the community. He is used behind the scenes for his ability and knowledge of the community.

Plan of development. One of the events in Denton which had a large influence on further development of the community and, consequently on major decision-making processes, was the plan of development

which was adopted by the city prior to World War II.

The knowledge and ability of Oliver Smith was recognized by Denton political leaders to the extent that Smith was appointed chairman of a committee responsible for providing a plan of overall community development. Although the political leaders realized that Smith had created some antagonism in the community, they felt that, since Smith had not been connected with the political structure, his skills could well be used in this capacity.

A plan of development, including a proposed civic center area, we prepared by the committee headed by Smith and was eventually adopted by the city council. The civic center area was designed to incorporate the future location of necessary new city government buildings, where the county seat should be located and where a number of other municipal and community buildings should eventually be placed.

The plan of development received general acceptance in Denton, although some people equate it with "one of Smith's schemes".

Soon after the city adopted the plan of development a number of citizens groups proposed that the community build various needed public buildings in the proposed civic center area. One of these proposals was for a new youth organization building which was needed in the community. This proposal, and its relation to subsequent actions by the Denton power leaders, will be discussed in the following section.

Youth building needs. One of the proposed structures to be located in the above mentioned civic center area was a new youth organization building. The existing youth organization building was quite inadequate for existing needs. Several citizen efforts had been made to acquire new facilities, but each effort failed in reaching its

goal.

The large amount of community interest generated for new youth organization facilities following adoption of the plan of development prompted Tim Randall, a prominent power leader, to take a more active interest in the youth organization program.

Mr. Randall had long been identified with various youth groups and has on numerous occasions personally financed specific youth programs. In this manner Mr. Randall has built up a large fund of mutual obligations in the community. He is recognized among the community power leaders as possessing the most mutual obligations. The present discussion will indicate how Mr. Randall has accumulated some of these mutual obligations as well as describing a type of maneuver employed by the power leaders.

A number of major repairs on the present youth organization building have been necessary in the last 10 years. A few years ago Tim Randall was elected president of the youth organization which owns and operates this building. His interest and long experience of working with various youth groups convinced him that the organization should hire a well qualified director to supervise and develop programs for this youth organization. Randall was able to convince enough of his colleagues that this was a desirable goal. But he had a further goal in mind. He wanted a new youth building located in the Denton civic center.

Randall was able to get a number of the promising sub-leaders in Denton to accept positions on the youth organization board of directors. The new board then employed a new, energetic director shortly

thereafter.[1] This series of events enhanced Randall's position of authority and influence in addition to testing the capacities of some of the sub-leaders. It further points out an unmet community need as well as illustrating a method used by influentials in accomplishing their goals.

Need for stadium. Another unmet community need which served to stimulate the Denton power leaders to play a more active role in providing adequate community facilities was proper facilities for use of the various athletic teams in the community. We will see in a later section that a new memorial stadium was the first major community-wide project sponsored by the Denton power leaders. This project also served the purpose of enhancing their power positions in the community. It further provided needed legitimation to the power leaders, and to the organization which they formed through which they could exercise their power in the community.

Athletic fields for use by the various high school teams in Denton have been quite inadequate for some time. No substantial improvements or extension of facilities had been made in recent years despite the growth of population and consequent overtaxing of existing facilities. Several attempts were made within the past ten years to acquire new athletic facilities for Denton. Each of these attempts faded into oblivion, however, even though large citizens committees worked for the program. The press gave wide coverage to this proposed

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[1] A good description of this type of maneuvering is described by Paul A. Miller in A Comparative Analysis of the Decision-Making Process in Community Organization Toward Major Health Goals, Unpublished Ph D Thesis, Michigan State College, East Lansing, 1953, pp. 304-307.

project, but withheld editorial support. The men of power were not active in these efforts, nor did they sanction such action at that time.

The slow, but steady growth of Denton has been so gradual that community developments did not keep pace with needs. When sporadic efforts were made toward major improvements, many of the power leaders and large property owners either didn't support, or actually opposed, these efforts. One of the major reasons was that it would effect their pocketbooks by raising taxes. They realized that, if any such proposal were adopted, they would have to pay a large share of the taxes. No substantial new industry was moving into Denton, the downtown area seemed to remain static, and Denton continued its steady growth in population while needed public improvements continued to grow more urgent year by year.

B. Crystallization of Needs

Many American communities, both large and small, were revitalized and seemed to take a new lease on life with the advent of mobilization during World War II. This period caused unprecedented movement of people from place to place all over the nation. Many men left for military service after which they returned home with new ideas and new viewpoints. Existing industries added employees and expanded their facilities while at the same time numerous new industries were started throughout the country. Government spending for defense served as a tremendous boost to the economy. More money was in circulation and more profit was being made.

One governmental effort to keep inflation from running rampant during, and immediately following, the mobilization effort for

World War II, was an increase in certain taxes, one of which was the excess profits tax. A number of Denton business leaders, spurred on by Lester Mint, started to think of ways to either reduce the excess profits tax or to try to find some means whereby at least some of the excess profits could be put to use in the local community. This effort, as will be explained later, proved very beneficial in providing needed public facilities in the Denton area.

This sequence of events was also being felt in the community of Denton. Predictions of what would likely happen after cessation of hostilities were many and varied, and came from diverse sources throughout the nation.

Some of the public officials and sub-leaders in Denton who had tried unsuccessfully to get substantial civic improvements established in the pre-World War II period saw an opportunity to capitalize on the momentum brought about by this war effort. Several proposals were brought forth by the above mentioned officials and sub-leaders as constituting the most pressing need in the Denton community. Each of these interest groups seemed to be able to capture the passive support of one or more of the top leaders in the community. This caused no little consternation among the power leaders. Some of the men of power were quite sympathetic to certain proposed projects but were reluctant to lend active support without their peers also supporting the particular project. Several expressed the feeling that only one major community project should be undertaken at one time, and also that some of the proposals seemed over-ambitious for the Denton area.

Each group sponsoring a major project approached one or more of the larger concerns in the community, suggesting that substantial

financial support be given to their proposal. At the same time there was a high feeling of patriotism that a memorial should be erected to those who so gallantly fought and died for their country and their community.

These events, in summary, caused the men of power in the community to realize that something should be done. A plan should be devised whereby each real need could be met and still prevent several groups simultaneously sponsoring different projects, which might result in disruption of the whole community. It was realized that each proposal had merit and would benefit the community. How to accomplish this in the easiest manner, and still have all groups satisfied, was the problem faced by the leaders of Denton.

C. Organizing for Action

Citizen interest was building up rapidly in support of several of the proposed civic projects. This, of course, happened under the expert guidance of aggressive and able sub-leaders who had become interested in a particular project. It should be pointed out that many of the sub-leaders had sympathetic friends among the power leaders who could give them advice when requested. When project leaders decided that enough of a following had been enlisted, a small delegation was chosen to contact the three largest industries in the community and ask for financial support for their particular project. This finally caused the men of power to realize that something must be done or their power position would be seriously threatened by the formation of power structures from other sources. It also brought home to them forcibly that there were some unmet needs in their community about which they

either had not been aware, or to which they had not given much thought, if they were aware of them.

This chain of events prompted Lester Mint to call a small group of friends to his office for consultation. This meeting included Herman Schultz, Gregory Heintz and R. White. Mr. White, although only a sub-leader, was included because his family owns considerable stock in the Laswell Woolen Mills of which White is an officer, his family also owns much property in the community and Mr. White is a personal friend of Lester Mint. The problem was discussed and numerous ideas brought forth about how to cope with the situation. It was agreed that Mint, because of his position in the eyes of other leaders in Denton, should send a letter to a highly selected group of power leaders in Denton, feeling them out as to their thinking on this matter.

Replies to Mint's letter supported his concern over the situation. He then called each of the selected leaders and asked them to assemble at his home on a designated Sunday afternoon to discuss the problem thoroughly and try to arrive at a policy to which they could all adhere.

The Sunday afternoon meeting at Mint's home included Lester Mint, Jim Montgomery, Oliver Smith, R. White, Herman Schultz, Gregory Heintz, Tim Randall and Ralph Meister. Mint briefly expressed his concern about the many community projects developing at the same time. He stated that, if all were allowed to go ahead on their own, it could result in disruption in the community with the possibility that none of the projects would gain sufficient support. The other men agreed readily with Mr. Mint. Heintz mentioned that he knew of some other communities, considerably larger than Denton, which had met similar problems

in one way or another. Schultz expressed the concern that Denton did not have any "rich uncle", like Union Steel Company of Mohawk, to financially underwrite a major program of community development. It was agreed that some thought should be given to forming a community-wide organization through which various civic improvement projects might be channeled. The meeting ended with the appointment of Heintz, Randall and Smith to see what they could find out about how other communities had organized themselves to handle similar problems. Mint took it upon himself to consider the structure of a proposed organization and White was delegated to consider the legal problems involved. Another similar meeting was scheduled at the same place on a Sunday afternoon three weeks later to appraise their findings.

The subsequent meeting of this group of eight power leaders proved very fruitful. The Heintz committee reported that they were very enthused with their findings, and submitted a proposal for action. White, who had previously discussed the proposal with Heintz, had worked out the legal details. Mint, who also had been consulted between meetings, suggested that a permanent community improvement association be organized as a non-profit corporation. He pointed out that such an organization would likely be permitted to accept tax deductible donations which could be applied to local public improvement projects. The suggestion by Mr. Mint was approved by all those present. Randall and Schultz were asked to prepare a constitution and by-laws for the proposed organization with White advising them relative to the problem of incorporating. Meister volunteered to find out if contributions, as suggested by Mint, would be considered as tax deductible by the internal revenue service.

A third meeting of this same group followed in two weeks and it was definitely agreed to proceed with the proposed line of thinking. Meister had confirmation from the internal revenue service that contributions to such an organization would be deductible on income tax returns. Randall presented a written constitution which was adopted with slight modifications. White took it upon himself to register the corporation with the State Department of Corporations. The meeting ended with the request from Mint for each of the others to think of a proper name for the organization, and who should constitute its board of directors.

Several small luncheons preceded the next meeting of the committee. These took place at the clubrooms of the Denton Pioneers. Each luncheon was organized by one or more of the original group of eight power leaders, but never more than three of this group attended any particular luncheon. At these luncheons the proposed organization was discussed with a number of other power leaders and their ideas were incorporated in the proposal.

A month passed before the original group met again, this time in the home of Tim Randall. It was agreed that the name of the proposed organization should be the Denton Association of Municipal Improvement, Incorporated, hereafter referred to as DAFMI. It was also agreed that there should be a total of 15 directors of DAFMI, each elected for a three year term, and further that the terms of no more than five directors should expire any one year. The names proposed as directors were: Lester A. Mint, Gregory Heintz, Jim Montgomery, Carl Buckman, Oliver Smith, J. J. Latrick, Horace Giner, Herman Schultz, Joe Kelley, George Russel, Ben Fry, R. White, Bob Pierce, Sy Denton and Roy Kelley. The

stated purpose of DAFMI was to "provide and assist in making available financial resources for the construction of those civic, recreational and cultural improvements deemed to be urgently needed in Denton."

A major decision faced by the founders of DAFMI was how to legitimize their proposal to the community at large. An agreement was reached that this should be done in a "democratic" way to assure the people that DAFMI belongs to the whole community. On this basis it was decided that anyone could become a member of DAFMI by paying ten dollars in annual dues with each paying member to have one vote toward election of the 15 directors. This arrangement was subsequently changed to three types of membership in DAFMI. General membership goes to those paying $10 dues, sustaining membership $100, and benefactor memberships $500 with each individual membership still to have only one vote. It was further agreed that the original directors of DAFMI should be elected at a public meeting and also that a larger advisory board of trustees consisting of 25 persons should be formed. After DAFMI once became viable, directors would thereafter be elected by a vote of the members.

Subsequent to the above series of decisions Mr. Mint sent a letter to all the prominent organizations in Denton (a total of 227), telling them of his ideas for a community improvement association, and asking that a representative of each organization be present at a public meeting scheduled for a month hence. The letter stated that any group which had a proposal to make for a needed civic improvement should present its case to the assembled group.

More than 500 people attended this meeting. A brief outline of a proposal for the association was given by Mint after which it was supported and discussed by several of the other original founders of

DAFMI. A number of prominent citizens quickly voiced their support of the proposal. The assembly decided that a group of 15 people should be chosen from the floor to draw up a constitution and by-laws, and serve as initial directors, for an organization to be called the Denton Association for Municipal Improvement, Incorporated. Fourteen of the 15 men which the originators of the idea had in mind were elected to the board of directors with Nate Overman being selected instead of Sy Denton.

We might explain here why a labor representative was put on the DAFMI board of directors. A number of the top men stated that, "We wouldn't dare neglect labor. They could make trouble for us. The labor representative does not contribute much to DAFMI, but we feel it is good public relations to have a labor man on the board." Nate Overman pointed this out when he said, "They know they can't neglect labor."

The sponsors of specific civic improvement programs were then asked to present their proposals to the assembled group. Seven different community projects were thus proposed and advocated to the assembly. A motion by Heintz suggested that letters listing these seven proposals be sent to each of the 227 organizations in the community asking them to have their members rank the various proposals in the order which they believed that consideration should be given for the good of the community. The suggestion was adopted with a general feeling of satisfaction that some order had been brought forth out of chaos to the benefit of everyone in Denton.

The Daily Enterprise carried features, news items and editorials of high praise for Mr. Hint and all the citizens who so ably contributed toward finding a way for Denton to take a long step forward. One editorial stated that the formation and continued support of DAFMI

was a step which would be acclaimed far and wide, and for which the coming generations of Denton could forever thank their forefathers for their far-sightedness.

The directors of DAFI went to work immediately and "prepared" a constitution and by-laws for the new organization which was published in full in the Enterprise, again with high praise for those individuals selected by their fellowmen and entrusted with such a high responsibility. At the first meeting of the board of directors, it was decided that a group of 25 advisory trustees should be selected. Many sub-leaders were appointed as advisory trustees, as were members of the clergy, veterans and labor groups. Mr. Mint pointed out during the interview that the appointment of advisory trustees served two basic purposes. One purpose for having advisory trustees was to select and train some of the younger men in the community to eventually take their place in the community leadership structure. The second purpose was that this pattern served to tie DAFI more closely to the general community.

We see thus far that the continuing pressure for providing needed civic improvements finally brought results. The Denton power leaders became more aware of their responsibilities to the community. They accepted the challenge and took steps to provide for the orderly development of the community.

At the same time the men of power devised a system to support their power positions as well as providing for perpetuation of the system.

The foregoing chapters have provided the setting within which the Denton power leaders exercised their authority and influence com-

ponents in major decisions affecting the community. The application of social power in decision-making processes within a social system constitutes the core of this study.

We are now ready to discuss the actual decision-making processes observed in the community. It is this phase of the study which will be treated in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

A. Introduction

One of the hypotheses accepted at the outset of this study was that major decisions are made in informal structures and legitimized in formal structures. An exploration of this hypothesis requires an examination of the total process of decision-making in a community and the role of relevant groups and individuals concerned.

To accomplish this purpose we will present an empirical analysis of eight specific cases of decision-making in the Denton community. The eight cases represent a variety of problems faced by the power leaders and will, therefore, permit an analysis of the application of social power in a variety of community situations.

We will notice that most of the cases analyzed represent positive action by the power leaders in support of a particular project which was successfully carried out. On the other hand, we will include several instances where the men of power used their influence in behind the scenes maneuvers to prevent community acceptance of particular proposals.

The following analyses will indicate that not all the power leaders actively participate in every major policy decision. Some cases involve only a few while other cases involve all of the men of power in the decision-making process. How many of the power leaders

participate in a decision depends on the size and scope of the project as well as on the interest of the individual power leader.

Another point which will be brought out is that relatively few individuals participate in the making of decisions, while in carrying out the decisions, a great many individuals participate.

An analysis of the decision-making process must, of necessity, also include an account of the various legitimation devices employed by decision-makers. Although some legitimation procedures are mentioned in this chapter, the basic legitimation and execution phases of the decision-making process will be more thoroughly explored in the following chapter.

We noted in Chapter IV that the most prominent men of power in Denton formed an organization which was accorded considerable authority and which served as a means for them to exercise their social power in making decisions. It became necessary, therefore, for them to learn to work together in a closely knit and formally constituted organization of their own design. We will see that the power wielders did learn considerable about how to get along with each other in a closely knit unit. Their initial actions were disturbed by occasional disagreement, but, as experience accumulated, the operations proceeded with increasing smoothness.

Group opinion among the power leaders on some particular project was sometimes difficult to accept by individual members who had strong feelings against a major policy decision. The group of power leaders, however, had a strong enough unity of purpose when committed to a project that they usually saw it through without too much dissension. A good statement of this principle is that, "The initiators

are committed to a group project, which means that they are, to that extent, committed to each other."[1] Barnard pointed out that, "The vitality of an organization lies in the willingness of individuals to contribute forces to the cooperative system."[2] Willingness depends on vested interests and on satisfaction they get from the system. A person's conception of a problem situation and the subsequent actions he is likely to take depend on his past experiences and on his view of the particular situation confronting him.[3]

The policy-makers in Denton usually do not take a stand on community issues which appear extremely controversial. If they do discuss a controversial issue, a final decision on the matter is postponed, or the decision is kept quiet until controversy about the issue subsides. The power leaders believe that open participation of one or more of them in controversial issues would present a picture of disharmony among power leaders. This would tend to threaten their power positions in the community as well as causing undue difficulty in gaining community legitimation for subsequent decisions.

The men of power realize that they cannot force major policy decisions on the community or on the sub-leader structure and not be subject to criticism or doubts about their position of influence. Several men of power mentioned that they do not want the community to feel

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[1] C. Sower, J. Holland, K. Tiedke, and W. Freeman, Patterns of Community Involvement, Free Press, Glencoe, 1957, p. 56.

[2] Chester I. Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1951, p. 82.

[3] W. I. Thomas, Social Behavior and Personality, (E. H. Volkart, Editor), Social Science Research Council, New York, 1951, pp. 57-58.

that they are dictatorial in any way. Hunter stated in his study that, "A careful watch is kept for what 'will go' and for what 'will not go'."[4] The power leaders are subject to pressures and counter pressures in the decision-making process. Leighton pointed to this dilemma when he stated that, "Men and women engaged in making policy, whether the level be high or low, are always subject to determinants not of their own choosing."[5] The ability to keep exterior pressures at a minimum greatly facilitates the decision-making process.

B. Social Power in Operation

Since social processes take place within the limitations of specific events and existing institutional arrangements, the plan of the following sections of this chapter concerns the actual behavior of power leaders in a variety of decision-making situations.

An accurate determination of community attitudes toward a specific policy decision was found necessary by the policy makers to facilitate community acceptance of their decisions. The power leaders, therefore, exerted considerable effort to assess community attitudes toward a particular decision before making the decision public. This strategy provided assurance to the power leaders that their decisions would gain acceptance in the community. Each completed community project which had the support of the power leaders, therefore, contributed toward establishing institutionalized charisma to the D/FMI organization

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[4] Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1953, p. 111.

[5] Alexander H. Leighton, Human Relations in a Changing World, E. P. Dutton and Company, New York, 1949, p. 147.

which was constituted primarily of power leaders.

As this study progressed it became evident that each subsequent DAFTI supported community project proceeded with increasing facility. This indicates not only that the power leaders were keenly aware of community needs, but further that the general public sanctioned their behavior.

Since one of the purposes of DAFTI was to act as a repository of funds for civic improvements, some method had to be found whereby these funds would be forthcoming. At the suggestion of Lester M. Hint, a number of the larger industries in Denton made substantial contributions to DAFTI to show that they were fully in accord with the scheme. It was soon realized, however, that this method would not bring in any great amount of money, when consideration was given to the many projects which had been proposed.

The power leaders, through the DAFTI board of directors, planned a special meeting to decide on ways and means of getting more contributions. It was decided that a special dinner meeting should be called at the Denton Pioneer clubrooms to which all the major business and industrial leaders in the community would be invited.

At this meeting of business leaders one of the DAFTI board members explained its organization and purposes. Another member pointed out the tremendous good which DAFTI could accomplish for their community. Mr. Hint then went into detail and explained the advantages to corporations in contributing from their excess profits into the DAFTI fund. Such contributions, he told the group, would actually not cost the contributors very much. He cited the case of his own firm, "Each dollar we put into DAFTI actually costs us only a few cents because it comes

out of our taxes and it means that we pay that much less to the federal government," he pointed out. He continued by stating that, "Not only is this a good reason for making contributions to DAFMI, but a more important reason is that the money stays right here in Denton where it is badly needed. Just look around you," Mint asked, "you will see that we need many civic improvements in our community." Mint continued in this vein for some time. He accomplished his purpose since many of those in attendance became more aware of the needs of their community.

At the close of this meeting of business leaders 27 representatives of the larger firms agreed to contribute five percent of their annual gross income into the DAFMI fund for civic improvements. The results of this meeting were not publicized in the newspaper because the leaders believed that it might cause individual members to feel that it was not necessary for them to join DAFMI or to make contributions to it.

Memorial field project. The first major project undertaken by DAFMI, and supported by the power leaders, was to provide adequate outdoor athletic facilities in the community. This also served as a community memorial to the veterans of World War II.

This project served to establish DAFMI, and indirectly the power leaders, as the community sanctioned system of providing needed civic improvements. Considerable effort was put forth to assure participation from every segment of the community in this project.

At an early meeting of the DAFMI board of directors it was decided to send a letter to all organizations previously contacted telling them of the seven civic projects which had been proposed at the public meeting when DAFMI was formally organized. It will be recalled

that this was one of the decisions reached at the public meeting where DAFMI was accorded official sanction in the community. This letter also served the purpose of legitimizing subsequent decisions of the power leaders.

Each organization to which the letter was sent polled its members and results were tabulated in Lester Mint's office. The results indicated that priority should be given to an athletic field as a war memorial to veterans. The project receiving the second most votes was for new facilities for the youth organization.

The fact that a war memorial in the form of an athletic field was chosen by the organizations in Denton as the first civic project to be undertaken by DAFMI pleased Lester Mint no little bit. Mint had been a very active athlete in his youth, and his interests still rested with various athletic programs. Since "L. M." had been elected chairman of the board of DAFMI, he exerted a great deal of effort in the direction of the memorial field. He, in fact, served as overall committee chairman both for the drive for funds as well as for the overall planning and construction of the memorial field. It became a personal triumph with him to see it take shape and finally be brought to conclusion.

The Laswell Company contributed a great deal of money to the memorial field project, and Mr. Mint loaned a number of his employees to the effort at no cost to the project. The fact that this completed facility was used by the sons and daughters of a great many Denton citizens made them feel it was truly something for them and their children, as well as the community at large. This accomplishment both pleased Mr. Mint and further established him as the great humanitarian

and benefactor in the eyes of many citizens.

