LABOR-BUSINESS IMAGES OF COMMUNITY POWER:
CONVERGENCES AND DIVERGENCES

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
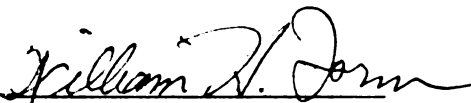### MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
Warren Louis Sauer

1960

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

LABOR-BUSINESS IMAGES OF COMMUNITY POWER:
CONVERGENCES AND DIVERGENCES

presented by

WARREN LOUIS SAUER

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph. D. degree in Sociology and Anthropology

William H. Form

Major professor

Date 6/30/60

O-169

LABOR-DISPUTES

CON

...to...
...his...
appeared...
the...

appears...

LABOR-BUSINESS IMAGES OF COMMUNITY POWER:

CONVERGENCES AND DIVERGENCES

By

WARREN LOUIS SAUER

A THESIS

Submitted to the School for Advanced Graduate Studies of
Michigan State University of Agriculture and
Applied Science in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

1960

LABOR-BUSINESS IMAGES OF COMMUNITY POWER:

CONVERGENCES AND DIVERGENCES

By

WARREN LOUIS SAUER

AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the School for Advanced Graduate Studies of
Michigan State University of Agriculture and
Applied Science in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

1960

Approved: _William H. Form_____

WARREN LOUIS SAUER   ABSTRACT

        Studies of community elites are legion in the

sociological literature. The focus of such studies, along

with the methodological procedures employed, generally

strives to document the reputed power of community elites as

a single group, thereby excluding inter-institutional analy-

sis of power. Usually business representatives qualify as

community influentials and labor representatives do not.

Whether labor's lack of reputational power, as evidenced in

its minimal representation among community elites, ignores

its actual power is a researchable problem. This study re-

ports the findings of interviews conducted with thirty-nine

community influentials and thirty-nine labor influentials

in a middle-sized industrial community in a midwestern state.

The two groups were selected on the basis of nominations sub-

mitted by separate panels of knowledgeables including repre-

sentatives from business, labor, religion, education, mass

communication, government, and welfare. The main focus of

the study is a comparison of business and labor imagery of:

(a) the community power structure in general,(b) their own,

and (c) the other group's position in this structure.

        Three-fourths of the "community" influentials proved

to be representatives of local business organizations. Two

of the labor influentials also qualified as community influentials. A comparison of the social characteristics of the two groups revealed that the community influentials were products of a higher socio-economic background and were currently more active in community affairs and organizations than their labor counterparts.

The respective roles played by business and labor in the resolution of past community issues were examined. Most local issues were defined and subsequently resolved primarily through the efforts of community influentials. Labor involvement was either totally lacking or came at a relatively late stage in the decision-making process.

Both community and labor influentials saw business as the dominant group in the power structure. However, labor influentials perceived less of a power differential between the two groups than did the community influentials. Labor accounted for the power imbalance in terms of business' greater unity, interest, and stake in community affairs, as well as the group's closer alliance with local government. Labor perceived community decision makers to be primarily the representatives of business organizations who, although resolving issues publicly, were less socially responsible than labor. The latter expressed a desire to cooperate with business in the attainment of community objectives and in the resolution of community issues, seeing

itself in essential agreement with business on community goals.

Labor attached most importance to its participation in welfare organizations, but wanted to increase its participation on all community fronts. Together with increased organizational participation, labor looks to increased political activity on its part to further reduce the power advantage which business currently enjoys in the community.

Community influentials accounted for their greater influence in the community when compared with labor on the basis of their relatively greater interest and stake in community affairs. However, they viewed labor as being more united than business in their goals for community action. Community influentials identified themselves as resolving issues publicly without need of organizational approval and as exercising a strong sense of social responsibility. They perceived labor as sharing business' community goals and saw labor cooperation as imperative for the attainment of local goals. Like the labor influentials, the business influentials attached considerable importance to wide organizational participation in general, and to participation in welfare organizations in particular. Viewing itself as "politically apathetic" in the past, business would increase its political participation in the future as a means of maintaining its local power.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

IMAGES OF COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE PARTICIPANTS

Introduction

The study of community power structures has engaged
the attention of many sociologists in recent years. As a
result, numerous procedures have been suggested for isolat-
ing the component units of local power structures. Rossi
summarizes these under three approaches, which include the
study of potential power, reputed power, and actual power.[1]
Each of these approaches has yielded evidence of the power
wielded by economic agencies, particularly business in the
local community. Studies of reputation-based power struc-
tures must inevitably point to this conclusion, given the
usual investigative procedures employed. The structure
dealt with is a _perceived_ structure, invariably selected for
the researcher by a panel of knowledgeables.