Many sub-leaders and some top leaders in the community heaped repeated praise on "L. M." for his outstanding leadership and for his feeling for the community. Repeated public praise of Mr. Mint for his ability and demonstrated community interest tended to build up a sense of charisma about him, particularly among the sub-leaders in the community.[6] A number of respondents, both among sub-leaders and laymen, indicated that, if Lester Mint is for a project, it will usually succeed. Reasons given for this conviction are that Mr. Mint has financial resources at his command and also that past accomplishments demonstrate his great ability. What many respondents did not know is that, if Mr. Mint concluded a project would not "go over" in the community, he would not become associated with it in any public way. Lester Mint stated during the interview, "After the successful completion of the memorial field, citizens changed their attitudes. They saw where their money went. A much more generous attitude toward giving developed."

The experience gained during this project greatly enhanced the position of DAFMI in the community. Since the board of directors was composed mostly of power leaders in the community, the successful completion of the memorial field constituted an indirect endorsement of their positions as powers in the community, and gave considerable confidence to these leaders. They judged that their position as men of power was now definitely established in the community.

The hospital project. The successful completion of the DAFMI sponsored memorial field project seemed to inspire confidence not only

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[6] H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, Oxford University Press, New York, 1946, pp. 245-246.

among the power leaders, but throughout many segments of the community.

A number of community interest groups quickly approached DAFMI to enlist support for their project. In order to maintain control of community projects, the power leaders decided that no new project should be undertaken immediately. They were apprehensive lest another major project at this time might not be acceptable in the community and this would reflect unfavorably on their power position.

The power leaders were able to exercise sufficient control to prevent any new major project from becoming a serious issue at this time.

According to the initial poll of community organizations, the next major project to be undertaken by DAFMI was to provide more adequate facilities for the youth organization which had been revitalized by Tim Randall. By this time, however, Joe Kelley had become president of the board of directors of this youth organization.

When detailed discussions were started on providing the new youth organization facilities, another problem was presented. Three men, Jim Montgomery, George Russel and Oliver Smith, who were directors of the Denton hospital, and also of DAFMI, decided that, since DAFMI had proven itself, "we ought to see about getting an addition to the hospital". The need for more hospital facilities in Denton was generally recognized in the community. These three men maintained that providing adequate hospital facilities was more important than construction of facilities for the use of only one group in the community, that of the youth organization.

Smith, Montgomery and Russel contacted Carl Buckman, relative to hospital needs. They wanted his support in having the hospital needs

met before new youth facilities were constructed. Buckman, a member of a large religious group in the community, immediately saw an opening and asked for time to think it over. Two days later Smith, Montgomery and Russel had lunch with Buckman to further discuss the hospital problem. Buckman mentioned that for a number of years his religious group had been thinking of building a large hospital in Denton. In fact, he stated, member solicitation for funds had already started. Buckman pointed out that, if hospital improvements had a chance to be the next DAFMI approved project, the community might as well do a complete job of providing needed hospital facilities for the whole community, including a sizeable hospital as had been planned by his group. He indicated that, in light of the fact that the organization poll indicated new youth facilities receiving the second highest number of votes, his paper could not support putting the hospital before the youth facilities unless a complete hospital program was considered. If, however, a complete hospital program could be worked out, Buckman guaranteed that his newspaper, would do everything within its power to promote the hospital program as well as any future project undertaken by DAFMI.

The proposal by Mr. Buckman was too much for the three hospital board members to digest at once. They felt that it would be wise to consult with some others to learn how they felt about it. Each of the three hospital board members thereafter sought out one or two power leaders for opinions. They found most of the power leaders in favor of the overall hospital program rather than providing new youth organization facilities at this time. The three hospital board members were somewhat surprised at their findings.

What surprised the three hospital board members was not that their initial proposal of placing a hospital addition before the youth organization facility gained acceptance, but the fact that this idea was so readily accepted by so many in light of expressed community wishes through the organization poll. They were quite apprehensive and feared that such a large goal coming after only a moderate effort of the athletic memorial field would not be accepted by the community, and would tend to defeat the prestige already built up by DMFI.

It was later learned that, following the initial contact of Buchman with the three hospital board members, he set in motion a chain of events which lead to a pressure group talking campaign by members of his religious group. Within a short time, many of the sub-leaders in the community as well as many of the top leaders spoke favorably for a community hospital program as the next major need in the community. The writer learned that Buchman personally had talked to a number of the top men of power in Denton between the time the hospital proposal was first brought to his attention and the time the three hospital board members had a chance to approach these same power leaders. It must be remembered that Mr. Buchman had been considered the most powerful man in the community before he retired from active life. It was only then that Mr. Mint gained recognition as the top man in town. Buchman, therefore, was in a good position to come back to an active role in support of the overall hospital program.

When Joe Kelley, then president of the youth organization board of directors, learned that community hospital facilities were being considered ahead of the expressed community wishes for new youth organization facilities, he became very antagonistic. Kelley

immediately visited Tim Randall and a few others at or near the top power structure. He was calmly told to take it easy and they would see what could be done. This did not in any way pacify the explosive Joe Kelley. At the following meeting of DAFMI, of which Kelley was a director, although he monopolized the discussion, he did not get much formal encouragement. He stomped out of the meeting promising to expose the "schemers" on the DAFMI board of directors. The hospital group, however, prevailed, and the DAFMI board of directors approved the hospital improvement program as the next major project to be undertaken. Mr. Mint pointed out to the board that he was convinced that hospital expansion was an emergency situation and would be of greater benefit to more Denton citizens than the youth organization program. He emphasized that "democracy" should prevail and that whatever the majority of DAFMI board members decided should bind all other members to support the decision.

Following this action by the DAFMI board of directors, it was noted that some way must be found to placate Kelley and, if necessary, to apply sufficient pressures to keep him in line. Lester Mint talked this over with Jim Montgomery and it was decided that Montgomery, plus the new executive secretary of the youth organization, should talk to Kelley. This was done in Montgomery's office. Kelley, however, did not seem to be convinced. Mint, therefore, visited Kelley at his home and pointed out to him that hospitals were essential in any community and that he might better see fit to go along with the majority. If not, it might be difficult for him to get enough good workers to help on the youth organization program which was definitely next on the DAFMI schedule. Mint also promised to exert his personal influence to help Kelley in the youth organization program. Shortly after this visit

Kelley wrote a letter to DAFMI indicating his support of the hospital program.

The DAFMI board of directors thought that their decision to support a community hospital construction program at this time needed additional legitimation. It will be remembered that the poll of organizations indicated that new youth organization facilities should follow the completion of the memorial athletic field. DAFMI board members, therefore, communicated with many of the community organization leaders and pointed out the pressing need for additional hospital facilities. The Denton Enterprise also carried numerous items about lack of facilities and crowded conditions at the hospital.

Following these personal contacts and newspaper publicity, a letter was sent by DAFMI to all organizations which had participated in the initial poll. The letter pointed out the immediate need for added hospital facilities and asked that organization members discuss the problem and send their opinion to DAFMI for their guidance. No mention was made in the letter of the decision by the DAFMI board of directors to support a hospital building program at this time. The final result was that a large majority of opinions received by DAFMI expressed a favorable attitude toward proceeding with additional community hospital facilities.

In the period following the DAFMI board's decision, and during which the hospital fund campaign was developed, Carl Buchman, and two of the men on the hospital board, who also belonged to his religious group, kept pressing DAFMI for a larger and larger share of the proposed amount of money to be provided. One hospital board member said that, "We felt we had to have the support of the paper to put this

thing over in the community." Such concern was to be expected since Mr. Buchman still was a powerful man in the community, and DMFMI was only in its infancy. Another board member stated that this pressure on the board almost caused the whole hospital program to "blow up" several times before it was finally resolved.[7]

The action which put a stop to the wrangling occurred when Montgomery, who was chairman of the hospital board, finally put his foot down and said, "this is it". Montgomery was known for firmness once he has taken a stand on a problem. He had recently served as an important committee chairman in the memorial field project which gave him considerable prestige in the community. Mr. Buchman became aware that he could not successfully push for a greater share of funds to be made available.

A large committee was formed by DMFMI to handle all the details of the community hospital program. Gregory Heintz was selected as the overall chairman of this committee. Heintz was selected because he had considerable stature among power leaders and sub-leaders in the community, and because he was one of the few top power men who had not become involved in the hospital vs youth organization dispute.

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[7] It would be interesting to learn whether DMFMI, after a few more years of successful operation, could overcome concerted pressure from a powerful source such as the daily newspaper. In a study of a powerful real estate board Bouma indicated that the real estate board repeatedly was able to win public support for its position even against strong opposition from the daily newspapers. Donald H. Bouma, An Analysis of the Social Power Position of the Real Estate Board in Grand Rapids, Michigan, Unpublished Ph D Thesis, Michigan State College, East Lansing, 1952, p. 196.

The community was able to raise enough funds to provide for needed facilities both for the Denton hospital and for the large new hospital advocated by the religious group. Great effort was expended by many of the power leaders to assure that this enterprise would be oversubscribed. This would again make it appear as another successful D.F.T.I effort in the community. A professional fund raiser was engaged to handle the details.

As the hospital campaign came to the deadline with some indication that the goal would not be reached, the top leaders put on pressure to assure success. Lester Mint, Carl Buchman and Herman Schultz were imposed on to personally telephone some of their friends, former residents of Denton, who had wealth, and ask them to make substantial contributions. Mint, in addition, called several heads of chains in big cities with outlets in Denton to impress them with the fact that they are actually a part of the Denton community and should therefore be interested in its welfare. Hospitals, he told them, are essential to the health and welfare of the citizens and need the support of all interests in the community. With these additional efforts the hospital campaign was oversubscribed.

There are a number of significant items manifest in the foregoing section. First, we note that Carl Buchman was able to enter the decision-making picture and exert his influence on the hospital board members even though Mr. Buchman usually does not actively participate in policy decisions; his retirement and ill health does not permit him to play as active a role as many of the other power leaders.

A second important point which should be made is that the three hospital board members (Smith, Montgomery and Russel) did not

assume the responsibility of speaking for the other power leaders until the problem had been discussed with them. This reflects the feeling of mutual co-operation among the power leaders as well as the principle that all of the power leaders have a right to know, and be consulted, on a major decision in which they may be interested.

Third, we note also that several elements of social control were brought to bear on Joe Kelley along with the threat of sanctions, if he were to continue to publicly oppose the position taken by the power leaders.

Fourth, it was also shown that the power leaders had sufficient intra-community access to gain legitimation for their decision to support the hospital program rather than the youth organization facilities at this time. Fifth, the extra-community access of several power leaders was also brought into play to assure success of the hospital campaign.

Youth organization facilities. After the power leaders were assured that pledges resulting from the hospital campaign would be forthcoming, they started to make plans for providing needed facilities for the youth organization of which Joe Kelley was president.

There remained little question that this project would now be sponsored by DAFTI. The reader will recall that Lester Mint, the most prominent man among the power leaders, had previously committed himself on this program.

When DAFTI became active in support of this program, Joe Kelley was made chairman of the development committee. Mint explained that, "Now the pusher of a particular project heads up the overall committee for that project. He then gets his sub-committee heads and

other workers from the community." Past experience indicates this to be a desirable method.

Kelley, because of his recent actions, had some difficulty in getting men to accept appointments to his committee. Jim Montgomery explained that, because Kelley refused to participate actively in the hospital campaign, he was "being given some of his own medicine". Kelley called Lester Mint, who was vacationing in California at that time, and explained his difficulties. Mr. Mint, remembering his promise to Kelley during the hospital discussions, personally called those men in the community whom Kelley wanted on his committee, and urged them to accept positions as requested by Kelley. As a result of this, Kelley was able to get the men he wanted to serve on his committee. The campaign for youth organization facilities was oversubscribed, which makes the third successful major project of DAFMI in its short life.

Several leaders mentioned that Kelley had learned a good lesson, that he is now a better man to work with. They pointed out that, when all but one or two members of a group agree on a policy, all group members should work for the agreed upon program. Public opposition of one member of a policy making group may cause disharmony and public distrust in the policy making group.

Denton Development Corporation. The exercise of social power in a community decision-making process may, on occasion, involve a very limited number of even the highest ranked power leaders. In the following case we note that only five of the fifteen high ranked power leaders participated in formulating a major policy decision. Even then, Lester Mint, the highest ranked member, served only in a limited capacity.

This case further illustrates the behavior of power leaders

in behind the scenes actions in the development of a major community program. The case in point involves the formation of the Denton Development Corporation subsequently referred to as DDC.

Gregory Heintz thought that a concerted effort should be made to increase employment opportunities in the Denton community. He discussed the idea with Lester Mint and received his nod to proceed and determine what could be done. Heintz then had lunch with Lloyd Buckman, Herman Schultz and Tim Randall at which time he explained his idea to them. These men were, of course, interested not only in the growth of their community, but also in their own business expansion. Frequent luncheon meetings were held by this group of four power leaders over a period of months to decide just how to go about putting the idea to work and how to make it acceptable to other top leaders as well as to the community at large. Not only would it have to be acceptable, but they felt that the community at large should actively support any proposal which might be forthcoming.

When the elements of a basic proposal had been sufficiently developed by Heintz, Buckman, Schultz and Randall, they talked to some of the other community leaders about their proposition. The next move was to hold two larger luncheon meetings in the Denton Pioneers clubrooms, with selected power leaders and sub-leaders in attendance, at which finishing touches were incorporated in the proposal. This was followed by a dinner meeting including 12 of the power leaders and some of the sub-leaders who were viewed as helpful in putting the proposition over in the community.

After the top men endorsed the proposed program, Heintz started looking for a man with experience in securing new industries

for a community, one who could serve as manager for DDC. The manager must not only have experience, but he should be able to gain acceptance with the many people in the community with whom he would have to work. A prospective manager was located after several months of searching. Heintz interviewed the prospect, and discussed salary terms and conditions of employment. The prospect indicated that he would come to Denton to head up a community development program, which had as its basis the procurement of new industries, provided that he would be guaranteed a certain salary plus a three year contract. Heintz, quickly returned home and got approval from the power leaders to proceed with final arrangements.

An attorney among the sub-leaders was asked to prepare a constitution for the proposed organization, but to keep it under cover for the time being until all basic details could be agreed upon. When all these details had been prepared, another meeting of the 25 leaders was held at which financial aspects were discussed. Mint, as well as some of the other top men, indicated that their firm was willing to put in a specific amount of money in support of the program each year for a three year period.

We thus find that a very small group of men working entirely informally had developed the DDC to the stage where a constitution had been written and accepted, a manager had been engaged, and a guarantee of at least three fourths of the necessary funds was apparent.

The next move was to arrange a special luncheon meeting at the Denton Hotel to which all the top leaders, most of the sub-leaders, and all the city and county officials were given a special invitation. It was the intention to propose to this assembly of prominent citizens

that something should be done to encourage community development and to create more job opportunities in the area.

A very brief statement of purposes and a proposed organizational structure had been mimeographed and was presented to all in attendance. Mint spoke briefly to the group expressing his belief in such a proposal and indicated his support both personally and financially. His support was followed by statements from other top leaders, which lead to expressions of support by a number of the other invited guests. The meeting ended with a motion voted unanimously in support of the proposal, the election of the slate of directors to head up the organization, the employment of a director, and an authorization of a canvass for funds among the top businessmen in the community.

It is doubtful if more than the 25 top and sub-leaders in Denton knew that the meeting started with a constitution for the organization written, an executive secretary hired and three fourths of the funds already guaranteed.

Community Chest reorganization. A recognized principle of social control is that, if it is not possible to apply sufficient controls on an organization, it may be necessary to place cooperating persons within the organization and build up controls from within. This principle was applied by the power leaders in the following case.

This case further illustrates a system developed by the power leaders for training promising sub-leaders for more responsible leadership positions. It also served the purpose of strengthening existing positions of the power leaders.

The Denton community chest was organized many years ago. For a long time, however, it was primarily a one man operation. Several of

the power leaders asserted that the chest should be reorganized to serve more adequately the purpose for which it was designed--all the social welfare agencies depending on community support which were felt to be significant to the community at large. Jim Montgomery, because of his proven ability as a promoter, was asked to become a director of the chest. He was later able to encourage several other men of power to also accept board positions. This was followed by a complete reorganization of the community chest with Montgomery being selected as its president. Under new leadership, the community chest prospered, gained greater recognition in the community and eventually engaged a permanent executive secretary to handle the business aspects of the chest program.

The power leaders, who were now in control of the community chest, realized that responsible positions in the community chest could serve as a fine training ground for promising sub-leaders in the community. The chest became very well accepted by the community at large, and for several years has oversubscribed its goal. This gave the community chest leaders much influence and authority in the community.

Each community chest campaign is under the direction of a general chairman appointed by the chest board of directors. Under the chairman we find division chairmen who are called majors. These, in turn, have under them a number of captains and lieutenants. Thus all the major actors in the system have a respected title. Each of these also has numerous people under his direct supervision. The system lends itself well to the training of younger men to take a more responsible position and be watched by the top men for any indication of abilities which would fit them for larger, more responsible positions. A number

of the younger men in Denton have risen in the power structure through active participation in community chest programs under the direction of recognized power leaders. By the same token a number have also been eliminated from consideration; they just did not measure up to the standards set by the power leaders in the community. Several power leaders stated that, if a man is to be accepted, recognized and given major responsibilities, he must be able to work well with other men both above and below his position. Any system must depend on its ability to select and develop other men if it is to survive. Herman Schultz explained that, "some just have what it takes and some don't".

School issue defeated. The foregoing cases have presented examples of successful operations of Denton power leaders for community projects which they actively supported. In the remaining two cases of this section we will present instances where the power leaders used their influence to defeat a proposal which had gained considerable community support.

We will notice in these cases that the power leaders took no open position either in support or in opposition to the projects under discussion. They did exert their influence with the city board of realtors and succeeded in having the board take a stand against the proposals. Realtors, in turn, invoked symbols of hardship on poor families in the community, they implied that the school bond proposal included too many "frills" and constituted a waste of taxpayers' money and they further indicated that the school proposal was sponsored by "unthinking" people who had little concern for the welfare of their community.

The power leaders were thus able not only to secure defeat of

an issue, but also to control the order of major community projects whether they be tax supported or not. The first case deals with a large school bond issue proposed in the community.

Denton school facilities were, at this time, becoming quite inadequate. Not only had it become necessary to abandon and replace some of the older structures, but because of steady population growth, there was need for added school facilities in the city. Several citizen groups interested in improved school facilities in the community, without first consulting with the men of power, were able to rally the sympathy and support of a sizeable number of people in the community for a large bond issue to provide what was considered a program of total school facilities needed in Denton. The Denton Enterprise gave much space to these needs, but again withheld editorial support for the program. Many of the sub-leaders took an active part in this program with two sub-leaders accepting co-chairmanship of this drive for needed school improvements. Numerous public meetings were held with good attendance by the citizens of Denton.

When it appeared as though the large school bond issue was gaining momentum, a number of the larger property owners, including several power leaders, approached the Denton board of realtors to exert pressure to have the bond issue defeated when it came up for public referendum. Many people were still paying on their pledges toward new hospital facilities and an additional tax burden at this time might keep some people from fulfilling their pledges. Large property owners were quite apprehensive and feared additional taxes.

The realtors quickly rallied to the cause in support of their clients and themselves. Letters to the editor were written by a number

of people expressing opposition to the bond issue because it would materially raise taxes, and also indicating that the proposals included too many frills which were not at all necessary in the local schools. A talking campaign was started and a number of large ads appeared in the Enterprise just before the vote asking all "thinking people" to vote against the proposed "waste of public funds for unnecessary frills." It was also suggested to the co-chairman of the citizens group that it might not be wise at that time to load the community with such a large debt which they and their families would of necessity have to bear.

The school bond issue was defeated by a considerable majority. The most active of the co-chairmen of the school improvement bond issue proposal has never served as a community committee chairman on any project since the defeat of the school bond issue. The men of power did not give public approval to the school bond issue, nor did they openly speak against it. The fact that they worked behind the scenes with the realtors was a significant factor in the defeat of the school bond issue.

Civic auditorium. The second instance where power leaders used their influence to secure defeat of a proposal which had gained considerable community support will now be presented.

For some time it had been the expressed hope of a number of Denton city officials to have an all-purpose civic auditorium built in the Denton civic center area. A number of efforts had been made toward this goal, but substantial public support was never forthcoming.

At about the time DAFMI was considering a campaign for the promised youth organization facilities, one of the city councilmen and a small group of sub-leaders started to enlist support from public officials and citizens for a civic auditorium. A great deal of effort

was expended in visiting other cities where such a facility was operating successfully, developing plans for the structure, and telling the citizens all that it could mean toward the development of their community. This activity took about a year before the civic auditorium sponsors were ready to begin actively enlisting citizen support for their project.

A number of the DAFMI board of directors were approached to accept this project as the next one on their schedule of civic improvements. The DAFMI board members approached indicated disapproval of the proposed civic auditorium at this time. A number of informal discussions among board members showed that DAFMI would not support the civic auditorium proposal. The two reasons given for this position were that pledges resulting from the youth organization facilities campaign were still being paid by many people and would continue for another year. It was also felt that another campaign at this time might not be successful and thereby discredit DAFMI and its directors in the eyes of the community. Several DAFMI directors were of the opinion that the type of the proposed civic auditorium, because of its nature and probable uses, some of which might be of a commercial character, should be considered as a private responsibility.

Nate Overman and two sub-leaders, Harold Winston and Henry Cabot, acted as organizers and directors of the civic auditorium proposal. Overman and Cabot were "advised" by several of the men of power to work slowly on the civic auditorium proposal, but they did not follow this advice. Eventually the proposal was voted on at a public referendum, and was soundly defeated at the polls. Because Cabot worked strongly for the civic auditorium, even though he knew that the power

leaders opposed the project, he has been "talked to". He is being closely watched, but thus far he still retains his position as manager of a national retail outlet in the community.

In closing this section of this chapter we can state that the decisions analyzed were indeed arrived at informally by the men of power. Not all power leaders participate in all major decisions, but they are kept informed by those who do participate.

Not only have the power leaders been able to gain community acceptance for their proposals, but in two cases cited, they were able to exert influence to secure defeat of proposals which they would not support.

The power leaders have been able to exercise controls on individuals in the community, specifically among the sub-leaders, when they deemed it necessary to do so. The power leaders, in addition, had established systems through which promising sub-leaders can be given responsible positions so they can be watched and given greater responsibilities after they had proven themselves. A more detailed summary of findings will be included at the end of this chapter.

C. Project Approval by Power Leaders

In the preceding analysis of decision-making processes we have seen that projects which were sanctioned and supported by the power leaders were brought to a successful conclusion. At the same time, the reader will recall that, when power leaders withheld support of a major project (the civic auditorium, for example), the proposed project failed to materialize.

It is, therefore, significant to note that the accumulated

social power of the Denton power leaders is decisive in gaining approval for major community projects.

In order to ascertain the extent of social power possessed by the Denton power leaders the following question was asked of each person interviewed: must clearance be received from any influencials before a major community project is undertaken?

The power leaders replied that this depended on the project. If it is something which should be channeled through DMFMI, then its board should be consulted; if not, then it should not matter. Since DMFMI is controlled by the power leaders, and no major community project has succeeded in recent years without approval by DMFMI, this is an admission by the power leaders that they can exercise effective control over major community projects. We have seen in both the school bond issue and in the civic auditorium proposal that disapproval, or lack of approval, from the men of power can be disasterous to a proposal. We have noted further that the school bond issue was defeated both because of non-approval by power leaders as well as by behind the scenes operation of a number of the power leaders.

Even though clearance for a proposal has not been granted by the power leaders, they do not openly oppose a project if it appears that the project has considerable citizen support. Such action would likely be interpreted by some citizens as the men of power being selfish and opposed to progress. Such citizen feeling would tend to curtail influence of the power leaders as well as causing greater difficulty in gaining legitimacy.

In response to the question on clearance, the sub-leaders quite unanimously indicated that any major community project must have

clearance from, at least, some of the power leaders before it can succeed. This opinion is very prominent among sub-leaders since many have hopes of eventually being accepted as a peer by the power leaders. The sub-leaders, therefore, generally are careful not to go against the wishes of power leaders. One respondent stated that, "If these men (power leaders) are against a proposal, you might as well fold your tent and go home".

In contrast to the above, the reader will recall that three recognized sub-leaders (Overman, Cabot and Winston) served as organizers and directors for the civic auditorium proposal even though they were aware that the proposal was not supported by the power leaders.

Mr. Overman, a prominent local labor leader, was able to play the role of a director for the proposal because, as he later pointed out, "I had nothing to lose and the project was all right". Both Overman and several power leaders expressed the opinion that, because of his position with the union, he will never be accepted as a peer by the power leaders while, at the same time, he is likely to continue to represent labor elements in the community.

Mr. Cabot, on the other hand, overplayed his role as local manager for a large business concern. Cabot is relatively new in the community and he has been quite outspoken on several occasions. Even though Cabot has been "talked to" as the result of his actions, his prominent position in the community ascribes him considerable status. Cabot, incidentally, indicated to the writer that he has no particular ambitions toward becoming a prominent power leader in the community.

Mr. Winston, as has been pointed out, is a shrewd politician

and exercises his influence primarily in the politicial arena. A number of informants stated that Winston has political aspirations on a state or national level rather than aspiring to a position as a local community power leader.

When the question on clearance was asked of the laymen, all those who replied indicated strongly that power leaders can prevent any major proposal from gaining acceptance in the community. Laymen generally expressed a feeling of futility because they either recognized or attributed large measures of social control to the power leaders.

A number of laymen expressed ambivalence toward the community power leaders. They posed the dilemma of needing approval for a project from power leaders yet not being able to contact any power leaders directly. They resent the necessity of "going through channels" in reaching power leaders.

A summary statement of this section would indicate that clearance from power leaders is quite essential if the sponsors of a major community project expect to succeed. Power leaders tend to play down this aspect of social control while sub-leaders recognize the system and work with it. Laymen also indicated recognition of these elements of control but expressed resentment of the system.

The above summary conforms to one of the propositions accepted in the frame of reference for this study: high status individuals feel they can control a social system, middle ranking groups work with the system while the working class is frequently suspicious of those in positions of authority.

D. Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to present an empirical analysis of eight specific cases in which the Denton power leaders exercised their authority and influence in formulating major policy decisions in the community.

We noted in the previous chapter that the Denton power leaders formed an organization, DAFMI, through which their decisions could be formalized and which, in addition, granted a degree of legitimation to these decisions. DAFMI, therefore, served as an accepted base of operations for the Denton power leaders.

We have hypothesized that most major decisions are made in informal structures and legitimized in formal structures. In six of the eight cases analyzed the major decisions were indeed arrived at informally. Only in major decisions relating to the municipal stadium and the community chest did we note that major decisions were arrived at in formal structures. The initiatory decision on the municipal stadium was arrived at through a poll of organization memberships while the community chest reorganization emanated within the chest board of governors. In all of the eight cases, however, legitimation of decisions was granted by formal structures. These include DAFMI, community organizations, public meetings and public referendums.

Another conclusion flowing from the eight cases presented is that the power leaders permitted themselves to become publicly associated only with positive community programs. A public stand on controversial issues were avoided. In the two projects which were not approved by the men of power, they called forth their intra-community access to secure defeat of the projects at public referendums. The power leaders were thus able not only to exert their influence to assure

defeat of the issues, but their behind the scenes maneuvers prevented the public image from associating the power leaders with an issue which was defeated.

It was also pointed out (in the hospital campaign) that certain power leaders (Lester Mint, Carl Buchman and Herman Schultz) were able to bring into play their extra-community access. This was used to assure success of the hospital campaign for funds when it appeared that there was some question if enough funds would be forthcoming in the Denton community.

The reader will recall that not all of the power leaders participated actively, and to the same degree, in all major decisions. In the development of DDC, for example, only five of the fifteen power leaders played an active role. We need to point out again, however, that all power leaders are kept informed on major issues. This was pointedly indicated in the hospital project when the three power leaders on the hospital board consulted other power leaders before proceeding with the program.

Another conclusion is that the power leaders have large measures of social control which can be brought into play when conditions demand. The threat of sanctions against Joe Kelley to keep him in line is a prime example. Another example was presented when Carl Buchman threatened to withhold newspaper publicity for the hospital project unless his proposal for an overall community hospital campaign were accepted.

The above instance should not be construed as an indication of undue rivalry or in-fighting among the power leaders. As this study progressed there were repeated indications that the Denton power leaders

were able to exercise their power in the community with increasing facility. Cohesive elements among the power leaders were great enough to prevent undue dissension among the power leaders.

A further conclusion to be drawn from this chapter is that raw force and coercion was not applied by the power leaders. We learned rather that the finesse of convincing discussions was used to bring influence to bear on groups or individuals. Only as a last resort was the threat of deprivations called forth (Kelley and the hospital project).

Power leaders in Denton did not participate openly in party politics. This prevented the public from associating them with particular factions or interest groups in the community. It further permitted the power leaders freedom from encumbrances and alliances which might hinder their future activities. We hasten to add, however, that the power leaders had developed workable channels of communication which kept them informed of political plans and activities. A number of power leaders, in addition, gave private support to the political party of their choice.

A final conclusion stemming from this chapter is that it is highly desirable to secure clearance from, at least, some of the power leaders if the sponsors of a particular major community project hope for success. We have pointed out that a project supported by the power leaders is likely to succeed, while non-support or opposition by power leaders is a critical factor in the defeat of a project.

Since the present chapter has presented an analysis of the major decisions-making processes, it logically follows that this section should be followed by an analysis of legitimation devices employed

as well as an examination of the execution phase of the decision-making process. It is these two phases which will constitute the basis of the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI

LEGITIMATION AND EXECUTION

A study of social power is not complete unless consideration is given to the three basic phases of the decision process, namely, the making of decisions, their legitimation and finally execution into action programs.

Policy decisions, regardless of who makes them, will not be effective unless they are accepted by members of the system for whom they are intended, and subsequently govern their future actions. Acceptance of decisions is the test of whether a group actually has recognized power in the social system in which it operates.

When major decisions of a group are consistently translated into action programs, it indicates that the people who made the decisions have handled the legitimation problem skillfully. It indicates further that members of the social system have exerted sufficient efforts to translate the decisions into the kinds of programs satisfactory to them.

The previous chapter constituted an analysis of the exercise of social power in the making of major policy decisions in the Denton community. The present chapter, therefore, will analyze the remaining two phases of the total decision-making process, legitimation and execution.

The process of legitimation as observed in Denton will be discussed in the present section. This will be followed by a brief

section relating to the execution phase of the decision-making process.

A. Legitimation

A policy decision is considered to have legitimacy in American society when it conforms to the customs, beliefs or traditions of the majority of people for whom it has consequences. It has validity when it appears rightful to the people of the social system. Legitimation involves not only the recognition of authority and influence, but also their justification by members of the social system.

MacIver indicates that legitimation is based on authority which, in turn, rests on the roles played and statuses held by those in positions of authority.[1] He frequently indicates that the use of force and coercion plays a prominent role in legitimation processes. It was pointed out in the previous chapter, however, that Denton power leaders did not resort to the use of force in gaining legitimation. We have found in this study that the men who make major policy decisions feel that they do not have a monopoly of authority in all cases to legitimize their decisions. While the power leaders do not have a monopoly of authority, they have found ways to facilitate legitimation. Although this is a complex task, it is not necessarily difficult in this community. Legitimation was given to these decisions by other means, as will be pointed out later.

The three bases of legitimacy proposed by Weber (legal-rational, traditional and charismatic) have, in part, been found applicable in the

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[1] R. M. MacIver, The Web of Government, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1947, p. 83.

legitimation processes in the Denton community. It was learned, however, that legal and charismatic bases were used considerably more frequently than the traditional basis for gaining legitimacy. The observed power structure had not been functioning in its present alignment for a long enough period of time to have a traditional right of legitimation accorded to it.

The concept of social power is frequently not accorded recognition commensurate with the prominent role which it plays in American society. Power is given a negative value, but a high premium is placed on legitimation. We demand legitimation of power, but often there is no routine process for it. Legitimation is, therefore, often a more difficult process than the actual making of decisions by the men of power. Legally constituted bodies, like a city council, are accorded a much higher degree of legitimacy than the less formal, or extra-legal groups which so often enter into the decision-making process of the community.

Policy approval may be given by certain persons, certain groups or by all the people in the system by means of a referendum. We have seen that the most prominent men of power in Denton have not been popularly elected to the constellation of positions which they hold. They, therefore, had to find other means of gaining legitimation for their policy decisions. The men of power in Denton were well organized through the fact that they were in controlling positions of DAFMI. We see, therefore, that an organized minority actually controlled the unorganized majority of citizens in the community.

Acceptance of a policy decision within a legal-rational system implies that members of the system understand the reasons and advantages of a decision, and accept a decision on the basis of social facts.

Denton power leaders are fully aware of this pattern, and sometimes withhold a decision until it appears that it will be understood and accepted by the people in various positions of leadership in the community. We have seen, for example, that the decision to support a program of needed hospital facilities ahead of the scheduled youth organization facilities was temporarily held up. Power leaders convinced enough sub-leaders to cause them to want to make this change in previously accepted plans.

Legitimation agencies. Three basic agencies of legitimation were cited by the Denton power leaders. They are DAFMI, the city council, and the more prominent civic and service clubs in the community.

We have seen that the DAFMI board of directors was composed mostly of Denton power leaders. The men of power themselves have abundant resources of authority and influence which, in turn, gave a measure of legitimation to DAFMI. Another important factor in accounting for the legitimacy accorded to DAFMI was public approval of DAFMI when the idea was first proposed at a public meeting of representatives of all major civic and service clubs, and organizations in the community. Many prominent community leaders felt that DAFMI was, at least, partly their idea. If any of these leaders or organizations were to oppose DAFMI, they would be opposing a structure which they themselves helped establish. Repeated successes, in addition, ascribed qualities of institutionalized charisma to DAFMI. Furthermore, certain power leaders, like Tim Randall and Lester Mint, had charismatic qualities ascribed to them by many people. This fact facilitated the legitimation process.

The city council was felt to be an important legitimation agency because its members are elected by the voters. The council,

therefore, has a legal basis of authority in community matters.

Prominent civic and service organizations in the community were considered important legitimation agencies by the Denton power leaders and by others in the community. Once basic policy decisions are arrived at, the idea may be proposed to a selected organization. Hunter quotes an informant who explains that, "Chamber committees and other civic organizations are brought in on the idea. They all think it's a good idea. They help to get the Council located and established. That's about all there is to it."[2]

Other legitimation devices. One of the enterprises of decision-makers is to provide incentives which will make policy decisions appear rightful, meaningful and acceptable to individuals and interest groups in the community.

The use of symbols involves the invoking of a set of values widely accepted by the members of a system. Symbolism has been used frequently by Denton power leaders to gain legitimation for policy decisions.

Positive symbolism employed by Denton power leaders made reference to patriotism, democracy, idealism, aesthetics, personal health and safety, morality, prestige, job security, and enhanced personal income. Symbolism employed in a negative manner to prevent community approval of several proposals include, unnecessary frills for public buildings, minimizing governmental expenditures, keeping taxes within reasonable bounds and equating a proposal with undemocratic tendencies.

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[2] Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structures, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1953, p. 174.

The power leaders also used other devices for gaining legitimation for their positions or for DAFMI. Favorable newspaper items were used frequently to "educate" the community, and occasional letters to organizations asking for advice and suggestions were used to considerable advantage. Schultz pointed out that most people like to give advice. "We asked for their advice, but that does not mean we always used it," said Schultz. The considerable access possessed by the men of power served the purpose of providing face to face or primary group relations. The attendance of a recognized power leader at a civic organization meeting, like PTA, served to relate the power leaders to community causes supported by the great majority of people, and to equate them with the ordinary citizens in the community. A leader can, in this manner, explain decisions or their meaning to civic leaders on an intimate basis. Several laymen stated with considerable pride that, "Oh yes, I know Tim Randall. He's been to several of our meetings."

An American cultural complex is that most individuals have a strong desire to excel at something, and to be regarded by others as being "cooperative". This is often strong enough to cause individuals to "jump on the bandwagon" when it appears that someone will notice that they haven't taken an active part, or when they feel that some of the men of power will notice them and recognize their abilities. The power leaders are aware of this inclination and mentioned it frequently. They know that they can count on certain individuals, particularly among the sub-leaders, to conform to this pattern.

Men of power know how to delegate authority and responsibility to deserving members of the system, and they also know how, when, and to whom to distribute rewards and punishment. These are some of the reasons

why several sub-leaders said, "When Mint calls, we jump in the car and go". If a sub-leader has intentions of rising in the power structure, he can not afford to pass up any opportunity of associating with the top men, or being of assistance to them.

Legitimation processes. It was learned that a system of legitimation was needed for each new policy decision. We may assume, however, that, as the men of power continue to conform to their role expectations in the community, both they themselves and DAFMI will be accorded additional legitimacy in the community.

We have seen that DAFMI was conceived of, and developed informally by the men of power themselves. One purpose for forming DAFMI was as a protection of the social power positions of the elite. Another reason was to channel needed community improvement programs in an orderly manner, once the power leaders became convinced that a number of proposed community projects had merit and substantial support in the community.

Community legitimation of DAFMI came by means of the public meeting of representatives from the 227 organizations at which the basic idea for DAFMI was proposed. At this meeting a number of the power leaders expressed their concern, and willingness to work with any worthwhile group in the community on needed community improvements. The idea of DAFMI was proposed as the personal opinion of one of the men of power, and as a method of handling the situation. The various organization representatives who had been seeking approval for their project in the community, leaped at the chance of getting some system adopted which would guarantee that some way would be found whereby their proposal would be given the consideration they felt it deserved. Following the public meeting, DAFMI again sent letters to the 227

organizations requesting "opinions" for various proposals. Citizens from all walks of life in the community were thus reached and made to feel that they actually had a part in the decision-making process.

The initial community project sponsored by DAFMI was development of the memorial athletic field. The need for such facilities had long been discussed in the community. In seeking legitimation for this project the power leaders used considerable newspaper publicity which played on symbolic patriotism for the proposed memorial to veterans of the war effort. Another incentive used in gaining legitimation for this project was that it would provide much needed facilities for the recreational use of the youth in the community. "The youth of today," said a newspaper editorial, "will be the leaders of tomorrow."

The community hospital program involved two decisions, both of which needed legitimacy. The first decision was to support a hospital building program ahead of the expressed authority to proceed with a program for new youth association facilities at this time.

Legitimacy for this decision was gained in several ways. One element was that the hospital board was in a position of authority, and its approval of the decision carried substantial legitimacy for large segments of the community. Other methods included appealing to the commonly held social values of meeting the health needs in the community. The Daily Enterprise carried many news items, features, editorials and pictures depicting the inadequacy in the present hospital, and pointing out what improvements and additional facilities were needed. Emotionalism and sympathy for the unfortunate were played on by publishing pictures showing hospital patients on cots in hallways with the caption asking, "Would you be satisfied with this kind of

hospital service, if you were a patient?" Power leaders, hospital board members and professional medical personnel told individuals and organizations of deplorable conditions and inadequate facilities in the hospital. When it appeared that community sentiment favored expanding present hospital facilities, DAFMI sent another letter to the 227 community organizations asking for their advice on whether pressing hospital needs should be taken care of now, or after the proposed new youth organization facilities. Replies indicated strongly that the hospital program should come first.

Another element involved in legitimizing the above decision was to neutralize the opposition of Joe Kelley, president of the youth organization. We have seen that this was done by strong threats of sanctions against Kelley.

The second decision on the hospital program which needed legitimation was to incorporate the privately proposed hospital in the overall hospital building program. This was accomplished through negotiations within the hospital board, through both informal and formal discussions with men of power and the DAFMI board of directors, and again the newspaper appeals. It was necessary to minimize opposition from some individuals and groups opposed to tying public and private hospital facilities together in one project. The religious element was, therefore, played down, and again appeals were made to sympathy for needed facilities rather than to who would have jurisdiction over completed facilities. This same appeal was used by the power leaders to gain support of the program from leaders of the Citizens League, thereby minimizing opposition from League members.

A different method of gaining legitimation was used in forma-

tion of the Denton Development Corporation. Here we noted that an increasingly larger number of people were brought into the program. The initial idea was developed by Heintz. He, in turn, had three top leaders help develop details of the proposal. The next step was approval by the other power leaders and a few selected sub-leaders. All the above actions took place on a strictly informal basis. After all details had been agreed upon by the top men, community legitimation was given at a dinner meeting to which all recognized sub-leaders plus the prominent city and county officials had been invited. Incentives used to gain approval at the dinner meeting included: the need for increased employment opportunities, probable increase in the tax base if any sizeable industry were to locate in the community, increased purchasing power in the community, and the probability that Denton would grow into a "bigger city". Unanimous approval of DDC was given by the more than 200 prominent civic and governmental leaders attending this meeting.

The Denton Enterprise gave wide coverage to the meeting and indicated that DDC was a development sponsored and approved by all the top leaders in the community. The implication was readily accepted in the community, and DDC gained wide support throughout all levels in the community.

The city council was recognized by power leaders, sub-leaders and laymen as an important legitimation agency. The authority of the city council seemed to be unquestioned in the community. An indication of how the city council was used as a legitimation agency is revealed in the following example.

It was agreed by the power leaders that there should be a

public small boat harbor on Oyster Bay. Its purpose was as a haven of refuge for pleasure craft in case of sudden storms on the Bay. The power leaders felt that providing such facilities should be the responsibility of the city government.

One of the city councilmen, a sub-leader, was asked to make the proposal for a small craft harbor at an early council session as something to keep in mind as a future community project. Following this initial proposal, many small craft owners in the area were made aware of the fact that a small harbor might be a possibility, if the city were approached in the right manner. The proposal was subsequently formally discussed by several service clubs in the community.

When the council member again brought up his idea, at the start of the next boating season, the council received many requests and suggestions about a harbor. The council then appointed a committee to look into the matter, and to find out if federal funds would be available for harbor construction. A favorable committee report caused the council to proceed with the development of a small craft harbor.

In the above example we note that the decision to build a small craft harbor was made by the power leaders. Civic organizations and interested individuals were used to promote the idea, and the city council was used as the formal legitimation agency.

The community chest is generally recognized as an agency with considerable legitimate communitywide authority, especially in the area of social health and welfare services. The chest was used as the legitimation structure in the following case.

Large employers in Denton had noted that absenteeism was becoming quite a problem in their plants. On further checking, it was

learned that family sickness was one of the main reasons for absenteeism. After considerable searching, the power leaders learned of an agency which could be a great aid in minimizing absenteeism, and which might logically fall within the jurisdiction of the community chest program. The agency was contacted and asked to have a representative work in the community for several months to develop interest in their program. When the next community chest program was being discussed, it included a proposal from a local interest group for the addition of this particular agency to the chest program. The chest directors, of course, saw fit to incorporate this request in a moderate way in the chest program for the following year. There was very little question from any source as to the merits of the new agency and how it might fit into the community. One of the power leaders stated during the interview that, within a year after this agency became operative in the community, absenteeism dropped to about half of what it had been previously.

Two examples will be noted briefly to show how the men of power were able to prevent a proposal from gaining legitimacy in the community.

A special water study committee appointed by the Chamber of Commerce spent about two years studying the problem of developing an adequate water supply for the Denton area. The committee was not able to arrive at any satisfactory solution to the problem. A recognized expert was finally called in from another state to present his opinions toward a solution. The expert did make some strong recommendations which seemed reasonable to a number of officials and others in the community. Legitimacy for these proposed solutions was withheld by not

publicizing the solutions offered, and by gradually dissolving the committee without any written report made either to the Chamber of Commerce or to the city council. Gregory Heintz was chairman of the water committee, and, in this position, he could exercise considerable authority over committee functions. Heintz was able to get support for his views from Oliver Smith, Bob Speck (director of the city water system) and George Patton (a retired city water commissioner). If no report with recommendations was prepared, it was assumed that no definite actions would follow as a result of studies of the committee, or of recommendations made by the expert who had been called in for advice. The other water committee members made no effort to submit a report to the parent body.

We have learned that a proposal for a large school bond issue had gained considerable community support. There was some friction among the men of power relative to the merits of the proposed bond issue. It was finally agreed that the power leaders would take no public stand on the proposal. The fact that the power leaders did not support the school bond issue was felt to be significant in its defeat in a public referendum, thereby, legitimation was withheld from the proposal. Another factor which seemed to be significant in helping defeat the proposal was actions by a number of the larger realtors and property owners. The school bond issue was attacked as constituting too many unnecessary "frills" and as such it would constitute a waste of public funds. The implication was that, if the proposed bond issue would cover only essential school needs, support might be forthcoming from realtors and larger property owners.

B. Execution

Execution is an essential phase of the decision-making process. If a policy is not carried out, it has no effect on members of the community, regardless of how strong the policy makers feel about the decision.