The author has undertaken such an investigation of
a local power structure, but with important modifications.

---

[1]Peter H. Rossi, "Community Decision Making," _Ad-_
ministrative Science Quarterly, 1 (March 1957), 415-441.

The usual exclusion of "reputation-less" groups raises questions as to the "real" or actual power which such groups wield in comparison to reputed power elements such as business. One group usually excluded from systematic consideration is organized labor. In view of this group's potential power, based upon its economic strength, its inclusion in the study of a community power structure would seem imperative. Very briefly, this study represents an analysis of the respective positions of business and organized labor in the Wheelsburg power structure.

Background

Most studies of community power point to the dominant position occupied by business organizations and/or elites.[2] Much fewer in number are studies which attempt to assess labor's position in the community. The author is unaware

---

[2]See among others Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953); Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown in Transition (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1937); Roland J. Pellegrin and Charles H. Coates, "Absentee-Owned Corporations and Community Power Structure," American Journal of Sociology, 61 (March 1956), 413-419; George Belknap and Ralph Smuckler, "Political Power Relations in a Mid-West City," Public Opinion Quarterly, 20 (Spring 1956), 73-81; Robert E. Agger, "Power Attributions in the Local Community," Social Forces, 34 (May 1956), 322-331; Donald W. Olmsted, "Organizational Leadership and Social Structure in a Small City," American Sociological Review, 19 (June 1954), 273-281; Delbert C. Miller, "Industry and Community Power Structure: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," American Sociological Review, 23 (February 1958), 9-15.

of any systematic study of labor imagery.[3] What most

studies have done is attempted to assess its influence as

it varies from one community to another. In Steelport,

labor had attained political control of the community, yet

business still exerted predominant influence.[4] In Hart's

study of Windsor, labor was pursuing an independent com-

munity program, thereby precluding "tests of strength" be-

tween itself and business.[5] Organized labor in Illini City,

although having penetrated business organizations, did not

significantly influence their policies.[6] In such communities

---

[3]There are many partial descriptions of labor's
image of the national power structure. See C. Wright Mills,
The New Men of Power (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co.,
1948), and C. Wright Mills, "Labor Leaders and the Power
Elite," in Industrial Conflict, edited by Arthur Kornhauser,
Robert Dubin, and Arthur M. Ross (New York: McGraw-Hill
Book Company, Inc., 1954), p. 152. Imagery material for
business has been incidental to the larger purpose of assess-
ing business power.

[4]James McKee, "Organized Labor and Community Decision
Making: A Study in the Sociology of Power" (unpublished Ph.
D. thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin,
1953); "Status and Power in the Industrial Community," The
American Journal of Sociology, 58 (January 1953), 364-370.

[5]C. W. M. Hart, "Industrial Relations Research and
Social Theory," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political
Science, 15 (February 1949), 53-73.

[6]Donald E. Wray, "The Community and Labor-Management
Relations," Labor-Management Relations in Illini City (Cham-
paign: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1953).

as Jonesville,[7] Regional City,[8] and Cibola,[9] labor's influence rarely extended beyond the narrow confines of its collective bargaining relationships with business.

A general conclusion drawn from these and other studies is that labor's exertion of social power has not kept pace with its acquisition of economic power.[10] Labor's control of economic resources make it potentially business' most powerful opponent on the local as well as the national scene. Historically speaking, labor's concern with broad participation in community affairs can be dated from the New Deal era which saw unions being granted legal recognition. Prior to this time, "labor," (the AFL), had concentrated primarily on its economic functions with but few exceptions, at least on the local level. An extensive concern for non-economic activities was developed by the newly-formed CIO. At the local community level, this interest was manifest in the development of "community service" programs.[11]

---

[7]W. L. Warner, et. al, Democracy in Jonesville (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949).

[8]Hunter, op. cit.

[9]Robert O. Schulze and Leonard Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," The American Journal of Sociology, 62 (November 1957), 291-296.

[10]See William H. Form, "Organized Labor's Place in the Community Power Structure," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 12 (July 1959), 526-539.

[11]Leo Perlis, "Unions and Community Services, The CIO Community Services Program," in The House of Labor: Internal Operations of American Unions, edited by J. B. S. Hardman and Maurice Newfeld (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1951) pp. 333-340.

Essentially the same policy was adopted by the AFL. The present merger encourages member unions to participate actively in community affairs.