The Denton men of power were found to operate within narrow limits of the vertical power structure. In only two cases did we find any of the power leaders participating actively in the execution phase of the decision-making process. Montgomery served as general chairman for the memorial athletic field project and Heintz for the hospital project. Prominent sub-leaders are usually selected as general chairman for a particular project, after basic policy decisions have been agreed upon by the power leaders. The general chairman then selects his committee members in consultation with certain power leaders. One or more power leaders will usually serve as consultants to the general committee chairman as the project is carried to completion.

When asked how many men it would take to put a project over in the community, power leaders suggested that that would depend on the project. The number might range from a few to 50 or more.

Once a project committee is formed, usually many more people are drawn into the execution phase. A recent community chest campaign, for example, had a general committee of 16 members. This included the general chairman, five group chairmen and ten division chairmen (called majors). The overall campaign included 66 captains and 102 lieutenants. The lieutenants, in turn, selected local workers in each small area of the community to be covered. This organizational structure revealed

that all those with any supervisory ability had a number of persons under their direct supervision for whom they were responsible.

The community hospital project campaign saw more than a thousand people actively participating in some phase of the execution process. Carrying out the harbor project, however, involved a relatively few people.

Policy execution was found to be on a much lower power level than either the making of decisions, or of their legitimation. Policy makers may participate with sub-leaders and public officials in the process of gaining legitimation for a decision, but they seldom participate actively in the execution phase. Laymen and sub-leaders, on the other hand, do not participate in the actual decision-making process, except as they may have some influence with individual decision-makers.

Carrying out a major policy decision does not necessarily involve every segment of the community. In some projects, like the hospital campaign, an effort was made to involve as many people from all segments of the community as was reasonably possible. Other projects, like DDC, would involve only certain interest groups. The type and scope of the project determines the extent of participation in its execution.

C. Chapter Summary

It has been the purpose of this chapter to present an analysis of the legitimation procedures and devices employed by Denton power leaders, as well as a brief discussion of the execution phase of the decision-making process.

Since the process of legitimation involves making a decision appear rightful to the members of a social system, it follows that giving legitimation constitutes a justification either to the decision or to those who made the decision. Legitimation, therefore, is a test of whether decision-makers actually have social power. The fact that legitimation was repeatedly given to the community decisions analyzed in this study indicates that the community power leaders possess significant social power and further that they have handled the legitimation process well.

Although there is no routine process for legitimizing community decisions, the community leaders found ways and means to gain legitimacy for their decisions without undue difficulty. The fact that the existing Denton power structure constitutes a relatively new alignment precluded the use of traditional bases for legitimacy. We have noted, therefore, that the legal-rational framework (as defined by Weber) served as the medium for the legitimation of decisions in most cases. At the same time it was pointed out that charismatic qualities ascribed to DAFMI, and to certain power leaders, were manifest in the legitimation process.

Since in American society no routine method is provided for legitimation of decisions, it is necessary for decision-makers to develop legitimation devices for each decision. The Denton power leaders, therefore, availed themselves of numerous available agencies to gain legitimacy for decisions.

In the specific cases analyzed in this thesis we found that the following agencies were used for legitimizing decisions: DAFMI, the city council, the hospital board, public officials, service clubs,

the community chest, the newspapers and public meetings. It was learned that, generally speaking, a specific legitimation method had to be devised for each major decision. At the same time, however, repeated successes tended to build up within DAFMI, for example, a legitimation agency which could be employed for subsequent decisions. It must be added that recognized community positions of certain power leaders also contributed to gaining legitimation for their decisions.

Other legitimation devices employed by the Denton power leaders included the use of incentives in appealing to popularly held social values in the community. In legitimizing DDC, for example, appeals were made to the possibility of added personal income, job security and the possibility of lower property taxes. In the hospital project, on the other hand, the power leaders used newspaper appeals of idealism, personal health and safety, morality and prestige.

Another device was "asking for advice" from organization membership. Even though such advice was not always used, it served the purpose of identifying power leaders and their decisions with ordinary members of the community.

A legitimation device employed by Denton power leaders was their personal association with sub-leaders and the ordinary citizens in the community. Such contact permitted first hand explanation of policy decisions and again identified decision-makers with the general public. Many power leaders indicated that such personal contact and appeals to popularly held social values presented a system for "educating" members of the community about the validity of their decisions.

One final legitimation device must be mentioned. The reader will recall that a generally recognized expert was called in from ano-

ther state to present his views regarding a potential water supply system for the Denton area. When the power leaders learned that the expert's opinions conflicted with their own thinking, favorable publicity about the expert was withheld. Power leaders further suggested that it is unreasonable to assume that an individual can briefly inspect a community and then present a logical solution to a major problem. The authority of the expert was thus questioned, and his effect on the community was successfully minimized by withholding legitimation from him.

Once a decision has been made and given legitimation, it is essential to translate it into action programs, if it is to have effect within the social system.

Although power leaders make decisions and often figure prominently in the legitimation process, it was learned in this study that they do not play a prominent role in the execution phase. It is here where sub-leaders play a conspicuous role.

We have pointed out that, in most cases, selected sub-leaders were named chairmen of committees which were responsible for carrying out major policy decisions. The balance of such committees was composed of other sub-leaders, professionals and, if necessary, ordinary citizens. Even though power leaders do not play a primary role in the execution phase, one or more of them usually was found to serve as unofficial consultant to the sub-leaders selected for this task.

This study revealed, therefore, that the execution phase is on a much lower level than either the making of decisions or of the legitimation phase.

Another important point to be noted is that more individuals are involved in translating policies into action than in the making of

major policy decisions. It will be recalled, for example, that only five persons were involved in making the basic decision for DDC. Legitimation, however, involved about 100 persons and many more became involved in carrying out the program. A further conclusion is that, whereas carrying out certain policies may involve only certain interest groups, other policy decisions may concern all the members of the community.

With this chapter we conclude the analysis of the three basic elements in the decision process; the making of decisions, their legitimation and finally execution into action programs. A next step would call for an examination of the bases of authority and influence upon which social power rests. This, therefore, will be the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER VII

RESOURCES OF POWER FOR DECISION-MAKING

We have thus far presented the actual decision-making processes observed in Denton and indicated some of the resources for decision-making possessed by the men of power. The purpose of the present chapter is that of outlining the major resources of authority and influence brought into play by the power leaders, and to discuss their sociological relevance.

The concept of resource, as employed in this study, has reference to the constellation of positional elements and personal attributes of individual power leaders which can be called upon in the exercise of social power.

The resources which constitute the actual bases of social power will vary from culture to culture; it is difficult, on the other hand, to specify that certain resources constitute universal bases for social power within any particular culture. The social power component of a particular individual may differ greatly from that of other men of power; two or more individuals may have a different basis upon which their social power rests.[1]

Basic resources for social power have been enumerated and

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[1] A recent study which delineates major resources of social power for decision-making has been presented by Paul Miller. Paul A. Miller, A Comparative Analysis of the Decision-Making Process in Community Organization Toward Major Health Goals, Unpublished Ph D Thesis, Michigan State College, East Lansing, 1953, pp. 323-400.

discussed by various authors such as: Bierstedt, Hunter, Lasswell and Kaplan, MacIver and Miller. The resources used in this study were empirically derived from responses by power leaders to questions such as: what are the bases upon which social power rests?

The following resource components were found relevant to an analysis of social power in the Denton community: (1) Bases of authority are position, control and length of residence in the community. (2) Bases of influence are access, ability, time, success, community interest, mutual obligations, prestige and wealth.

The following discussion is based primarily on interviews with the men of power in Denton. We will see in a later section that sub-leaders generally considered these same items as resources of power, but in a different order of importance. Laymen gave a still different view of what are the resources of social power.

A composite summary of resources of power of Denton decision-makers is presented in Table 6, page 138. This table discloses that all the power leaders possessed two resources of power (position and access) and that less than half had three resources (control, old family and wealth).

One factor not contained in Table 6 is the amount, or degree of the various resources possessed by any particular power leader. Lester Mint, for example, is considered the man with the greatest ability among all the power leaders while his son August Mint is rated among the lowest in this particular resource. Another factor to bear in mind is that the ability of some of the men of power lies primarily in a specialized area. An example of this type of ability is that possessed by Harry Putz who is an engineering and administrative specialist

TABLE 6

RESOURCES OF POWER OF DENTON DECISION-MAKERS

Resource	Randall	L. Mint	Latrick	Smith	C. Buckman	Montgomery	Meister	Schultz	Heintz	Jones	rutz	Russel	Giner	L. Buckman	A. Mint
Position	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Access	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Ability	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
Time	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Success	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x		
Community Interest	x	x	x	x		x				x	x	x	x	x	x
Mutual Obligations	x	x	x	x	x	x			x			x			
Prestige	x	x	x			x	x	x		x	x				
Control	x	x		x	x			x			x				
Old Family	x		x		x		x		x	x				x	
Wealth	x	x		x	x										

employed by the city government. In the following discussion we will analyze the bases of authority, followed by an analysis of basic factors contributing to the influence component of Denton power leaders.

A. Authority

The capacity of authority is crucial in the decision-making process. It was pointed out in chapter I that by authority we mean the right of a person to enter into the decision-making process. Such a right is based primarily on the position or office of the particular man of power, on his direct or indirect control over others and on length of residence in the community.

1. Position

Each of the Denton men of power has the positional element as a basis of authority. The degree of authority, however, varies with the individual, and depends on the various positional elements he possesses, as well as on his control and length of residence in the community.

Lester M. Mint was the highest ranked power leader in Denton. His primary positional element is that he is chairman of the board of Laswell Woolen Mills. His firm employs the largest number of persons in the community, more than one fourth of all those gainfully employed in Denton. Lester Mint is a director of the largest bank in Denton and is president of DAFMI. Mr. Mint has served as director of several state organizations, is presently a director of two national business associations and serves as president of a national athletic organization.

The decisions of Mr. Mint can have consequences on the lives of more people in the community than those of any other man. Arthur Jones illustrated this by giving a typical example. He stated that, if an individual or a group desired the approval of the men of power in the community, the first step should be to talk to a few of the recognized power leaders such as Randall, Montgomery or Latrick. If these give their approval to the project, then Mint should be approached. Mint would then know that the proposal has merit and would be willing to give some consideration to it. Jones said, if he were the one to do it he would say something like this, "'L. M.', here is something to think about for the future welfare of the community". The basic aspects of the proposal would be presented to Mint and he would likely say, "Yes, this looks like something we ought to think about. Give me a little time to think it over and I will contact you later." Jones emphasized that a sub-leader who "knows the ropes" would never go to Mint with a proposal unless he had talked it over with, and received the approval from one or more of the other men of power. The reason for this procedure is that Mint has many business and social responsibilities both locally and on a national basis, and his time is very valuable. Mr. Mint indicated that he will consider any reasonable proposal if it is brought to his attention with adequate factual information. Several power leaders stated that, if Mint would have to take time to check into the details of all proposals which have merit, he wouldn't have time to run his business.

Tim Randall owns and operates the largest and one of the oldest business firms in Denton. His firm has been well known in the community for many years. In addition to the long time successful opera-

tion of his business, Mr. Randall took the lead a number of years ago when the city governmental structure was changed to a council-manager form as it operates at present. Randall is well known and highly respected throughout the community.

One of the older power leaders in Denton, J. J. Latrick, is remembered and highly esteemed for his long and successful tenure as mayor of Denton. Mr. Latrick's position as head of the city government for 14 years not only brought him many honors, but it brought his name continuously into public attention. There was very little question among any of the power leaders about Mr. Latrick's position as a prominent community leader. Those who did not mention Latrick as a power leader at the present time were of the opinion that, because Mr. Latrick is semi-retired, some of the more prominent and more active sub-leaders such as Joe Kelley and Fred Hoffman should be ranked among the power leaders of the community.

Positional elements upon which the authority of Oliver Smith is based stem primarily from his success as head of the committee which formulated the Denton plan of development plus the fact that he served as head of a state development commission for a number of years. In addition to the above, Mr. Smith is chairman of the board of an old industry in Denton which employs a great many people. Smith is recognized as an important power leader in the community even though a number of respondents indicated that they personally dislike him. He was occasionally criticized for being too adamant and self-centered making it difficult to work with him.

The prominence of Carl Buckman as a power leader is based partly on his position as president of the Denton Enterprise, the only

daily newspaper of general circulation in the Denton area. His position of control of the most important medium of communication in Denton accords him almost unquestioned authority as a power leader in the community.

Jim Montgomery occupies the position of president of the Trenton Leather Company, a prominent local industry. In addition, he has in the past also occupied an important office in numerous prominent community organizations such as: president of the hospital board and president of the community chest. His achievements in the community were crowned a number of years ago when he was selected as chairman of a commission whose responsibility it was to build a large public facility serving the whole county. This was a very important position which carried with it great responsibilities. Mr. Montgomery is recognized as having done an outstanding job in the face of many obstacles. He has a solid position as a Denton power leader and is mentioned as the person who will most likely succeed Lester Mint as the most prominent power leader when Mr. Mint retires from active life.

Herman Schultz and Ralph Meister are managers of the two largest banking firms in Denton. Their position ascribes them considerable authority in the community, particularly in the financial realm. While neither Schultz nor Meister has actively participated in many civic enterprises as director or chairman of any important committee, they are often consulted by others who have assumed positions of leadership in civic programs.

August Mint and Lloyd Buckman are among the younger men of power and presently have responsible positions in the business owned by their respective fathers. Their positions give them a high degree

of ascribed status. It must be pointed out further that their kinship to Lester Mint and Carl Buckman is an important factor in according them a position among the Denton power leaders.

Horace Giner is president of the Cambridge Publishing Company which is a firm known throughout the state. He is also a director of the statewide association of publishers. Giner has also served as president of the community chest, and was instrumental in the major community chest reorganization a number of years ago.

Gregory Heintz is president of the largest realty firm in Denton, he is president of DDC, a director of DAFMI, director of one of the local banks and vice president of the state association of realtors. He served as general chairman of the hospital fund drive and has recently been named a director of the community chest. Heintz does not have many men under his administrative control, but his firm has handled some of the larger real estate transactions in the community in recent years.

Two of the Denton power leaders hold positions in the city government. Harry Putz is city manager and Arthur Jones is the mayor. These positions are recognized as being important, and the occupant of either of these offices has considerable authority of a community-wide nature. Both Putz and Jones are in a position where their decisions can have consequences for practically every member of the community.

The position of an individual in the community power structure is related to age-grades and to personal achievement. The Denton power leaders are for the most part men in the age category from 45 to 65 years. Three of the power leaders were found to be about 70 years of age while two are about 40 years of age. The two youngest men of

power, L. Buckman and A. Mint, both have important positions in the enterprise managed by their respective fathers. Ten of the fifteen power leaders are men who either started with a small business and have built it into a large concern, or who started at or near the bottom in an existing large firm and have since risen to be managers of their firm.

From the foregoing section we conclude that each of the fifteen Denton power leaders held important positions as bases for authority. In addition to outstanding positions within the community, several held prominent positions on either a state or national basis.

We need to point out further that the varying degrees of importance attached to certain positions materially influences the authority capacity of particular individuals. Lester Mint, for example, was considered to possess considerably more authority than Oliver Smith who also is chairman of the board of a local industry, and who is rated lower as a power leader than is Mr. Mint.

A further component of authority among power leaders is the extent of control which an individual is able to exercise over others. This factor will be discussed in the following section.

2. Control

One of the bases of social power in Denton is the number of persons a man has under his administrative control. This depends somewhat on the nature of the business in which the power leader is engaged. The fifteen power leaders in Denton have under their administrative control well over half of all the people employed in the city. Many of these employees live outside of the city which tends to spread the

control of the power leaders over a wider area. Table 7 indicates in a summary way the extent of control that the power leaders have in Denton.

TABLE 7

Number of Persons Under Administrative Control of Power Leaders in Denton.

Number Employed	Number of Top Leaders
Less than 50	3
50 to 99	3
100 to 499	6
500 to 999	1
1,000 and over	2

Lester Mint was reputed to have the greatest amount of control over others in Denton. The firm which he manages employs about one fourth of all those gainfully employed in Denton. Mr. Mint can give employment, withhold employment or threaten job security for many people. A further factor contributing to the control component of Lester Mint is the fact that his personal wealth, and that of the firm which he manages, can be distributed to particular projects or withheld at the discretion of Mr. Mint. The success of many community projects, particularly those which involve large amounts of money, can easily be controlled by Lester Mint.

Ownership of the Denton Enterprise, the most important public medium of communication in the community, gives Carl Buckman a large measure of control in the community. Mr. Buckman can effectively

determine who gets publicity and who does not, as well as the type of publicity to be granted. In a community no larger than Denton where there is no other regular newspaper, ownership of the existing newspaper is a decisive controlling factor.

Herman Schultz's role in financial matters accords him much control in the community. Not only can Schultz govern credit for many persons, but the fact that he has been given authority to speak for a number of wealthy families (even though he himself is not wealthy) contributes to the degree of control he can exercise in the community.

Harry Putz is city manager and, therefore, exercises control over other individuals. It is his responsibility to appoint various department heads in the city government, subject to approval by the city council. Department heads, in turn, have many employees under their jurisdiction and control. This constitutes a bureaucratic structure of which Mr. Putz is head and which he controls. The position of Putz, in addition, permits him to exercise considerable budgetary control over municipal expenditures.

The other two Denton power leaders to whom the resource of control is attributed are Tim Randall and Oliver Smith. The primary factor of control of these two power leaders is that each of them is head of a large firm with many employees over whom they can exercise administrative control.

The final ingredient contributing to the authority of individual Denton power leaders is length of residence in the community. This ingredient of authority will be discussed briefly in the following section.

3. Old Family

Length of residence in the community was given as one of the bases of authority by the Denton men of power, even though this element was evaluated as being of minor significance. Seven of the fifteen power leaders were found to be old residents in the community or they were descendants of families which have long been associated with Denton community life.

A number of respondents indicated that a man who has proven himself in the community has as much of a chance to become a power leader as one whose family has long resided in the community. Lester Mint and Jim Montgomery were cited as examples. At the same time the respondents admitted that long time community residence has contributed materially to the power position of certain individuals such as J. J. Latrick and Arthur Jones.

Tim Rundall's father started a small business in Denton many years ago. Tim has taken over this business and expanded it greatly during the past twenty years. He has brought the business enterprise from a purely local affair into a large regional business.

It was pointed out earlier that Carl Buckman started many years ago as an employee of the Denton Enterprise and subsequently acquired control of the newspaper. The Buckman family is considered an old family in the community, and several members have been prominent in the affairs of Denton over a period of many years.

When asked about the family history of J. J. Latrick, one informant stated, "Oh he's such an old timer around here that nobody ever asks how long his family has been in Denton." Mr. Latrick is

frequently referred to as the "grand old man" of the community. He has served many years as a member of various governmental boards and has also served the community as mayor for fourteen years.

Meister and Heintz both are from old families which have been in the Denton community for more than two generations. The fact that they "know a lot of people" was frequently mentioned as a basis of their power in the community. Arthur Jones is another of the power leaders whose family has resided in Denton for several generations. His father too was a very active man in the community until he retired and moved away.

The above discussion indicates that length of residence in the community has had some contributory influence in elevating certain men to power positions in Denton. Respondents generally agreed, however, that this factor is of relatively minor significance in an evaluation of social power positions as observed in the Denton community.

In summary of the elements constituting the bases of authority of Denton power leaders we need to emphasize that the positions occupied by an individual appears to be foremost in determining authority. The next most important component of authority was found to be control over other persons or over resources. A final component of authority was found to be length of residence in the community.

An important conclusion is that certain positions ascribe greater authority to the incumbent than other positions. The same principle applies to the element of control possessed by various individuals. Although length of residence was considered a contributory influence in authority, this factor was relegated to a minor category by most of the respondents.

Since social power is based on a combination of authority and influence resources, we need to analyze the second category, namely, resources for influence. This will follow in the next section.

B. Influence

The second major basis of social power is influence. We have pointed out in Chapter I that influence refers to the attributes or social capital of an individual which can be used to affect decisions of those in positions of authority. Resources of influence reflect the value systems of the community and how these values are invested in particular individuals.

In the present study the following influence resources were found to be significant to an analysis of social power: access, ability, time, success, community interest, mutual obligations, prestige and wealth. Among other important points, we will see that not all of these resources for influence were given the same value and that certain resources were attributed only to particular individuals.

1. Access

We note in Table 6, page 138, that all of the Denton power leaders have the resource of access, in addition to the resource of position mentioned previously. Again we need to point out, however, that the amount of access varies with the individual plus the fact that not all types of access are available in the same degree to each power leader.

Access, as used here, refers to relationships with groups and individuals in and out of the community, organization memberships,

participation in prestige associations and business and political connections.

All of the Denton power leaders had intra-community access and several also had extra-community access which could be useful when necessary. The extra-community access of Lester Mint, Carl Buckman and Herman Schultz, for example, was of material assistance in the hospital campaign. We have pointed out that these three men called upon former residents and heads of chains in large cities asking them to contribute to the campaign. This effort helped the Denton community to over-subscribe the hospital campaign.

Existing social links among the power leaders provide access for some men of power which they would not otherwise have. Lester Mint, for example, although he does not actively participate in community politics, his influence in politics is manifested through Jim Montgomery, Arthur Jones and others. Gregory Heintz, on the other hand, gains access in some areas through Mr. Mint with whom he has been on intimate terms for many years.

Some of the organizations and interest groups which served as means of access to power leaders include, Kiwanis, Rotary, Lions, Chamber of Commerce, Community Chest, Red Cross, DAFMI and the Denton City Council. Those power leaders who were found influential in one community organization were usually found to have influence in one or more other organizations. Interviews with power leaders indicated that the various service clubs in Denton served as the initial step in gaining influence for several of these men of power.

Jim Montgomery stated that he became active in community affairs through active participation in Rotary club programs. He was

eventually elected president of the Rotary club which, in his words, "served as the stepping stone into community work". Montgomery has access to various groups as a director of DAFMI, a member of the hospital board, director of the Rotary club, director of the community chest and a member of a church governing board. His active life in these community organizations has given him a broad viewpoint of the community and he has developed intimate acquaintance with most of the community leaders in various walks of life.

Randall and Smith both have ready access to the city council by virtue of their former membership on the council. Both have served on a harbor development committee, they have played a minor role in a major political party, both have been directors of DAFMI and each belongs to one of the Denton service clubs although neither of them has been very active in service club programs. Randall, incidentally, is a director of his alma mater and of a national wholesaling association. Smith has several times been appointed to a state governmental agency. This indicates that these two power leaders have both intra and extra-community access.

Lester Mint, J. J. Latrick and C. Buckman have all played active roles in many civic programs throughout their many years in the community. Their present local activities are restricted mainly to their business and to DAFMI itself. It must be pointed out though that Lester Mint has much extra-community access. Buckman has retired and is not now active in any type of civic program or organization although he has a tie in with an important church.

Schultz and Meister, as mentioned previously, have not played an active role in many community programs, but are recognized for

their skill and knowledge and are, therefore, frequently consulted by organization members on various problems. This role, in addition to being active in DAFMI, has given them the measure of access needed. Even though Schultz and Meister do not have as wide access in the community as some of the other men of power, they excel in some of the other resources of influence.

The man who has probably the least direct access among the power leaders in the community is Gregory Heintz. He does not belong to any local service club, but has served as director of DAFMI since its formation and has many contacts outside of Denton. Heintz has frequently been selected to act as chairman of some special community project because he is known for his ability to "get a job done". His personal friendship with certain power leaders provides indirect access which he would not otherwise have.

Jones and Putz, because of their position in the city government, are considered by the other power leaders as having a high degree of access throughout the community. Russel and Giner have played an active role in the community, but they do not now participate directly unless specifically asked to do so by some of the members of the power structure.

The two youngest members among the power leaders, L. Buckman and A. Mint play an active role in several community organizations, although they have only recently become active in the community. Both of these men have important positions and through this a measure of access is informally accorded to them.

Most of the power leaders were members of the Denton Pioneers, a high prestige, and exclusive community social club. This associa-

tion, plus membership in a private country club on Oyster Bay figured prominently in gaining access to other interest groups in the community.

Access to the many civic organizations and associations in the community also served the purpose of "listening posts" where the power leaders could get a better idea of how many of the sub-leaders and others in the community felt about the various community projects and needs. The political and governmental access of Montgomery, Randall, Smith, Jones and Putz served to keep the power leaders informed of plans or actions in these fields.

The fact that the Denton power leaders were found to have the resource of access greatly facilitated their participation in decision-making and legitimation processes. Both intra-community and extra-community access were found to be important.

When individual power leaders did not have direct access, they could call upon existing social links and personal friendships to gain indirect access when necessary. It would appear further that successful participation in recognized community business or interest groups (Rotary and Chamber of Commerce) served as a ladder toward acceptance as a peer among Denton power leaders. This process of successfully "climbing the organizational ladder" indicates necessary abilities of the individual. It is this resource which will be examined in the following section.

2. Ability

The resource of influence next most generally possessed by the Denton power leaders is ability. Power leaders ranked ability

very high as an influence resource. The fact that a person is ranked among power leaders was given as an indication of demonstrated ability. The respondents stated that by ability they mean whether a man can think clearly and whether he can get a job done when it is assigned to him. The possession of adequate knowledge and skills necessary in the operation of the decision-making process is also an element included in the resource of ability.

Ability is not to be confused with success. Lester Mint stated that, "A man can have great ability, but still not be successful. That can happen when a person uses his ability in various community programs but does not have good business sense." Mr. Mint gave an example of a former Denton resident who was considered to have great ability, but his business failed because he did not apply his abilities to the management of his business. Ability along the lines of organizational skill can make a man successful in the various community projects, and he will be recognized for that, but, Mint added, unless a man does well in business, and it does not need to be a large business enterprise, he is not considered a very stable member of the community.

Lloyd Buckman was the only power leader who was not rated as having the resource of ability by the other power leaders. It will be remembered that Buckman has been in the community only a small number of years, and his father still retains actual control of the Denton Enterprise. For this reason Lloyd Buckman really has not had the opportunity to demonstrate his ability in the eyes of the power leaders.

The other men of power have shown their ability both in the business world and in the various community projects with which they

have been connected. August Mint, although a younger man who is a vice president in his father's firm, is given credit by the other men of power for having demonstrated his ability both in business and in ably serving on the board of directors of several major community organizations, one of which was the Denton school board.

3. Time

Many major community projects require the expenditure of considerable quantities of time, most of which is seldom reimbursed. The men of power indicated, in fact, that a good citizen in a community will invest whatever time he can for the good of the community. One man in Denton was referred to by several of the power leaders as one who has time and ability but very seldom participates in any major community project. It was felt that the man in question could easily take his position as a peer with the men of power if he would spend more time on community enterprises, demonstrate some community interest, and make more of a financial contribution when needed, something which he is quite able to do.

One aspect of time was referred to in the previous section, that is when a man is felt to devote too much of his time to public projects and allows his business to drift. Tim Randall stated that he has to watch his time very closely. He likes to participate in community projects and on several occasions has found himself spending more time than he should on community projects. Randall mentioned also that this might lead some of the other community leaders to suspect him of trying to "hog the show" by being in many activities and thereby preventing some lesser men from participating as actively

as they would like.

All but two of the men of power had the resource of time available to them. Not only could they devote their own time to community projects, but several are in the position of being able to lend some of their employees to acceptable community projects. An example of this is when Mr. Mint permitted one of his able men to spend full time on a particular project for about six weeks while Mint still paid his salary even though his man was not directly contributing to the business enterprise.

C. Buckman, in the opinion of the power leaders, does not now have the resource of time available to him even though he is retired from business. His health is failing and he can not be counted on to meet appointments. A. Mint also was not accorded the resource of time. He felt that he should spend all his time on the job unless some project comes along in which he has a particular interest. Several of the power leaders expressed admiration for A. Mint because they realized that he was trying to prove himself in the business world even though he is the son of the owner of the largest business enterprise in Denton.

From the above discussion we can conclude that the availability of time is an important resource needed in the decision-making process. Only two of the fifteen Denton power leaders were not accorded this resource. Carl Buckman was not considered to have the resource of time primarily because he is in ill health and can not be counted on to participate at any particular time. August Mint, on the other hand, has time available, if he wants to use it, but he personally feels he should tend to his business since his father is

presently an active power leader.

Given the resource of time and ability, a person in a reasonably good position will usually attain eventual success. It has been pointed out above that Denton power leaders considered success as one of the important resources of influence in the community. The following section constitutes a discussion of success as an influence resource.

4. Success

The resource of success refers to an individual's record of past accomplishments. Two types of success were indicated by the Denton power leaders. One is success in one's business or occupation and the second is success in community project participation. Even though both types of success were held significant by the power leaders, a greater emphasis was placed on success in business. Lester Mint expressed the prevailing opinion in pointing out that, even though a person has been successful in community programs, he is not likely to become a power leader unless he has also demonstrated success in business. The reason for this conviction is that business success indicates stability in the community, and this is held to be essential in aspiring to prominent leadership positions.

A prime example of a person possessing the resource of success is Lester M. Mint. He was frequently spoken of as excelling in everything he does, and always being successful. Mr. Mint has demonstrated great ability both in business and in the many other activities in which he has engaged. A typical remark from other men of power is, "If 'L. M.' is for something you can bet that it will suc-

ceed".

One function of success is to prevent any strong opposition from developing and disrupting the decision-making process or offering active resistance. A skillful man is usually able to minimize opposition and keep it from interfering unduly.

We find that, among the Denton men of power, all but four were reputed to have been successful. Some of the power leaders (Randall, Russel and Giner) have taken a meager business and built it into a large concern while several others (Meister, Schultz and Latrick) started their own business and have been very successful managers. Jones and Putz were not accorded the resource of success by the power leaders because they are government employees and governmental or political positions seem to cast some sort of a stigma on the office holder. L. Buckman and A. Mint were not accorded the resource of success because they have not been in positions of responsibility for very many years even though they have indicated willingness and ability when participating in various community projects.

Not all the power leaders were attributed the resource of success in the same degree. Some are considered more successful than others either businesswise or in community projects. Lester Mint, for example, was mentioned as the most successful man among the power leaders while Russel was considered a success in many ways, yet not as successful as some of the power leaders ranked above him. Among the other power leaders who were considered highly successful, in a business sense, are: Meister, Randall, Schultz, Giner and Carl Buckman.

The seven Denton power leaders rated most successful in

community projects are Tim Randall, Lester Mint, Carl Buckman, Jim Montgomery, Arthur Jones, George Russel and Horace Giner. These men have been particularly active and successful in this respect.

From this section we can conclude that there are two types of success (organizational and business) which contribute to the influence of particular power leaders. Business success, however, is ranked more important than organizational success.

A further conclusion is that the highest ranked power leaders (excepting Lloyd Buckman) were all accorded a large measure of success. Lloyd Buckman, it will be recalled, has only recently taken over management of the Denton Enterprise.

5. Community Interest

Community interest was scored as a crucial element of influence by the power leaders of Denton. By community interest the men of power referred to pride in the community, willingness to give time to civic enterprises, love of his neighbor, and general interest in community affairs. It also indicates that a person keeps informed of what goes on and participates whenever he feels that he has something to contribute to his community. Lester Mint expressed the view that a person should not have to be asked to participate in community activities, but that it is the duty of every resident to do so commensurate with his interest and ability.

The element of community interest seems to have been mentioned by the power leaders with some air of self-praise, because they themselves have given much to their community. It must be recognized, however, that neither the power leaders nor the sub-leaders of

Denton contained many persons who did not seem to have considerable community interest at heart.

Eleven of the 15 Denton men of power were considered to rank high in the resource of community interest. C. Buckman was not ranked high in this resource because his retirement had taken him out of the active life of the community. Gregory Heintz, although very active, was considered too egotistical, and was spoken of as putting his self interest ahead of community interest on numerous occasions to be accorded a high rank in the resource of community interest.

Schultz and Meister were not ranked high in the resource of community interest because they were not recognized for actively participating in a great many community projects. The men of power, however, indicated that both Schultz and Meister excelled in several other resources of influence such as ability, success and prestige.

6. Mutual Obligations

Closely allied with the resource of community interest is that of mutual obligations. This refers to the accumulation of favors by an individual from other persons, organizations or interest groups. The degree to which others may feel obligated to a person provides him with a resource which the decision-maker can call forth with some assurance of compliance from others. The resource of felt obligations of a person usually reflects his past activities and associations. An individual may possess a fund of obligations within a particular group, throughout the community or within a larger area.

There is considerable variation among the power leaders in the extent of mutual obligations possessed. An individual may accumu-

late mutual obligations in varied ways. Some of the more common means are giving advice, the expenditure of time, a favorable vote on an issue and giving material aid to an individual or a group in time of need. Mutual obligations possessed by an individual man of power may run throughout all levels of the community. An individual power leader can sometimes predict the support of other power leaders on certain issues based on his accumulation of reciprocal obligations with other power leaders.

The men who possess most mutual obligations are usually the most friendly appearing people and give least weight to this element as a resource of influence. The apparent reason for this feeling is that, since their fund of mutual obligations was developed through cooperation with others, they believe it reflects congenial character rather than a resource to be employed repeatedly to gain support from others. They do not hesitate to use this resource, however, when it becomes needed.

Although only eight of the fifteen Denton men of power were found to possess a fund of mutual obligations, the incidence of mutual obligations was found to be high among the more active power leaders. It was also learned that mutual obligations played a significant role in the decision-making processes analyzed in this thesis.

Tim Randall was accorded the greatest fund of mutual obligations by the Denton power leaders. He was referred to as "everybody's friend", the "salt of the earth" and "he'll do anything for you". Randall's fund of mutual obligations stemmed from his active participation in municipal affairs, his frequent membership on important community project committees, and from his generous support of churches,

interest groups and individuals in need of material assistance. A number of laymen stated that they know of instances where Randall would ask a needy family to come to his place of business where he would see that the family was outfitted in a complete wardrobe for the winter season and Randall would mark the bill paid. This type of obligation tended to build up a sort of charisma around Tim Randall, particularly among laymen and sub-leaders. Randall was also used as a source of confidential advice by a number of the sub-leaders. Several of the power leaders stated that Randall always does his part in any community project both from the point of view of giving his time as well as being liberal with his money. Several power leaders indicated that they could not refuse to assist Randall in any way in which he might request assistance.

Jim Montgomery gave an example of how he became obligated to Oliver Smith. Both of these power leaders were at one time members of the hospital board of trustees. Montgomery proposed a particular improvement to be made in the hospital to which Smith disagreed. The matter was thoroughly discussed during a board meeting, but no final decision was reached. After the meeting Smith told Montgomery, "All right, I'll go along with you this time. Maybe you can help me sometime on some other issue." With Smith on Montgomery's side, the other board members all agreed to the proposed hospital improvement at the next board meeting.

Many of the power leaders feel obligated to Lester Mint because of the advice, time and money he has made available to a project in which they had had a particular interest. Mint is well aware of these obligations, and several of the power leaders and sub-leaders

stated that, "when 'L. M.' calls, we just go and ask questions later". On one occasion Mr. Mint requested a sizable amount of money from the county central committee of one of the major political parties to use as advertising. One of the sub-leaders was, at that time, secretary of the central political committee. The sub-leader said, "We just wrote a check and sent it to Mint, without asking exactly what he wanted the money for." After all, said the sub-leader, "Mint wouldn't ask for any such amount unless he had a very good use for it. He has done enough for us so we don't question his actions very much anymore".

Carl Buckman, as pointed out previously, has lead a very active life in the community. He has built up a large amount of mutual obligations which he can use to advantage when the occasion demands it. Mr. Buckman exercised his mutual obligations with the hospital board and with the men of power during the discussions which preceded the community hospital building program.

Among the power leaders, Schultz and Meister are not recognized for any great accumulation of mutual obligations by the other men of power. They, however, like the rest of the power leaders do have some mutual obligations, but this resource of influence is not among the strongest resource possessed by them.

Although the fifteen Denton power leaders included two families in which both the father and son are considered among the power leaders, these kinship ties do not take precedence over other social bonds in power transactions. A number of power leaders, including Lester Mint, stated that, pushing one's son forward above others who may be qualified would be considered presumptuous and would violate ethical procedures.

Mutual obligations frequently reflect a feeling of prestige for an individual in possession of a large fund of such obligations. The prestige element as a resource of influence will now be discussed briefly.

7. Prestige

Prestige in the community is a subjective value attributed to an individual by the system in which he participates. It is, in turn, based on other factors such as knowledge, skills, ability, residence, respect, wealth and others.

The Denton power leaders did not consider prestige to be highly important as a basis of influence among themselves, nevertheless, most of them mentioned prestige as one of the minor factors. Randall, Lester Mint, Latrick and Montgomery were ranked high in prestige by the other power leaders because of their general ability, respect, and long active life in the community. Schultz and Meister are in positions where they have control of money which is a strong mark of prestige, while Jones and Putz occupy the top governmental positions in Denton which in turn gives them a high prestige rating in the community.

An additional factor contributing to prestige is extra-community access and prominence outside of the community. Even though extra-community connections are frequently not known outside of the top power structure in the community, such connections and honors are respected and admired by power leaders.

It was pointed out previously that power leaders generally do not give as much weight to citizen opinions as they do to those

from sub-leaders. Prestige ratings of a power leader fall into a similar category in that prestige counts more from sub-leaders than from ordinary citizens.

Two basic conclusions may be drawn from this discussion. One is that, although prestige is given some recognition, it is given a comparatively low value as a resource of influence by the Denton men of power. Secondly, prestige from sub-leaders ranks considerably higher than from laymen, and extra-community prestige is a valued item among power leaders.

In addition to the seven resources discussed thus far, there is another influence resource which seems to be generally recognized, but about which there seems little specific agreement among writers. This final resource of wealth as it enters into the Denton decision-making process will be discussed in this final section.

8. Wealth

A number of studies have indicated that wealth is a definite resource of influence in the decision-making process. It was pointed out earlier that Lasswell and Kaplan have cited wealth to be an influence resource. They point out, however, that, "A power holder <u>may</u> owe his power to his wealth..."[2] Norris found that, in a Latin American culture, wealth definitely plays a vital role in the influence pattern.[3] Another detailed study by Miller indicates that wealth is a

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[2] Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, <u>Power and Society</u>, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1950, p. 84.

[3] Thomas L. Norris, "Decision-making Activity Sequences in a Hacienda Community", <u>Human Organization</u>, Vol. 12, No. 3, p. 29.

significant influence resource. Miller states that, "Wealth was consistently a characteristic of the high ranked decision-makers."[4]

The Lynds have stated in their classical work that the local big businessmen own Middletown's jobs and that, "The business class in Middletown runs the city. The nucleus of the business-class control is the X family."[5] This would indicate that wealth is the controlling factor in the Middletown influence picture. The Lynds point out that the X family is all powerful because, through wealth, they have the power of control. But they also cite two other wealthy families in Middletown and indicate that these two families do not exercise any great amount of influence in the community.[6] This leaves an element of doubt in the reader's mind of whether wealth really is the controlling factor in Middletown. Or is one to assume that wealth is a capacity of influence only when individuals who possess wealth also have sufficient other influence resources and are active participants in the decision-making process?

A detailed study of social power in a large metropolitan community by Hunter indicates that wealth as such is not a primary criteria for admission to the upper ranks of the decision-makers. The author states that, "The persons of wealth are perhaps important in the social structure of the community as symbolic persons....Their money may be important in financing a given project, but they are not

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[4] Paul A. Miller, op. cit., p. 355.

[5] R. S. Lynd and H. M. Lynd, Middletown in Transition: A Study in Cultural Conflicts, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1937, p. 77.

[6] Ibid., pp. 74-101.

of themselves doers. They may only be called decisive in the sense that they can withhold or give money through others to change the course of action of any given project."[7] Bouma, in his study of the power position of the Grand Rapids real estate board, does not indicate that wealth is a primary resource of social power.[8]

In this study it was found that only five of the 15 power leaders were considered to be wealthy by the other men of power. Lester Mint is recognized as the most powerful man in the community, but he is not the wealthiest man in the community. Several individuals, not among the men of power, have considerably more wealth than Mr. Mint. How wealth was acquired by an individual seems to be a more significant aspect in determining the degree of influence associated with a wealthy person. In this study we found that, among the five men of power who are wealthy, only Tim Randall started with a good business left to him by his father. The other four wealthy individuals amassed their wealth through hard work, thrift, good business management and wise investments. One of the sub-leaders, R. White, inherited wealth, but he is not considered among the power leaders in Denton. He is, in fact, the only person of wealth even among the sub-leaders of Denton.

Several of the Denton power leaders reported that wealth is sometimes a factor, but a very minor one, if it enters into the pic-

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[7] Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1952, p. 80.

[8] Donald H. Bouma, An Analysis of the Social Power Position of the Real Estate Board in Grand Rapids, Michigan, Unpublished Ph D thesis, Michigan State College, East Lansing, 1952, pp. 133-207.

ture at all. A number, in fact, stated that wealth is not at all a basis of influence. We will see in a later section that laymen felt that wealth is a significant resource of social power in Denton.

Of the 15 top power leaders in Denton, five were found to be wealthy, eight have moderate means and two, Jones and Lutz, are definitely not men of wealth. The fact that so many of the power leaders relegated wealth to a minor category as an influence resource may be because most of them are, at least, of moderate means, i.e. in the upper middle class. We have no adequate information to either substantiate or refute this proposition. It is quite probable, as several informants indicated, that wealth does play a minor role in the influence picture. The fact nevertheless remains that there are other individuals in the community who have considerably more wealth than even the more wealthy men of power. This indicates that the influence pattern of a particular individual, as has been pointed out previously, consists of a combination of resources rather than one single resource of influence. One fact further is indicated, as Hunter has pointed out, that an individual must be willing and able to play the role of decision-maker if his influence is to be felt in the community.

C. Organizational Influence in Decision-making

We have stated that social power is exercised within a social system through both groups and individuals. In the foregoing section we have presented the personal influence resources of individual power leaders. It remains necessary that an analysis of organizational influence in the exercise of social power be presented.

It has been pointed out that organizational access is consi-

dered a significant influence resource by the men of power. An attempt was made to learn which organizations the men of power considered to be most influential in the decision-making process.

DAFMI most influential. There is almost unanimous opinion among the power leaders that DAFMI is the most influential organization in the community. There is, of course, good reason for this judgment. The DAFMI board of directors is composed mostly of the top men of power and, since DAFMI has been in operation, it has served as the arena through which most major decisions were formalized.

We found less agreement among the power leaders about which organization ranks second in community influence. We see in Table 8, page 170 that ten different organizations were appraised by one or more of the power leaders as ranking second in community influence. This ranking in part reflects membership of some of the men of power in these various organizations. None of the power leaders were found to be members of the Citizens League, but this organization, on a few occasions, has exerted pressure on the men of power. This pressure was effectively neutralized by the men of power, but, because the League has a considerable following, it was ranked above the Chamber of Commerce in line of influence.

Most of the Denton power leaders belong to the Masonic order and several are members of the exclusive Hi-12. Frequent luncheons of the Hi-12 served as an informal means for discussing major proposals. The ranking of service clubs again reflects membership, and a history of past activity in these clubs by several of the power leaders.

Sub-leaders also voted DAFMI as the most influential organization followed by some of the service clubs in which they were

TABLE 6

Organizations in Denton Considered to be Most Influential in the Decision-Making Process by Votes From Top Leaders, Sub-Leaders and Laymen.

Organization	Number of Votes By		
	Top Leaders	Sub-Leaders	Laymen
DAFMI	12	16	40
Citizens League	5	0	13
Chamber of Commerce	4	3	50
Masons	3	3	22
Rotary	2	0	35
Kiwanis	2	6	17
Lions	2	6	21
CIO	1	0	5
Elks	1	3	4
American Legion	1	3	5
Community Chest	1	0	0

active. Laymen, on the other hand, did not vote DAFMI as the most influential community organization, but rated the Chamber of Commerce as being more influential than DAFMI.

Group Opposition. The question was asked of the power leaders if any influential group had ever strongly opposed any major policy decision, and what was done about it. Montgomery said yes, and explained that the Citizens League strongly opposed the position taken by DAFMI on the

hospital project. The League felt that funds raised in a public campaign should only be used for public hospital improvements. If any religious body wanted to build a hospital, that was their own affair, and they should find their own source of revenue. Montgomery stated that, "We talked to the officers of the Citizens League and convinced them that an overall community hospital program is what was needed. We must not be narrow-minded about something which will benefit everyone in the whole community". The League's officers became convinced that the proposed program was sound, and went on record as approving the proposal. "That settled it," said Montgomery, "Soon after that the bottom fell out of the League and we didn't have any more opposition". This was the only time any strong opposition developed toward decisions on major community projects.

Clique structures. The clique structure frequently plays a significant role in the informal life of a social system. The Denton community is no exception, and cliques were found to be an important means of discussing major proposals prior to arriving at a final decision. Cliques found in this study also served the purpose of maintaining contact with the understructure of leadership and vice versa for the Denton men of power. Frequent meeting places for these small groups are the Denton Pioneers clubrooms, the country club and one of the favorite eating places in the city.