Power: Economic and Social

It should be specified that community power as we use the term is conditioned by, but not synonymous with economic power. The relations between labor and business in the community power structure are those relations developed in the course of "community involvement" on the part of both groups, apart from what might be called their specific economic or collective bargaining relations. Community involvement refers to the participation of business and labor in local activities and organizations as these entail decision making with regard to the resolution of issues or the pursuance of specific ends. These issues or ends are "community-wide" if they involve agencies other than just labor and business. In this context, from the point of view of labor and business, community or social power represents the capacity to influence these "other" agencies, a capacity which does not necessarily rest exclusively upon economic power per se.

On the economic front organized labor poses a constant threat to business' power. From the latter's viewpoint, labor is frequently seen as attempting to preempt managerial prerogatives. Labor sees itself, on the other hand, as rightfully striving to obtain its share of increased

productivity which the economic system yields.[12] The ex-
tent to which these views are carried over or extended to
labor's "non-economic" activities such as community involve-
ment can obviously have important consequences for subse-
quent community power relations which develop. If labor is
again seen as usurping business prerogatives, then its
attempt to wield influence in community affairs may frequent-
ly be met with opposition or rebuff.

An important question which may arise in the mind
of the neutral observer as well as the businessman turned
community leader asks by what "right" does labor "invade"
community affairs? This seems a legitimate question, but
it is important to remember that it can also be asked of
business. Since business influentials are usually found to
dominate the community power structure, one might under-
standably ask by what right? One could hardly expect value-
free answers to these queries, but they are raised to point
to a much more basic problem. What accounts for the appar-
ent success of business domination of local power structures?
What accounts for the acceptance of business representatives
as community leaders, but the rejection of labor leaders?
At least partial answers to these questions should be obtained

---

[12]Edward H. Chamberlain, et al., Labor Unions and
Public Policy (Washington: American Enterprise Association,
1958); C. Wright Mills, The New Men of Power, op. cit.

as the responses of the two groups are analyzed. Some indication of labor's and business' acceptance of the other's "right" to become involved in community affairs should be revealed. Success in wielding community influence must in large measure depend upon this acceptance.

A theoretical explanation of the adoption of non-economic activities by such economic groups as business and labor is given by Durkheim in his treatment of "corporations".[13] Briefly, he attributes this process to the moral and social "needs" of men, which can best be met through their occupational groups. The "corporate activity" of such groups inevitably involves an attempt to meet these needs because of the intellectual and moral "homogeneity" produced in its members as a result of pursuing economic interests. In the present context, the homogeneity of members of both business and labor "corporations" should mean in terms of self-imagery that each group perceives itself as having the "right" to participate and wield influence in community affairs. Of course how they view the other's right represents a different problem. Apparently, labor's attempt to wield social power is perceived in somewhat the same light as were its early attempts to wield economic power.

_____

[13]Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, translated by G. Simpson (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949).

To draw a loose parallel, it perhaps is considered "illegitimate."

While one can speak of politico-economic power in terms of legalization, this is not possible in the case of social power. The wielding of social power again goes back to the problem of acceptance by the other groups with which a particular group interacts. Mere economic power does not earn acceptance, or status. To explain the social power which business has and labor lacks, it is perhaps simplistic but correct to say that the former has status while labor does not. But this does not explain how status is acquired, if indeed this is the "problem" which labor faces. Business has apparently solved this problem, but how this has been accomplished is yet another and more complex matter.

In regard to the acquisition of status a statement by Weber is especially pertinent:

> The development of status is essentially a question of stratification resting upon usurpation. Such usurpation is the normal origin of almost all status honor. But the road from this purely conventional situation to legal privilege positive or negative, is easily traveled as soon as a certain stratification of the social order has in fact been "lived in" and has achieved stability by virtue of a stable distribution of economic power.[14]

---

[14]Max Weber, "Class, Status, and Power," From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, Trans. and Eds. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford Press, 1946), pp. 180-195.

Organized labor has upset this stable distribution of economic power and is now attempting, in effect, to "usurp" status. It follows that business' high status has accrued to it from its greater economic power in the past. Status honor has enabled business to wield considerable social power in the local community. A stratification of the social order with business at or near the top has been "lived in" a long time, and even though its stability is now challenged, the burden falls upon labor to improve its position in any new social order which may result.

Different positions occupied in the social order by labor and business should result in somewhat divergent images of this order by the two groups. One problem is the extent to which the two groups perceive community influence as being merely an extension of a group's economic power. To what extent do the two groups perceive the community power structure as primarily a mechanism for resolving economic issues? Closely related to this is the economic motivation which one group attributes to itself and to the other group. Do the two groups view each other as "socially responsible" in their community actions or as selfishly motivated self-interest groups? On the national level at the present time charges by both groups of "irresponsibility" hurled at the other group are a frequent occurrence. Correspondingly, both groups proclaim their recognition of responsibility to the "public interest." The degree to which this carries

over into the local community is a researchable problem.

Within the ranks of business itself during recent years, concern with social responsibility has become virtually an obsession.[15] Several guesses may be hazarded why this development has occurred. Briefly, the rise of organized labor and the challenge which it has represented to traditional business domination has put business on the defensive. It has been forced to reassess its power position which is now threatened. Rarely, if ever, has it been necessary for business to legitimize its actions. The consequences of these actions, both manifest and latent, were largely unquestioned. The invasion of labor into traditional spheres of business influence has forced the latter to "show cause." In danger of losing some of its power, business has been forced to re-validate its claims. Labor, for its part, must validate its claims to newly acquired economic power by corresponding professions of social responsibility. But more than this, to "usurp" status, to prove its sense of social responsibility and fulfill its social functions, labor like business, is inevitably drawn into community affairs. Labor might see in community involvement its utilization as

---

[15]Students of business' power have shown equal concern. Such critics as Mills render a harsh judgement as to the responsibility, or lack of it shown by the business elite.

a "status platform." In a sense, both groups may perceive
in community involvement an opportunity to legitimize their
economic power.

Along with the perception of community involvement
per se and the nature of power which it entails, consider-
ation must also be given to perception of the elements which
compose community power structure and the corresponding in-
fluence which each of these elements is perceived to wield.
Of particular interest in this case is the relative influence
which labor and business attribute to themselves and to each
other. The extent to which this imagery is affected by, and
dovetails with the objective power structure, is of primary
concern.

In terms of the actual "functioning" of the power
structure, these questions seem particularly significant.
Actually they give rise to a basic problem: the degree to
which a group's imagery influences its actions in community
involvement. Given the objective positions of labor and
business in the community in which the latter is dominant,
is this power differential perceived by both groups? Does
business perceive itself as more powerful than labor? Does
labor perceive itself as less powerful than business? In
turn, how do these specific images relate to the accounts
of the two groups in which they report and interpret their
participation in community affairs? Do labor and business
really act according to perceived power differentials? In

essence, all these questions can be traced to the complex relationships existing between a group's objective position in the power structure, its perception of the structure, its "evaluation" and/or comparison of group positions in the structure, and finally, the actions which it manifests as a result.

Regardless of the degree to which the following hypotheses are substantiated, some light must be shed on the relationship between community power-wielding, group imagery, and existing power structure. Numerous investigators have maintained that the power of an actor in the community is indicated by his power bases, the techniques by which he employs these bases, the issues involved, and the responses of other actors.[16] Another factor which the author would add is the perception of the actor. This too affects the power of the actor in the community setting, and resultant structural relationships. In the present study, the "real" or objective bases of power are not the primary focus of interest. The most obvious explanation for business' influence in community affairs is its economically-conditioned power and attendant "status." Labor's "lag" in terms of community power is perhaps attributable to its lack of the

---

[16] Nelson W. Polsby, "The Sociology of Community Power: A Reassessment," Social Forces, 37 (March 1959), 232-236

latter "resource." Labor, as yet, has not been able to "usurp" status.

The present study, as it concentrates on the perception of such factors as listed above, should afford valuable insight regarding the transition of the potential power of such groups as labor and business into manifest power. Perhaps labor's lack of status and the consequent inhibition of its power potential can be interpreted through possible "misconceptions" which it may hold regarding power bases, techniques, issues, and the expected responses of others. Conversely, business' success may rest upon greater "sophistication" and "knowledgeableness" as revealed in its imagery of these various factors.

For example, is representation in various community organizations either necessary or sufficient for the wielding of social power? Indeed, it this representation the cause or the effect of social power? Perhaps this is a misconception on labor's part; status may be needed to gain representation. Does participation in the power structure "give" status (and) power to a group, or is the power structure a mechanism which merely provides an outlet for the expression or wielding of power? Certainly business influence in the community is partially accounted for by the fact that it has status "to begin with." Business representatives fill positions of authority and status "outside" the power structure, factors which partially account for the

carry-over of business influence "in" the power structure.
Labor obviously does not find itself in such an advantageous
position. Also, labor may be misconstruing the techniques
of power-wielding. Perhaps labor's techniques have served
to diminish rather than increase its status. Finally, labor
may misjudge the relative importance of community issues as
well as the responses of other power structure participants.
Thus labor may be squandering its resources on "unimportant"
issues and/or overestimating or underestimating the resources
of other participants. The mere mechanics of power-wielding
are undoubtedly better known to business, a fact which cer-
tainly enhances its power potential.