Gregory Heintz was considered a member of three different cliques. One of these consisted of Heintz, A. Mint, L. Buckman and Joe Kelley, a sub-leader. These men usually went hunting together, occasionally had lunch together and on occasion went on extensive fishing excursions. They were also frequently seen associating as a group following sessions of the DDC board of directors. Heintz used this as a means of getting ideas

for later use, for keeping in touch with the lesser power leaders and to maintain good relations with the active manager of the daily newspaper.

Another clique to which Heintz belonged consisted entirely of sub-leaders in the community. The sub-leaders thus had a method of being recognized by one of the men of power and Heintz had another avenue of tapping the understructure for ideas. Golfing was a prime common interest with this group.

There is no recognized clique composed entirely of power leaders. Most of the power leaders, in fact, were not recognized either by their peers or by sub-leaders as being a member of any particular clique. This was considered by the sub-leaders as an indication of the universal appeal of the men of power.

Many informal discussions about particular proposals took place among power leaders. They usually were held in the Denton Pioneer clubrooms, Hi-12, or in someone's office. These informal discussions served the purpose of working out details on a proposed project. Montgomery stated that, "Things are usually pretty well worked out by the time a project is discussed formally at DAFMI board meetings".

An example of how the power leaders were able to exercise their authority and influence in minimizing the influence of a recognized expert when the expert's opinions disagreed with those of the resident men of power is presented in the following discussion.

The Denton Chamber of Commerce appointed a special committee to see what could be done relative to providing an adequate water supply both to the city and also to the fringe area surrounding Denton proper. Those appointed were: Gregory Heintz, Oliver Smith, L. Buckman, Nate Overman, Bob Speck, director of the city water system, S. R. Lemler,

a member of the city council, George Patton, a retired city water commissioner, Tony Vanmeer, a prominent member of the county court living outside of the city and W. D. Miller, a specialist employed in the county department of taxation.

At the first meeting of the committee Heintz was named chairman, Patton, vice chairman and Speck secretary. Heintz, Smith and Buckman, it should be pointed out, are recognized power leaders in the community. Buckman also controlled two primary media of communication, press and radio. Speck and Patton were highly respected for their technical knowledge, Overman was a prominent labor official, and the others were named to the committee only because of their formal office in either city or county government.

The water committee met occasionally for a period of two years to work on solutions to the problem. It was finally decided that a specialist who had developed a sound metropolitan water system in another state be invited to appear at a public meeting, discuss his experiences and make recommendations for the Denton area. The meeting was well advertised, special invitations had been sent out to many prominent citizens in the area and the appearance of a specialist was widely publicized in the Denton Enterprise.

When the specialist arrived he was taken around the area under consideration by several of the Denton power leaders and feted at a private dinner the day before the meeting. When he was asked for his opinions of what should be done about water supply for the Denton area, the power leaders stoutly disagreed with the opinions offered. They tried to get him to tone down his suggestions for the public meeting, but the specialist pointedly refused to give ground.

At the meeting the following evening, none of the power leaders showed up, not even the one who was supposed to chair the meeting. The invited guest was not intimidated, and proceeded to present his thoughts and recommendations to the assembled group. The results of this meeting, and what the specialist had stated, were reported in a small single column item on the inside pages of the Denton Enterprise at least a week after the meeting took place.

No mention was ever made in subsequent water committee meetings of this specialist, his recommendations, or of the public meeting at which he appeared. Meetings of the special water study committee became less frequent and attendance became sporadic. After six months no more meetings were called by the committee chairman and no subsequent action followed.

The sociogram Figure V, page 175, indicates the interaction between members during a typical meeting of the water committee. It will be noted that interaction was almost entirely among the power leaders and the recognized specialists. The other members of the committee were given to understand that this was not a place for them to enter into the discussions. On two occasions, in fact, Miller made a proposal for consideration based on his knowledge, and on what had been discussed during the meeting. Neither time was his proposal even recognized by the chairman. Later in these same meetings, however, when Patton made this same proposal, it was immediately taken up and discussed in considerable detail. Both times this was then adopted as policy of the committee.

The above illustration indicates that the power leaders successfully controlled this technical committee. It shows also that

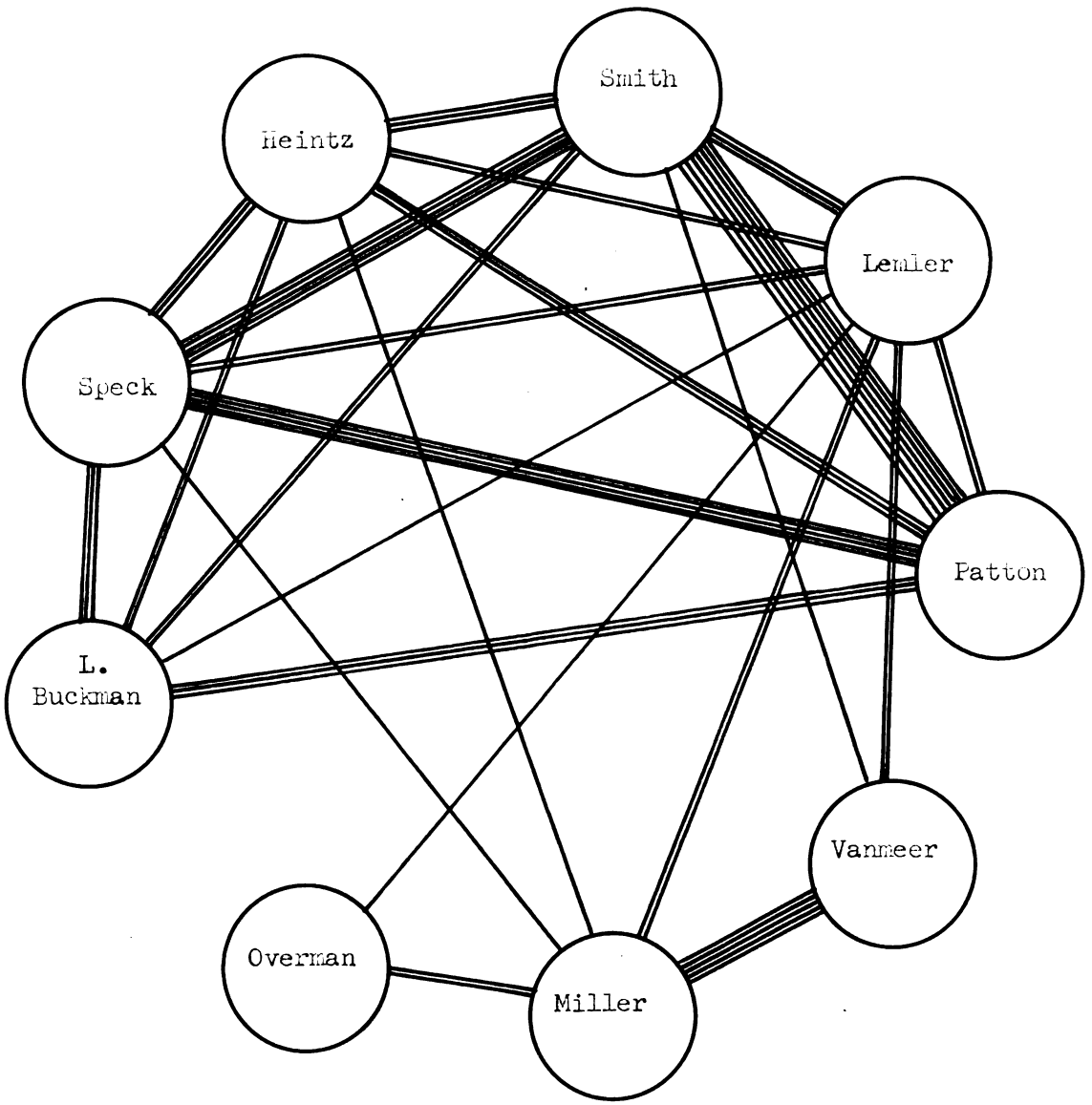

Figure V. Interaction Pattern
of Water Committee Members.

power leaders can effectively prevent technical advice from being accepted in the community when it does not conform to their opinions.

D. Chapter Summary

In this chapter we have presented the resources of social power and indicated their application by the power leaders.

The men of power were found to be generally active in community affairs, they have important positions in either business or government, they have demonstrated ability and success, most of them have time to devote to major community projects and they have sufficient intra-community access either directly, through social links or through systems of mutual obligations.

Certain resources of social power (position and access) were found to be possessed by all the power leaders, but in different degrees. At the same time we found that some resources (control, old family, and wealth) are attributed only to certain individuals. Another factor is that various resources of power are considered more important than others. Ability, for example, carries greater weight than prestige or wealth.

All but two of the power leaders were at least 45 years of age and most of them had spent most of their life in the community, with several having a family history of several generations of residence in Denton.

The men of power know how to bargain when the occasion demands and how to neutralize opposition. They have developed effective patterns of relationships.

The repeated success of the power leaders in seeing their decisions executed has given them confidence, and has enhanced their power position in the community.

The community organization considered most influential by Denton power leaders was found to be DAFMI with which they were closely connected and which they had organized. The Citizens' League had exerted considerable pressure on several occasions and was, therefore, felt to have considerable influence.

Following these organizations there seemed little general agreement among power leaders as to which organization came next in line of influence. Individual power leaders mentioned those organizations with which they or their friends were intimately associated.

Since we have thus far discussed the various phases of decision-making followed by an analysis of resources of authority and influence, we want to present a perspective of decision-making as viewed from various levels in the community. This constitutes the subject to be examined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVE OF DECISION-MAKING

Social power does not function in a vacuum but in a community of people, many types of people, some of whom have quite definite opinions. Major decisions in a community usually have consequences, either direct or indirect, for the majority of its residents.

Since the exercise of social power within a social system has as its purpose the control of either human actions or available resources, an examination of control devices is indicated.[1] Some of the observed methods of social control in the Denton community will be described in this chapter.

In a complete study of community power structures it is desirable to present an overview of community perspectives of the decision-making process. It is the purpose of the present chapter, in addition to presenting some of the devices for social control employed by the Denton power leaders, to analyze the power leaders' views of the community, sub-leader roles observed and the laymen's view of the decision-making process.

A. Power Leaders' View of the Community

In the exercise of social power in a community it is impor-

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[1] See W. I. Thomas, Social Behavior and Personality, (E. H. Volkart, Editor), Social Science Research Council, New York, 1951, pp. 216-217.

tant that the power leaders correctly assess community needs, programs and attitudes. By so doing the decision-makers can better provide the necessary leadership on vital problems and issues facing the community. It, in addition, facilitates the legitimation process for major decisions which have consequences for the members of the community.

It was learned in this study that the power leaders do not consider lay opinions as particularly important. A number of respondents indicated that laymen are frequently ignorant as to community needs and processes and, therefore, then need to be "educated" as to the merits of particular community programs. Such "education" would minimize possible opposition from laymen and organizations dominated by them, of community programs supported by the power leaders. It is through the sub-leaders that the power leaders keep informed on community attitudes. Such a system permits a filtering of ideas and criticisms before they reach the actual decision-makers.

It was learned that power leaders are not entirely objective in their evaluation of community needs. Their business interests, in many cases, take precedence. We noted, for example, that in the development of the Denton Development Corporation the most active power leaders (Schultz, Heintz, Randall and L. Buckman) stood to gain most if any sizeable new industry should locate in the community.

Several of the men of power hold membership in Kiwanis, Rotary and the Chamber of Commerce as individuals, but usually they do not actively participate in these organizations. Their absence at meetings is more common than their presence. Their membership, however, lends a certain amount of prestige to the organization. Reasons given by the men of power for membership in these organizations are

that a particular organization served as the stepping stone for them into active participation in community life, and they like to continue their association with the organization. Another reason is that the men of power find these organizations to be good listening posts, and they can watch for sub-leaders who might exhibit capacities for more responsibility. Membership in these organizations also serves as a form of recreation for the men of power, and it equates them with the ordinary citizens of the community. However, we seldom see a power leader heading up one of these organizations or even serving on a committee within the group.

The power leaders recognize the need for training younger men to eventually take their place in the community power structure. Service club activities serve as a means toward this end. Promising sub-leaders are, in addition, placed in important positions within the community chest organization which is controlled by power leaders and they are assigned important roles on project committees selected for carrying out important policy decisions in the community. A satisfactory system for perpetuating the existing power structure has thus been developed.

Local labor leaders and their union memberships are viewed with some degree of apprehension and disdain by the men of power. There is some feeling among the power leaders that union leadership tends to be radical and has socialistic leanings. Although this feeling is mild rather than intense, nevertheless, it persists and the question frequently arises, "what about labor"? The uncertainty of what action unions are likely to take raises an element of fear among the power leaders. They do not want to antagonize labor, yet they do

not want the unions to dictate to them.

There seems to be a strong feeling of loyalty among the men of power. They are not only loyal to themselves and to each other, but they demand loyalty from individuals under their direct control. This sense of loyalty, in turn, inspires confidence and enhances existing power positions.

Publicly employed professional personnel are looked upon as specially trained persons hired to do a specific job. They are not expected to enter into decision processes, but to faithfully perform the duties of their office. The men of power, in fact, expressed resentment of any professional person who would be inclined to speak out publicly on an issue in opposition to a stand taken by the men of power. Hunter indicates that in extreme cases the employee would likely lose his job.[2]

A final point to be made in this section is that the men of power do not actively participate in party politics. Although they have means of keeping in touch with political activities, they themselves stay in the background. This position permits them more freedom over a wider range of community activities.

In summary, the decision-makers have a keen understanding of the social system in which they operate and they are sensitive to prominent interest groups. They demand conformity from co-workers and they have developed acceptable systems for training promising sub-leaders.

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[2] Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1953, pp. 190-194.

B. Sub-Leader Roles

The exercise of social power involves not only those persons who make decisions, but also numerous individuals who serve as advisors to decision-makers and whose job it is to carry out major policy decisions. These roles are normally filled by sub-leaders chosen by the men of power and directed by them.

It was learned that on only a few occasions did a sub-leader participate in major decision-making processes. When sub-leaders did participate it was primarily in the role of consultants in informal discussions, because of special knowledge possessed by the particular sub-leader.

One prominent local labor leader, Nate Overman, was a member of the DAFMI board of directors. This, however, does not indicate that Overman enters actively into the decision-making process. Major decisions were actually made informally and later formalized at, for example, DAFMI board meetings. Overman stated that he is cognizant of how the system operates and further that the men of power do not consider him a peer in the decision-making process. Overman, in order to make his influence felt, would usually express his opinions and sentiments on major proposals to one of the power leaders with whom he was quite friendly. This was done informally, and served as the means of injecting labor views into the decision-making processes. Overman stated that DAFMI board meetings were usually quite formal and did not include detailed discussions of the value of a particular proposal.

The DAFMI board of trustees was composed mostly of sub-leaders and professionals in the community. The board of directors

and board of trustees occasionally held joint meetings, which gave recognition and prestige to sub-leaders, and served the additional purpose of familiarizing sub-leaders with how DAFMI operated.

Toward the close of field investigations for this study, an advisory board of trustees was appointed by the DAFMI board of directors. There are thirty members on this advisory board of trustees, many are recognized sub-leaders with the majority being younger businessmen in the community who have not been active in community affairs. The power leaders believe that the younger men of the community who seem to have ability should be brought into the system and given recognition which might result in more active participation by these able young men. Lester Mint referred to this group as the "Junior Advisory Board" and explained that, "we appointed these younger men to bring forth ideas and get acquainted with the system." This is another method used by the power leaders to strengthen their position and to perpetuate the system.

Sub-leaders are the backbone of membership of most of the civic clubs in the community such as Kiwanis, Rotary, Lions, Chamber of Commerce and others. These clubs serve as arenas where minor decisions are made after basic policy has been laid down by the men of power. Many professional persons also belong to these organizations. Some organizations, such as the P.T.A. and the Citizens League, also contain many members other than sub-leaders or professionals.

The type of community activities which cut through all levels of the community are usually sponsored by the sub-leaders. This includes such civic enterprises as, paint-up clean-up week, the annual July festival, conventions which may meet in the community and others.

These, and the activities of the clubs themselves, serve as sociability groups and proving grounds for the sub-leaders. Many sub-leaders said that the two main reasons they belong to these clubs are because they do good in the community, and they offer a means of gaining recognition as a ladder to the top power structure. Professionals who belong to these groups seem to feel that their membership is primarily for social and business reasons.

Sub-leaders usually form the bulk of committee membership for carrying out major decisions made by the policy makers. Examples include the hospital drive which was headed by Heintz, with all the others on the general committee coming from the sub-leader group. In the committee for the youth organization facilities campaign we found no member of the top structure. This was actually headed by a sub-leader, Joe Kelley, and was composed entirely of sub-leaders and professionals.

Sub-leaders generally claim that they have an obligation to serve on these committees. Many will jump at the chance of being selected to head up an important committee. This strong feeling is illustrated by the statement of a sub-leader, By Denton, who said, "When Mint calls us, we get in the car and go. We want to stay on the bandwagon."

Local political office-holders are frequently selected from the sub-leader group. We found that the Denton city council, the school board and the water board memberships consist mainly of sub-leaders in the community.

We have pointed out that the men of power frequently use the Denton Pioneer clubrooms for informal meetings and small luncheons.

The sub-leaders, on the other hand, usually hold their meetings in one of the hotels, in the YMCA or in one of the conference rooms in the city hall. Meetings of only sub-leaders never use the Denton Pioneer clubrooms.

We have seen in Table 3, page 55, that sub-leaders recognize who the men of power are although their ranking of the men of power differs slightly from that of the power leaders themselves. We also note that several of the more prominent sub-leaders, Joe Kelley and Fred Hoffman, are ranked above some of the lower ranked men of power as rated by power leaders themselves. Both Kelley and Hoffman have been given considerable public recognition for their recent community activities, and they are more familiar to many of the sub-leaders than some of the men of power.

In the ranking of resources for social power, the sub-leaders considered ability and intelligence the most significant resource, as is indicated in Table 9, page 186. Next in order of importance were success, position and control. Ability, success and position reflects admiration by many sub-leaders for the more prominent men of power. Sub-leaders generally felt that control brings prestige to the individual as well as reflecting his ability in the field of business.

Since practically all the sub-leaders had indicated considerable community interest we find this element of resource ranked relatively high. It also reflects the sub-leaders' opinion that an individual should be in the public eye to gain recognition in the community.

The resource of wealth was given a higher ranking by sub-leaders than by the power leaders themselves. It will be recalled

TABLE 9

Resources of Social Power as Indicated by Sub-leaders.

Resource	Votes from Sub-leaders
Ability and Intelligence	30
Success	22
Position	22
Control	21
Community Interest	20
Wealth	16
Unselfishness	15
Old Family	15
Time	15
Prestige	12
Access	11
Mutual Obligations	5

that only one of the sub-leaders was considered to be wealthy. The relative lack of wealth among sub-leaders may be a primary factor for ranking it as a relatively important resource.

It is significant that access and mutual obligations were not ranked high as resources for social power by the sub-leaders. Many of the lower ranked sub-leaders have not been as active in community affairs as the higher ranked sub-leaders or the men of power and, therefore, it appears as though they have not gained the necessary

experience to indicate to them the value of access and mutual obligations as they enter into the decision-making process.

The subjective evaluation of men of power by sub-leaders is usually one of admiration and respect. Several sub-leaders stated that they considered Lester Mint, Tim Rindall and Jim Montgomery as models, and tried to emulate their participation in the community. The feelings of sub-leaders toward the top men, however, are not always complimentary. Those sub-leaders who have shown considerable progressiveness, more than the power leaders feel is reasonable, have the strongest resentment of the men of power. They feel that some of the power leaders are not open-minded and will not accept opinions from anyone unless such opinions further the self interest or coincide with the sentiments of the top men personally. Professional workers feel that the power structure does not conform to a democratic system. They feel that everybody should have the opportunity to participate in major policy decisions which have consequences for the community at large. The men of power, in turn, refer to professionals as someone hired to do a particular job and not someone to pry into the affairs of others. "When we need their opinion", said one top leader, "we will ask for it".

The ranking of influential organizations by the sub-leaders indicates that sub-leaders quite fully recognize the power position of DAFMI (see Table 8, page 170). We found, however, that sub-leaders attributed more influence to the service clubs than to some of the other organizations ranked second by the power leaders.

We see then that there is a type of bureaucratic structure in the pattern of leadership observed. The structure is relatively

rigid, but does not conform strictly to the ideal type of bureaucracy proposed by Max Weber. We have found that the men of power are recognized not only for their ability and competence, but also for their success, intra-community access and availability of time.

Sub-leaders generally regard power leaders in very high esteem even though individuals may be singled out for private criticism. There is a strong feeling of loyalty and conformity among the sub-leaders.

The pattern of organizational participation typified by sub-leaders is probably the best avenue for a person of ability to move up in the community power structure. It appears very difficult, in fact, for anyone to gain access to the top power structure unless he has shown, through participation in numerous sub-leaders roles, that he has the ability to take his rightful place among the power leaders.

C. Laymen's View of Decision-Making

Previous sections of this chapter have presented a perspective of decision-making as viewed by power leaders and sub-leaders. Since major policy decisions eventually affect all community residents, an examination of decision-making as seen by ordinary citizens is necessary, if we are to fully understand the community power structure.

By means of random sampling in selected areas of the city, a total of 96 male heads of households were secured for intensive interviewing. These laymen ranged in age from 22 to 84 years. Table 10, page 189, shows the age groups of these 96 persons.

Nearly half of the laymen were laborers in plants operated by the men of power. Table 11, page 189, shows that twelve were self-

TABLE 10

Age Groups of Laymen Interviewed

Age Group	Number of Laymen
30 and under	9
31 - 40	13
41 - 50	32
51 - 60	17
61 - 70	15
over 70	10

TABLE 11

Occupation of Laymen

Occupation	Number of Laymen
Self employed businessmen	12
Salesmen	9
Government workers	15
Laborers	46
Retired	14

employed, 15 held a position in an office of local, state or federal government (none were department heads) and 14 were retired persons. Several of these retired persons had recently moved to the community upon retirement and were not familiar with the community.

Very few laymen were found to hold membership in any of the local organizations in which many sub-leaders or men of power also hold

memberships, except in fraternal, religious and veterans groups. Nine stated that they belonged to the Citizens League, seven were volunteer Red Cross workers, 20 were PTA members, 44 union members, two belonged to the Rotary club, four to the Lions club, one to the Kiwanis club, seven to the Chamber of Commerce and six to the Junior Chamber of Commerce. Twenty stated that they belonged to no organization of any kind in the community except their church.

When asked about the extent of participation in the organizations to which they belonged, most of the laymen indicated that they belonged primarily for social reasons. Seven of the retired men indicated that they had been active members of several local civic organizations before their retirement, but that the work of these groups should be carried on by younger men. Twenty one persons stated that they were active members in one or more local groups to which they belonged, but only six were found to have served on any committee within these groups during the past four years. It was learned that eight of the sample interviewed had participated actively in the execution phase of the community hospital campaign. Their activity consisted of contacting the people in several blocks in their neighborhood to solicit funds for the campaign. Several indicated some activity for improved school facilities when this project was being promoted in the community, but was later defeated at the polls. Only one layman was found who actively worked against a major community project which had been approved and sponsored by DAFMI, this was in the hospital campaign. This individual is a member of the Citizens League and he felt that public contributions for hospitals should be used only for public hospitals and not for the hospital contemplated by the religious group.

When asked what position they had taken on a major community project, 64 laymen respondents indicated that they had either played the role of a spectator or a disinterested party. The reason given was that they did not think anything could be done about it anyway. Several stated that, "I guess I should have taken a more active part", while others said, "That's what we elect officials for". Many, in fact, had a very meager conception of what the projects were about and cared less, with seven respondents stating that they don't even read the papers. "They only print what the big men tell them anyway", was a frequent comment.

The comparative ranking of Denton power leaders shown in Table 5, page 62, shows that laymen generally recognized Lester Mint as the most influential man in the community. Other power leaders were also recognized, but not in the order of importance as indicated by either the men of power or by the sub-leaders. Arthur Jones, Harry Putz and Larry Bryan were ranked higher by laymen than by the other two groups. These three men have government positions, and are more closely associated with the ordinary citizens of the community than are the men of power or some of the sub-leaders.

Laymen gave strong recognition to position as a resource of power in the community. By position they meant an office in the local government or a position of control of large business firms. Many of the laymen were laborers in these large firms and they, therefore, gave recognition to the managers of the firms in which they were employed.

Wealth, or the control of money, was ranked very high by laymen as a resource of social power. This ranking of wealth is much

TABLE 12

Resources of Social Power as Indicated by Laymen

Resource	Votes from Laymen
Position	85
Wealth	64
Control	56
Prestige	43
Community Interest	30
Success	16
Ability	13
Access	11
Mutual Obligations	7
Honesty	4
Old Family	2
Time	2

higher than that given by either the men of power or by the sub-leaders. Most of the laymen were of very moderate means and felt that a wealthy person is able to "get what he wants". Some of the self-employed businessmen and retired persons relegated wealth to a much lower category than did the laborers or government workers. The high rank given to control and prestige again reflects the opinion of laymen that a person with an important position and adequate wealth has much prestige, and a combination of these gives the man of power control over people by threatening to withhold jobs or refusing to use his money for needed community improvements.

When laymen were asked to describe the characteristics of some of the men of power, we received a variety of replies. Several of the power leaders were singled out as fine men who have the community interest at heart and are liberal with their money. Tim Randall is one of the men of power singled out in this manner. Randall has frequently given money to particular churches when they were in a building program or when some special event was celebrated. Arthur Jones, another man singled out, was recognized for his family background and for his participation in a number of social welfare programs in the community with which many of the laymen were quite familiar. Laymen who were volunteer Red Cross workers praised August Mint and J. J. Latrick because they are directors of the Red Cross. We frequently found admiration of an individual man of power for some particular activity, and then the same man was blamed for the position he had taken on some other project.

Laymen seemed to express a general feeling of apathy toward some of the power leaders. A typical statement from a layman is, "There is no use trying to say anything. What could I do? Most of these things are cut and dried anyway". The men of power, on the other hand, frequently expressed the opinion that more people should take an active part in community decisions and lend their efforts to the community. Lester Mint expressed particularly strong feelings when he said, "This type of interest is what makes a democracy work and that is the responsibility of everybody in the community."

The laymen generally agreed that opposition to the power leaders or to projects sanctioned by them would not be considered wise and might even result in sanctions applied by the men of power such as

threatening the layman's job or preventing the layman from getting a necessary loan from one of the banks. No example was given by a layman where such sanctions were actually applied.

Laymen also agreed that the support of, at least, some of the men of power would be needed to put any project over in the community. The defeat of the proposed school bond issue was cited as an example of a project which did not have the open approval of the power leaders. They did not indicate knowledge of behind the scenes actions by power leaders.

When asked how major decisions are arrived at, the laymen gave a wide variety of answers. Some of the more common opinions are that the city council, the Chamber of Commerce and DAFMI are arenas in which most major decisions are actually made. Several respondents said it is the "gang at the golf club" that decides everything. The biggest majority of laymen, however, said they did not know how the decision process operates. Only four laymen made any attempt at differentiating between the formal and informal structures in the decision-making process.

Control of available means of communication was mentioned as being important in the community. It should be pointed out that the daily newspaper columns were usually available to the men of power when it was felt that newspaper publicity would be beneficial to a particular power leader or to a major project supported by the men of power. Several of the sub-leaders and one of the power leaders pointed out that the products of one of the large firms in Denton are sold almost exclusively outside of Denton, yet this firm has a full page ad in the Denton Enterprise at least twice a year. The implication is that, when

the firm, or the power leader heading the firm, wants some favorable local publicity, the pages of the newspaper are available for this purpose.

Attention to Table 8, page 170, indicates that laymen as a whole did not recognize DAFMI as the most influential organization in the community. It was somewhat surprising to find that many of the laymen interviewed had very little knowledge of DAFMI or of its functions. The Chamber of Commerce was ranked ahead of DAFMI as the most influential community organization. Many laymen mentioned that the Chamber of Commerce "gets things done" and that it has done the most for the community, therefore, it is most influential. Laymen, generally speaking, considered influential those organizations which had received a great deal of newspaper publicity and to which some of them belonged. Occasionally one or more of the power leaders also belonged to one of these organizations. This was used as a rationalization by laymen to substantiate their opinions.

D. Other Aspects of Decision-making.

In the final sections of this chapter we will analyze the norms and "behind the scenes" actions which have come to light during the course of this study. It has been noted that mild frictions and misunderstandings occasionally develop in the community, and among the more prominent individuals in the community. An analysis of the infighting among the community leaders is valuable to a complete understanding of the operation of the community power structure. It is particularly significant for an understanding of the relationship of formal and informal structures in a social system.

1. Social Norms: "Rules of the Game"

"Rules of the game" refers to generally accepted norms of social interaction to which all members of the social system are expected to adhere. It does not imply that the men of power consider the decision-making process as a game to be played with human beings as pawns, but it is rather an expression used by some of the power leaders and many sub-leaders in reference to community activities in which they participate.

The first generally accepted rule is honesty to yourself and to your co-workers--let your associates know what really goes on. A person who frequently violates this norm soon loses the respect of persons with whom he is associated in various community activities. Tim Randall pointed out that, if a person is not honest, you can not depend on him when the "chips are down" on an important matter. He cited a German proverb which says, "He who lies once you can't believe, even if he does tell the truth".

Frankness and openness within the in-group were also considered essential. If an individual holds back information which should be divulged, the resultant decision is apt to reflect this lack of information. One man may not have all the necessary information and others may be personally interested. The men of power hold that, in order for a major decision to be valid, it must reflect a thorough study of all relevant facts. If this situation does not prevail, it would be very difficult to gain legitimation and execution of any major decision. This, in turn, could easily discredit not only the men who make decisions, but the whole structure as it now functions in the community.

Power leaders generally assert that they are entitled to know in advance of any issue discussed by sub-leaders which may have consequences for large segments of the community. Any sub-leaders violating this norm would be considered insubordinate and subject to severe sanctions.

It is generally understood that certain kinds of knowledge are to be kept within the top power group or among selected sub-leaders. An illustrative example was presented in the formation of DDC. Not more than 25 selected persons knew of plans being made until the proposal was announced publicly.

If the top leadership informally arrives at a decision on a controversial issue, the decision remains private. In some cases such a decision may never be divulged. This was the case when power leaders decided against a proposed school bond issue and privately enlisted the support of prominent realtors to secure defeat of the proposal.

When a group decision has been reached and agreed upon by all of the group members, it is expected that each individual member of the group will support the decision. It is recognized, at the same time, that an individual may find reason to question the wisdom of an agreed upon decision. In such a case, the individual is expected to bring it to the attention of the group for further discussion, rather than speaking against the group or their decision and thereby making it appear to the public as if there is dissension within the group. Mr. Mint pointed out that, if a member of DAFMI, for example, would speak out in public against an adopted policy or against some of the members of DAFMI, it could result in serious consequences. Such actions might discredit the system, and people would soon lose confidence in

DAFMI as well as its members. If a person should violate this rule, he would be subject to reprisals by either the group or by individuals who felt strongly about such action. We have noted that Joe Kelley became quite hostile toward DAFMI after the proposed new youth organization facilities was put aside temporarily for an overall community hospital building program. If Kelley had continued to speak out against DAFMI or its members, "We could have made it difficult for him", said Mint. Kelley manages a type of business in the community which could be extensively boycotted by the men of power.

Loyalty to superiors is a rule which seems to be held to rigidly by the men of power. This reflects a norm of a bureaucratic system. It indicates that a system must have some rules which are obeyed, if it is to function and perpetuate itself. Another factor is that the superiors offer rewards which are "paid back" in loyalty. If Fred Hoffman (a recognized sub-leader and an employee of Lester Mint), for example, were to publicly speak out against Mr. Mint or about a decision approved by him, Hoffman's future relationship with both the Laswell Woolen Mills and with the top community leadership would be severely curtailed.

No private gain should be expected from a position of public trust. At the time of this study a prominent public official had used his position to grant favors to many marginal supporters. As a result of these actions, recipients of these favors felt obligated to him. The above activities became widely known and were looked upon with disfavor to such an extent that the official was nearly defeated at a recent election. The men of power did not openly take a position against the official, but they indicated that his past actions were not looked

upon with favor. It is difficult to state that this had much effect on the number of votes cast against the official, but the fact remains that he won by only a very slight margin, whereas he had been elected to the same position several times previously with considerable margins.

A person should not run for public office without first consulting some of the powers in the political system. This again is a method of controlling the bureaucracy. A case was cited by one informant where this rule applied. A prominent man in Denton wanted to run for a high public office. He felt that he should first feel out some of his friends as to what his chances for election would be. The prospect later decided not to enter the race at this time. What had happened is that one of his close friends, one who understood the system, talked to a prominent political figure and suggested that he have someone talk to the prospective office seeker. The informant stated that he did not know if anyone did talk to the prospective office seeker, but, at any rate, he did not run for office that year.

"Be considerate of others and give credit to whom credit is due", was a rule often mentioned. Many informants singled out Mr. Mint as a person who is always considerate of the feelings of others. He accepts ideas from others and has frequently given them public credit for an idea. Selfishness is considered almost an intolerable sin. Several informants intimated that selfishness can break up a group or an organization quicker than anything else. The power leaders indicated that, if anyone repeatedly manifests traits of selfishness, he is "spoken to" by someone in whom he has confidence. If this does not change his actions, then other pressures are brought to bear on the

individual to make him realize what the effects of his actions might be on the group.

One social norm will be cited which deals with patterns of communication. It is not considered ethical to apply raw force to compel or overpower an individual into compliance to a decision, but rather to honestly discuss the merits of the issue in order to convince staunchly opposing individuals. It would have been a simple task, for example, for Lester Mint to forcefully insist that Joe Kelley support the DAFMI stand on the hospital issue. Mr. Mint, however, chose to go to Kelley's home and talk to him as a peer with the result that Kelley did change his stand and supported the DAFMI decision.

In summary, the processes of social actions in decision-making are surrounded by a well established set of patterns with respect to how an individual acts and relates himself to other persons within a group. These patterns are not verbalized or codified, but function at a latent level of social life.

2. Cooperation

By cooperation is meant the sharing of an activity for mutual benefit. It involves different individuals or groups working harmoniously together on a particular project. It infers further that there is a common interest toward a specific goal, and willingness on the part of the cooperating individuals or groups to work together toward the recognized goal.

Three specific examples of cooperative effort were cited with pride by informants. One of these was the formation and operation of DAFMI. It was pointed out that there wasn't a single organization that

didn't cooperate in the establishment and support of DAFMI when it was initially proposed. All formal organizations and interest groups were said to have recognized that the formation of DAFMI was a means for all groups in the community to cooperate for the good of the whole community. Apparently the various supporting organizations realized that each proposed community project would have to await its turn for DAFMI support, but it appeared that the waiting period would be acceptable with some sort of a guarantee that eventually every proposed project with merit would be completed.

The initial project supported by DAFMI (memorial field) was considered a truly cooperative effort. Schools, churches, service clubs, interest groups and public officials endorsed this project and pushed for its completion. This indicated that divergent interest groups could cooperate for a common cause. Never before in the history of the community, it is said, had anything like this taken place.

The community chest reorganization was cited as another prime example of cooperation by all interests. Montgomery pointed out, "here we took a meager organization, reorganized it and brought a number of other interests into the system so one annual fund drive could be supported by all interests and individuals". The chest had never reached its goal before this reorganization, but since then it has exceeded its goal every year. "I call this true cooperation", said Montgomery.

American culture tends to scale cooperation high and manipulation low, but both occur. A high value is placed on cooperation because it is the "democratic" way of getting things done. We will see in the following section that manipulation, on the other hand, is considered a sub rosa type of activity.

3. Manipulation

Manipulation refers to the art of skillfully managing a situation to gain a change of attitude in an individual or a group which will cause their subsequent actions to conform to the manipulator's desires. This is to be distinguished from persuasion which refers to direct inducement of an individual through reason or advice to gain his support. Manipulation usually consists of changing a group opinion through an intermediary or vice versa. An example of this type of activity is to secure a change of attitude of leaders of an organized group with the result that group policy and attitudes would become favorable to an issue. In such a case the group officers would be persuaded to change their attitudes with the result that group members would, through their officers, be manipulated to conform to the manipulator's wishes.

Manipulation is to be distinguished from influence which refers to the attributes of an individual which can be used as social capital, and authority which refers to the right of an individual to command the services or respect of others. Manipulation is the application of skills in a social transaction rather than the mere possession of needed skills.

A number of cases of manipulation were cited by informants, but always with the request that this is to be confidential. The informants obviously felt that manipulation is unethical and is considered bad. People do not like to be manipulated because it violates their values and their informal expectations. Similarly, the top leaders do not like to be subject to manipulation, but they, in turn, may,

under certain conditions, try it on others for a good cause.

When examples of cooperation were requested, the replies came quicker and with a feeling of pride in the ability to have numerous diverse individuals or groups work together in harmony on a particular project. This conforms to the popularly held opinion in American culture that manipulation involves scheming or disapproved actions while cooperation is teamwork and is, in turn, rewarding to those who can and do cooperate.

One instance of manipulation has already been mentioned, that is when opposition from the Citizens League was neutralized by the power leaders. Members of the League were strongly against the combined hospital campaign and had distributed literature stating their objections. The officers of the League were talked to and convinced that the combined hospital program should be approved otherwise it might be difficult to gain any improvements in existing hospital facilities at this time. The League officers in time became convinced that their stand was wrong and openly supported the proposed combined hospital campaign. After the League members learned that their officers had changed their stand, they too refrained from further actions against the hospital project. In this way the power leaders were able to manipulate almost the total League membership by convincing their leaders that the stand against the hospital project was not in the best interests of the community.

One instance of manipulation will be cited which was solidly in the political arena. Larry Bryan had repeatedly won political elections and had held the same important position for many years. Mr. Bryan wanted a friend of his, William Hart, appointed to a vacancy

existing on the city water board. Bryan talked to a number of the men on the committee responsible for filling the vacancy and found that they were not favorable to his suggestion. One of the committee members, Fred Simon (also an elected official with many years of service), had been training his son to take over his own job upon retirement. Mr. Bryan pointed out to Simon that, "You know, I can help your son take over your position when you get ready to quit". Simon recognized that Bryan could indeed be a great help in getting Simon's son elected when the time came. Simon, therefore, used his influence with other members of the appointing committee and eventually Hart was selected for the water board vacancy. Here again we see a powerful man successfully manipulate a group, this time in the field of politics.

A number of informants cited an instance where an attempt at manipulation did not succeed. In this case it was felt by a certain commission that an especially strong community group wanted its own members to play a more active role in the commission program. An occasion arose for filling a vacancy on the commission to which one of the group members, Walter Horton, strongly aspired. The commission had already decided that, from an educational point of view, Horton was not the most qualified man for the commission post, and his name was dropped from consideration. Upon learning of this action, the group immediately contacted many of its members through petition and word of mouth, urging them to call members of the commission expressing their views and urging the appointment of Horton. Numerous members of the group attended meetings of the commission to impress the commission with their following. The commission realized what was going on, and the feeling developed even stronger against Horton. Horton was not

appointed to the commission, and his standing in the community fell considerably as a result of this affair. Within a year of this effort, Horton withdrew from public life. One of the men of power stated, "You just can't tell where Horton stands on an issue". It needs to be pointed out that two of the more prominent sub-leaders and one of the power leaders in Denton held positions on the commission. These three individuals commanded enough influence among the commissioners to prevent the appointment of Horton to the existing vacancy.

4. Keeping Others in Line

Keeping others in line refers to actions directed toward individuals who have deviated from the approved line of action. The men of power maintain that, once a commitment has been made, the member of the system should adhere to the unspoken rules of the system. If an individual would try to "go it alone" he would not be able to avail himself of the thinking of the rest of the men of power. Several respondents indicated that no one man is big enough to carry a project all by himself, it takes from a few to many persons to see a project through, the number depends on the project. Another factor which probably was in the minds of the power leaders is that their self-esteem and social prestige is hurt when they are not consulted on a proposal.

Two instances have already been cited where an individual had to be brought back into line. One was when Joe Kelley threatened to "expose the DAFMI schemers"; the other was discussed with the civic auditorium issue. In this latter instance, two of the project sponsors were "talked to" when they kept actively pressing for the civic auditorium even when they knew that many of the power leaders opposed the

project.

According to some informants, Gregory Heintz needs to be brought back into line occasionally. He is spoken of as bringing forth many new ideas, and occasionally developing them without first consulting with some of the other top men of power.

A number of cases will be discussed in which efforts were made to either keep someone in line or to bring him back into line again after a minor deviation.

Jerome Seaton, a minor sub-leader, came to Denton as a young man to enter business. He had surveyed the area and found that the type of business in which he was trained seemed to be controlled by one firm headed by the most powerful man in Denton at that time. Seaton started in a small way with used machinery, but his business soon grew to the extent where he had to buy some new and larger machines which would cost a considerable amount of money. The Denton National Bank refused to grant Seaton a loan to cover the cost of the needed machinery and equipment. The stated reason for refusing the loan was that Seaton was new in the community, and his business was too small to safely grant him the loan requested. Seaton was eventually able to borrow the needed funds from some other source.

Seaton said he later learned that the top man in town at that time, who had control of this type of business in Denton, was also a director of the Denton National Bank. He used his influence with the bank to prevent Seaton from getting the needed loan in order to minimize competition for his own business. Ben Fry, another sub-leader, pointed out this same type of sanction when he said, "If you want someone to do something, go to the bank first and see if they have a mortgage

on his property". This implies that, in order to apply financial sanctions, a person must have enough influence with the men who control finances in the community to make this type of sanction effective.

A number of years ago John Farnsworth, who was seeking re-election to a state office, learned that a local political office holder, B. C. Stone, was working against the election of one of the men on the slate of candidates for state office. Farnsworth was recognized as having a very good chance for re-election. A recognized method of assuring re-election is not to have opposition or, if any opposition develops, to neutralize that opposition before it can do any great damage. Farnsworth, therefore, called Stone on the phone and said, "You know Ben, you may not always have the position which you now hold", implying that he would be in a position to have Stone defeated at a future election. Stone stated during the interview that he was in no way intimidated. Stone felt that Farnsworth did not have enough local political influence to cause Stone's defeat in any future election. As it turned out, Stone was later appointed to a high county office which he still occupies.

Several other types of sanctions were mentioned by informants, although they did not seem to recall when these were actually applied. A type of business sanction was pointed out by several informants. A local insurance agency carries most of the insurance of one of the very large local firms. The manager of the agency is a sub-leader, and the manager of the large firm is one of the Denton power leaders. If the firm manager decided to change his insurance policies to another agency, it would cause a considerable void in the agency managed by the sub-leader. The sub-leader recognizes this and takes great pains not to

antagonize the manager of the large firm whose insurance business he now has.

Holding back press coverage is another type of sanction which can be effectively applied to anyone going against the wishes of either the editor or any of the men of power who have access to favorable press coverage. The writer knows of two occasions where the Denton Enterprise actively supported a particular person and his proposals over a period of time. Press coverage of these proposals was suddenly stopped. Only one of the top men would give an opinion to a question relating to this instance. The victim of this action, however, felt quite strongly that some of the men of power had passed the word along to the press to reduce its coverage of the particular proposal and its sponsor.

5. "Dirty Politics"

Almost any deliberate infraction of the basic American moral or ethical code as it applies to civic affairs is classed under the category of "dirty politics". This includes actions both in the arena generally considered as constituting politics as well as in other affairs of the community. Hypocrisy, dishonesty and selfishness were mentioned by most of the informants as falling within this category. The informants cited several specific instances of actions generally considered as constituting "dirty politics".

Two cases were mentioned in which a county commissioner strongly opposed a proposal of one of the top politicians in the county. In both instances the result was that the commissioners suffered defeat in subsequent elections, even though one had been in office for eight

years and one for 10 years. The aggrieved politician in both cases openly worked in the precincts of his two tormentors and helped direct a campaign to defeat the two commissioners. The informants felt that the aggrieved politician had no right to enter the home ground of the commissioners and actively assist their opponents in defeating them.

Numerous informants stated that injecting politics into community activities is a nasty and dirty trick. A number of such cases were cited with the assurance that these were the only times this happened, and that sanctions were imposed on the person responsible for this action.

Bringing racial and religious issues into community activities is another moral infraction classed under the general category of "dirty politics". This has been done on several occasions to discredit an individual or a specific group. One informant stated that, "If they can't beat you fairly they will accuse you of being a 'nigger lover' or being against someone because of his religious affiliation".

The writer has documentary evidence in his possession of at least one case where racial and religious issues were brought to bear against an individual, in addition to defaming his character in other ways. This was done shortly before a public decision was to be made on a matter of special interest to the accused individual. The charges were not based on factual evidence, and the result was that they backfired strongly on the individual who made them.

The types of actions most often mentioned by informants as constituting "dirty politics" fall into the following general categories: (1) public defamation of character, (2) accusations of religious bigotry, (3) hypocrisy, (4) accusing an opponent of racial discrimination,

(5) exerting undue influence on office holders for personal advantage, (6) injecting politics into non-political issues and (7) violating accepted codes of political activity.

Many informants attempted to hedge when asked to give some examples of what is considered "dirty politics". They indicated that these things are better left unsaid. Since every culture has areas which are not verbalized, the "dirty politics" label in American culture is felt to be socially bad taste and the power leaders seemed to feel that it is more re-assuring to act as though it is rare and not really done.

E. Chapter Summary

The present chapter has presented an analysis of the exercise of social power as viewed from various community levels. Since major decisions eventually have consequences for all citizens in a community, a presentation of the total community perspective of the decision-making process was held to be important.

It has been pointed out that the power leaders were consistently appraised of community attitudes through sub-leader roles. Such appraisal contributed materially to an evaluation of community needs. It further facilitated the legitimation processes.

Prestige, as viewed by the men of power, counted more from sub-leaders than from ordinary members of the community. Power leaders were generally viewed with respect and admiration by sub-leaders while at the same time they demanded loyalty and conformity from them.

The most powerful men did not actively participate in party politics or take an open stand on extremely controversial issues.

These positions prevented their allegiance with particular interest groups and permitted greater freedom of action for power leaders.

Although sub-leaders seldom participate in major decision-making processes, they play key roles in policy execution. Their position in the total decision-making process serves as a buffer for the power leaders as well as an adaptable medium of vertical communication within the system.

The leadership of major civic clubs and service organizations in the community consists primarily of sub-leaders and professional personnel. Minor decisions on major policy issues are made within these structures. Both the top men and the sub-leaders recognize these structures as the most logical avenues toward recognition as a potential power leader. This system, therefore, serves to solidify existing power positions as well as perpetuating the system.

While power leaders were found to be restructuring authority, sub-leaders try to work with the existing system. Professionals, on the other hand, are frustrated because they feel their social values are not respected, and ordinary citizens exhibit either apathy or resentment because they are so far removed from the exercise of social power on a community-wide level.

The present study indicates that ordinary residents in the community seldom participate actively in major community projects and further that they have little conception of the decision-making process. Laymen gave a very high rank to position, wealth and control as social power resources. The fact that they have none of these elements in large quantities is significant to this ranking.

Social control is exercised within the community power

structure through enforcement of conformity to accepted social norms. Loyalty, privacy and group solidarity were found to be highly valued within the power structure. Violation of these norms results in severe sanctions and deprivations for recalcitrant individuals.

Cooperative action on major projects is a highly valued social norm. While manipulation was considered unethical and a violation of social expectations, power leaders occasionally resort to its use for what they consider to be a good cause.

The exercise of social power within a social system involves numerous processes, both formal and informal, on different levels, each of which is surrounded by highly valued patterns of social relationships. Although the members of a social system are prone to look upon the exercise of social power as a formalized pattern of relationships, many phases of it take place within informal structures.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. The Problem Re-Stated

This dissertation has been a study of the concept of social power and how it enters into the making, legitimizing and executing of major policy decisions in an American community.

A city of 80,000 population was selected in which a recognized power structure contained the most prominent men of power in the community, men who actively participated in major policy decisions.

We recognize that, as MacIver has pointed out, "...every stage of society--and every particular society--has its characteristic and distinctive pyramid of power".[1] Our problem, however, has been to analyze a single power structure as it enters into community decision-making processes.

Social power was defined as the concentration of authority and influence within a social system for making, legitimizing and executing decisions which have consequences, intended or unintended, on the social chances of the members of that system. Authority refers to the socially sanctioned right of an individual to participate

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[1] R. M. MacIver, The Web of Government, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1947, p. 99.

in the decision-making process. By influence is meant the repository of social capital possessed by the individual which can be used to affect decisions of those in positions of authority. Making a decision involves the consideration of alternate courses of action, and selecting what seems to be the most acceptable course with the view of translating it into action. An agreed upon decision then becomes the adopted policy of the decision-makers. The process of legitimation involves making decisions appear rightful to members of the social system.

We have assumed that the social power of an individual is based on certain resources, that the exercise of power involves group relationships, that the top of the power structure includes relatively few persons in the community, and that decisions of the men of power must be acceptable to the members of the social system for them to become effective. Both Gouldner[2] and Merriam[3] have presented detailed discussions dealing with these relationships, and indicated that community sanction is necessary for the functioning of social power.

At the outset we recognized that informal and extra-legal structures within a social system play a major role. This then formed a field for investigation which has proven fruitful, and significant in this study.

We have described some of the characteristics and outlook of men of power, sub-leaders and laymen in the community. In addition

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[2] Alvin W. Gouldner, Studies in Leadership, Harper & Bros., New York, 1950, p. 674.

[3] Charles E. Merriam, Political Power, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1950, p. 29.

to a detailed analysis of the men of power and their roles in the decision-making process, we have attempted to depict some of the cultural patterns entering into these processes. It was necessary to assess the community image and feelings of sub-groups toward the men of power, and the feelings of the power leaders towards other groups in the community. We have also discussed some of the common values used in reference to men in prominent positions in our society.

The focused interview technique was used in interviewing each of the three groups, i. e., power leaders, sub-leaders and laymen. In this manner, we were able to elicit the subjective feelings of individuals in addition to gaining an understanding of the actual roles played by individuals in the system. The participant-observation method was used in some instances by virtue of the fact that the author lived and worked in the community while the study was in process.

Two hypotheses were developed to serve as guides to this study. They are: (1) Most major policy decisions are made in informal structures and legitimized in formal structures. Major policy decisions, as used here, refers to magnitude of the decision based on the extent to which it affects the community at large. (2) Economic or financial worth (wealth) is a prime determinate of major social power position in a community.

B. Summary of Findings

An analysis of the role of social power is indeed a useful method of inquiry into the analysis of community dynamics. Not only does this locate the most prominent community decision-makers, but a study of social power also provides an adequate basis for gaining

detailed insight into important community processes. It is necessary to analyze the dynamic aspects of a community to understand the community in action.

The men of power tend to be generally active in the community, or they have been active in recent years. The men of power further know what goes on in the community, and have developed channels through which information can flow both up and down the line through various levels of the community structure. By virtue of their past and present experiences, the men of power have developed considerable finesse in dealing with individuals, groups and problem situations.

Not all of the power leaders participate equally in all decision-making processes. The extent of participation varies with the project under consideration, and with the interest of the particular power leader. We have seen, for example, that several power leaders (Heintz and Montgomery) did not actively participate in decisions relative to the youth organization facilities. They depended on, and accepted, opinions offered by Tim Randall on this matter. Smith and Schultz did not play an active role in the decision process relating to the memorial athletic field, while C. Buckman was an active participant only in decisions relating to three of the major projects in which the men of power played a significant role. Even though a power leader did not actively participate in specific decisions, he may still participate indirectly through consultations with individual men of power. C. Buckman and J. J. Latrich were frequently found in such roles.

We also learned that there existed a semi-hierarchical

arrangement among the top men of power within the power structure. A man's position within the top power structure may vary according to the problem under consideration, but there seems to be general recognition that Lester Mint is the "top man in town". Following Mint in rank, come Randall and Montgomery, with Schultz and Heintz next in order from the top power positions. At the bottom of the top power structure we find A. Mint and L. Buchman. A number of the more prominent sub-leaders are considered close to the lower ranked men among the power leaders; these include Joe Kelley, Fred Hoffman, Ben Fry and Sy Denton.

The men of power have occasionally been accused of "scheming behind the scenes". It is partly because of this citizen attitude that the power leaders carry on numerous discussions and consultations on an informal basis, where any unwanted person is excluded. This serves as a means of facilitating communication, to promote discipline, to save valuable time and to administer sanctions when necessary. Moore and Tumin have stated that this arrangement has certain important functions among which are: preserving social differentials, reinforcement of traditional values, preservation of fair competition, preserving stereotypes and as an incentive within the social system.[4]

This study has shown that informal structures play an important role in the decision-making process. Informal structures, however, were found to be closely allied with the more formal structures.

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[4] W. E. Moore and Melvin M. Tumin, "Some Social Functions of Ignorance", American Sociological Review, Vol. 14. No. 6, December 1949, pp. 787-795.

"Formal and informal organizations are interdependent aspects of social interaction."[5] In six of the eight cases analyzed, the decision-makers formulated major decisions on an informal basis. The decision was subsequently formalized at a public meeting. An example of the above can be seen in the organizing process of DAFMI. The men of power developed the basic idea and prepared all necessary details. The idea was then formally approved at a meeting of representatives from 207 community organizations representing all sections of the community.

The importance of informal social relations in the exercise of social power has been further documented in a recent study by Preiss. He pointed out that the most successful county agents had developed informal social relations to a very high degree which, in turn, facilitated legitimation of their programs.[6]

The function of legitimation was accomplished on a formal basis in all the eight major cases analyed. Arenas in which the legitimation function was accomplished included DAFMI, the city council, the hospital board, the board of directors of the community chest, and public meetings consisting of organization representatives and public officials. Defeat of the school bond issue and of the auditorium proposal through public referendums served to withhold

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[5] F. J. Roethlisberger and Wm. J. Dickson, "Formal and Informal Status", in Reader in Bureaucracy, (Merton, Gray, Hockey and Selvin, Editors), The Free Press, Glencoe, 1952, p. 253.

[6] Jack J. Preiss, The Functions of Relevant Power and Authority Groups in the Evaluation of County Agent Performances, Unpublished Ph D Thesis, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1955.

legitimacy from these two proposals, neither of which was supported by the power leaders. In numerous cases major decisions were formalized in one group and legitimized in a different group.

Our first hypothesis is, therefore, found to be valid since six of the eight cases studied found the major decisions made in informal structures, and in each case legitimation was accorded in a formal structure.

This study has shown that the locus of social power is based on the possession of various resources of authority and influence. Not all power leaders can claim the same resources for social power, nor do we find a single resource possessed in the same degree by all the power leaders. Certain resources however, like position and access, were attributed to all of the power leaders. Resources of position, ability, success, community interest and access were ranked in order of importance by the men of power, with position being the most important resource. Wealth, prestige and length of community residence, on the other hand, were relegated by them to a minor role as a resource for social power.

The ranking of social power resources by sub-leaders differed only slightly from that given by the men of power. Sub-leaders ranked ability as the highest resource followed by success, position, control, community interest and wealth. Although the resource of wealth was considered by practically all sub-leaders to be a resource of power, only a few of the sub-leaders considered wealth as a primary power resource.

Laymen also recognized position as the most significant resource for power. Wealth was recognized as the next most important

resource followed by control and prestige. Ability was ranked much lower by laymen than by either the men of power or sub-leaders. Laymen generally indicated that a person in a prominent position, either in the business world or in government, must have wealth or he wouldn't be in such a prominent position.

Laymen also felt that, because a man has the positional resource, he has control over others and is accorded considerable prestige. We have pointed out in Chapter VII that there are a number of wealthy individuals in the Denton community who were not considered to be power leaders by either the men of power, by sub-leaders or by laymen. We see then that laymen mentioned wealth as an important resource for power, but they did not name the wealthiest persons in the community as power leaders. Several of the power leaders who were mentioned by laymen, like Putz and Jones, are by no means wealthy persons. It appears, therefore, that, because of lack of adequate knowledge among laymen, wealth was ranked higher as a power resource than actual conditions indicate that it should be.

Our second hypothesis stated that wealth is a prime determinant of social power in a community. Our analysis of resources for social power in the Denton community indicates that wealth is recognized as a resource by all levels in the community. It is given a different rank, however, by each of the three segments interviewed. The following facts relative to wealth as a resource seem significant in evaluating the above hypothesis: wealth is not ranked high as a resource by either the men of power or by sub-leaders. Laymen ranked wealth high, perhaps because they have little of it and because they "think" that power leaders are wealthy. There are a number of individuals in the community who

are considerably wealthier than any of the men of power, yet they were not considered as power leaders by any of the three groups, and only five out of the fifteen generally recognized power leaders are considered wealthy. The above indicates that wealth can not be considered as a prime determinant of social power, although it must be considered as a minor power resource. This would indicate that the above hypothesis is invalidated. Further empirical studies may indicate more clearly just what role wealth plays as a power resource.

This study discloses that such patterns as; rules of the game, manipulation, cooperation and dirty politics do have meaning for all groups within the community. The terms of manipulation and dirty politics, however, are not used openly by the men of power even though they recognize an activity as falling within such a pattern. These two terms are used only in confidential, inter-personal discussions and not with the general public so as not to disclose dissension among the men of power to the general public. Laymen, on the other hand, are not at all reluctant to use these terms in reference to individuals or actions above their reach.

A number of limitations have been found to affect the operation of decision-makers. Several informants indicated that lack of time is one of the most pressing problems. This was given as one reason why approval for a proposal should first be granted by one or more of the lower ranked power leaders before seeking the approval of Mr. Kint. All the power leaders have prominent positions in either business or government, besides numerous other obligations in the community. All these obligations take time and, in turn, limit the time available for more active participation in other types of community functions.

Competing group interests constitute another limiting factor. We have seen this element at work during the hospital discussions. C. Buckman and his religious group pressed for a decision favorable to his group while several of the hospital board members did not feel too friendly to the proposals of Mr. Buckman.

Another limiting factor is the lack of adequate communication between power leaders and those at lower levels. Several sub-leaders stated that they would rather not try to approach a man of power if it is necessary to go through several intermediaries. Randall, a prominent power leader, stated that he would like to spend more time with the under-structure personnel and various groups, but his time is too limited. Randall also felt that, a man of power who associates too much with groups of much lower status, may be left out of some of the informal discussions about a proposal on which a decision is felt to be necessary.

Our findings coincide in many respects with the findings of Hunter in his study of social power in a large metropolitan community.[7] Comparative findings of these two studies include: position, access and mutual obligations constitute important power resources; where man live adds to their status and prestige; more people are involved in policy execution than in making decisions; controversial issues are seldom discussed formally by power leaders; wealth and prestige are not considered primary power resources; informality plays a major role in discussions among the men of power; the power leaders are well informed on community affairs and have experience and skill to deal with problems; power leaders differ in the type or amount of resources for power and, finally, lower

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[7] Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1953.

structure leaders get to the top men through intermediaries.

C. Conclusions

The primary purposes for this study have been to apply certain concepts to an analysis of community dynamics, to explore the utility of these concepts and to arrive at some meaningful generalizations which would shed additional light on the dynamics of an American community. Our findings should not be considered as final proof of existing theories, but should serve as an empirical test of these theories and as a stimulus toward further research of concepts which were employed.

One basic conclusion is that the social power concept serves as a useful research tool for an investigation of community dynamics in our society. An analysis of community power structures locates those individuals who actively participate in major community decisions and, whose actions hold significance for the general community.

Another conclusion is that informal structures play a highly strategic role in community dynamics. Any study of community dynamics which does not give consideration to the informal structures would be by-passing a most vital field of inquiry. Informality plays such an important role in the community, in fact, that, if an individual or an interest group were to neglect this aspect, it would be extremely difficult to gain access to decision-makers, or approval of a community program regardless of its merits.

We have found that repeated successes of an existing power structure seems to attribute charismatic authority to the structure. In addition, prominent individuals within the power structure have had charismatic qualities attributed to them by various segments of the

community. However, neither the structure nor the person can dispense with legal-rational forms.

Most of the individuals who participate actively in the decision-making process were found to be at least of middle age or older. They have had an active community life, they have acquired skills for working with other persons or groups, they have a keen understanding of various community functions and they are recognized by many community residents. While citizens may be apathetic, they also recognize and admire those who are active in behalf of the community.

Not all men of power have the same constellation of resources as a basis for their power. We have seen that certain resources are attributed to all power leaders while others are attributed to only certain individuals. At the same time it was learned that two different power leaders may have a similar resource base, but they will have a different degree of social power.

A recognized power structure was found to be important in repeated decision-making processes concerning various community issues. We have seen, however, that not all men of power participate equally in all major decision-making processes. Certain major policy decisions may involve all the men of power while others may involve only certain individuals. There appears to be a grouping of power leaders for each major issue with some power leaders participating in all or most decisions, and some in relatively few major decisions.

We have seen further that there is a hierarchical arrangement within the top power structure. In the Denton community one man stood out as the top man among all the power leaders. The rest of the recognized power leaders held descending positions of importance within the

power structure, but their alignment did not remain the same for all major issues upon which a policy was agreed upon by the total power structure.

Workable channels of communication have been developed wherein information and ideas may flow both up and down the line through certain segments of the community structure. Formal channels are used for some purposes and informal channels for others. Informal channels were, however, found more useful than formal means of communication.

There seems to be a constant striving among the sub-power structure personnel for a place among the top men of power. The men of power recognize this striving and are constantly on the watch for a member of the sub-structure who may reveal capacities for larger responsibilities in the community power structure. If a sub-leader shows undue aggressiveness, not commensurate with his recognized capacities, he is "spoken to" by a member of the upper power structure, and is also subject to the application of sanctions to keep him in line.

The seemingly constant striving for recognition among sub-leaders tends to develop attitudes of resentment and undue containment among some of the sub-leaders. Some laymen have a feeling of antagonism, while the majority were found to be apathetic and exhibited a feeling of unwanted usefulness in the community. As a general rule, laymen were found to be quite ignorant of the functions of social power in the decision-making processes in the community.

A seemingly reasonable conclusion flowing from this study is that the most likely ladder towards gaining a position among the top power leaders is through active participation in important community interest groups, and thereby exhibiting sufficient general capacities

to those who are in important positions in the power structure.

The function of legitimation was found to be an important aspect of the decision-making process. Each major policy decision needs its own legitimation process, each of which may differ from the means of legitimation of past policy decisions. A reasonable assumption, however, is that, as a recognized power structure continues to function actively in the decision-making processes, the function of legitimation will become more facile, and more standardized legitimation devices will be developed and institutionalized.

A relatively small number of persons in a community actively participate in making major policy decisions, but a much larger number are found to participate in the functions of legitimation and execution. Power leaders have been found to bemoan the fact that only a small percentage of community residents take an active part in community functions. Citizens, on the other hand, complain that they don't have the opportunity to participate as they would like to, and that their participation would be useless since the men of power control all major activities. This poses a dilemma which is probably found in many American communities and in many walks of American life.

A final conclusion drawn from this study is that, in order to gain approval for a proposal from the power leaders, one must "know the ropes" of the system, and have access to the top men. Arthur Jones emphasized this system when he explained that a proposal should first be discussed with several sub-leaders who will know whether the men of power will listen to its merits. If a favorable reaction were indicated, the sub-leaders would make available their access to several of the men of power for further discussion of the proposal. If the proposal still

were considered to have merit, and to deserve consideration by the power structure, it would be called to the attention of the top man. Informal discussions would ensue among the men of power and, if the proposal were acceptable, a policy decision would follow. It might then become a project of DAFMI, or it would be "farmed out" to a local civic club or interest group for promotion in the community.

D. Further Research Needed

Based on a study of the literature on social power and on the present study, the author feels that further empirical research would be fruitful in a number of areas.

Since it is recognized that social power functions in all levels of community life, it would be helpful to a fuller understanding of community dynamics to learn what are the relationships between, and among, the various levels of power in the community. Research is also needed to delimit the relationships between a local power structure and possible other structures in larger areas such as a county or a region.

Another area for research is in detailed analysis of the role of informality in the operation of social power. How are informal and formal structures coordinated? Which processes in decision-making are handled informally and which are handled formally?

A great deal of research is needed in the general area of power resources. What is the relative weight of various power resources? How can the weight of a particular resource be measured? Are there typical patterns of resources found among men of power? And particularly, just how important is the resource of wealth, and how does this resource contribute to the concentration of social power?

Legitimation is a specific function of the decision-making process. We need to classify legitimation processes, and further study the arenas in which legitimation is given.

The functions and roles played by sub-leaders in the power structure needs to be further explored. We also need studies on how sub-leaders are developed and trained, and how they gain recognition as a member of the top power structure. Little work seems to have been done on the role of women as an influence factor either directly or indirectly on social power processes.

Finally, the need exists for a study of the ordinary citizens in the community to provide insight into the role they play, their relation to sub-leaders and of their attitudes toward the men of power and the decision-making processes. By the same token we need to gain further knowledge of the views and feelings of power leaders toward community residents.

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APPENDIX

In making this study our primary objective was to study relationships in the power processes. We did not directly attempt to collect the type of data which would lend itself readily to quantitative treatment.

Because the writer lived and worked in the community for three years before this study began, he was able to learn much about the community processes and its influential people. He was able to identify most of the power leaders, their positions, educational background, degree of wealth, their residence and much other information about community life.

A thorough check was made of newspaper files and organization membership. When the writer first came to the county, he selected four prominent persons who served as confidential advisors to him. One had an important position in the city government, another in the county government, one was a prominent attorney and one was an outstanding leader in the county farm bureau. Through consultations with these men, the writer was able to learn a great deal about important recent events, and who the men of power were, as well as how they operate. This type of information proved very helpful throughout this study.

Interview questions were developed as a guide to focused interviews. The questions were memorized and used primarily to guide the interviews. It was felt that this method would elicit more responses regarding the informal relationships, in addition to establishing formal relationships and processes.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Who are the most powerful people in Denton?

2. Which of these do you feel is the top man in town?

3. Who are the persons who you consider to belong to the second tier of influentials?

4. What are the bases upon which influence is based? Rank them in order of importance.

5. Is wealth important as a basis of influence?

6. What are the men of power like?

7. Have you worked with any of them on any committee? Explain.

8. What other contacts have you had with these men?

9. In which organizations do you have a membership? Have you been an officer recently?

10. What social, political or economic ties do you have?

11. Do you have any such ties outside of Denton?

12. Which are the most powerful organizations in Denton? Are any of these crucial in major policy decisions?

13. Are there any cliques among the men named? Who belongs to each?

14. How do the men of power get a project started?

15. Must clearance be received from any of the men of power before a project is undertaken?

16. How are major decisions legitimized?

17. Do the people who make decisions also carry out the projects?

18. How many would be necessary to put a project over?

19. Which persons would you choose if some project had to be put over?

20. Do you know of anyone who opposed (project)? What happened?

21. What sanctions have been used that you know of? Give examples.

22. What would happen if considerable community interest were generated in a project which the men of power opposed? Give examples.

23. Can you give me an example of genuine cooperation?

24. Can you give me an example of manipulation?

25. What are some of the rules of the game? What would happen if someone violated these rules?

26. What actions are considered dirty politics?

27. Who has to be kept in line?

28. If you were to work on a committee, with whom would you like to work?

29. Who would be most likely to get a job done?

30. How does information or an idea get up or down the line?

31. How do you operate?

32. Have the men of power ever been caught napping on a project?

33. What would happen if someone were to set up an independent power structure in Denton?