The Problem

The primary focus of this study is on the images of
the power structure held by business and organized labor as
this imagery relates to their tactics in the structure.[17]
The relationship between group imagery and the "actual"
power wielded by the two groups is studied. An attempt is
made to assess the "objective" power positions of business

---

[17]Cf. the work done by William H. Form and Delbert
C. Miller and reported in Industry and the Community (New York:
Harper and Brothers, 1960). Due to the specific focus of
his problem, the author has not seen fit to include an extended
theoretical discussion of the "problem" of imagery per se.
For such a discussion see William V. D'Antonio, "National
Images of Business and Political Elites in Two Border Cities,"
(unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Sociology and An-
thropology, Michigan State University, 1958). As explained
above, the author's concern is with imagery, action, and
power.

and labor as these are revealed through their representation in various community organizations. This is followed by an analysis of the roles played by each group in the resolution of past community issues. It is assumed that a group's actions and the influence which it wields in the power structure are affected to a large degree by its perceptions of the structure. In sum, the study focuses on the relationships between: (a) the groups' images of the community power structure, (b) their positions in the structure, and (c) their tactics in the structure.

A knowledge of institutional imagery should render more clear the actions of power structure participants. Clearly, the wielding of power depends not only upon the possession of "resources." It also depends upon the perception of such situational factors as the "issue" involved and the expected responses of "others." Indeed, along with the objective possession of resources, it also depends upon the perception of resources, both one's own and those of other groups. In brief, it depends upon a "definition of the situation." In turn, the degree of cleavage or integration manifested in the power structure should in large measure be related to the degree of convergence or divergence revealed in the images of the respective elements. A congruency of images would seemingly effect a more conflict-free, integrated power structure. On the other hand, disparate images would conceivably effect actions that are disruptive of existing

power relations. Thus one group may "accept" the power struc-
ture and its place in it, whether it be a dominant or sub-
ordinate position, while another group perceives itself as
challenging the existing structure. If the two groups act
in accordance with their images, one would expect conflict
to result. However, as we have indicated, it is precisely
the extent to which a group's imagery affects its actions
that we wish to investigate. If a group "rejects" the power
structure, are its actions in issue-resolution in accord
with this imagery? It is obvious that a group's objective
position in the power structure will affect its imagery
of the structure. Dominant groups would probably tend to
have a more favorable image than subordinate groups. This
is another question with which the present research will
be concerned, inasmuch as the power differential between
organized labor and business is expected to be quite sig-
nificantly in favor of the latter. But an "unfavorable"
image on the part of a subordinate group is only a testable
proposition as is its effect on the group's behavior in the
power structure.

Hypotheses: "Global"

Organized labor's encroachment into areas of tradi-
tional business domination at the community level poses an
important research problem with which this study hopes to
deal. In view of the economic strength of business and

labor a researchable problem concerns how they view their own and the other group's position in the broad community context, aside from their collective bargaining relationships. Relative to this problem, the following series of hypotheses has been formulated around four major areas, the first of which concerns broad group assessments of the nature of the power structure and of the importance of participation in this structure, when considering such participation by "areas" or "types" of organizations. Hypotheses relative to this area, the author has labeled "global."

As economic institutions whose interests are best served in what Weber called the "class situation," it is hypothesized that both labor and business will perceive the community power structure primarily as a vehicle for serving general, non-economic interests.[18] It is in the nature of the problem of perception that a certain degree of ambivalence or ambiguity is to be expected. This is assumed in the above hypothesis. It is suggested that while labor and business are, in a sense, special interest groups in the community neither will see its community participation as adjusting to these "special" interests, but rather as expressive of interests common to all groups, that is, a "communal" orientation.[19] Under such general interests we would include such

---

[18] Weber, op. cit.

[19] Ibid.

items as improved welfare and social services or such civic improvements as better parking facilities, additional hospitals, and the like. An "adjustment of interests" with respect to these common objectives would seemingly revolve around the means by which they were to be achieved. Hence, the communal orientation which these mutual interests evoke, should be matched by a corresponding societal orientation wherein there is a rational adjustment of means.

Further congruence in business-labor imagery is suggested in the hypothesis that both groups will perceive community participation as subordinate to political participation. If the above perceptions of community power structure are substantiated, then both groups should look to the realm of political activity as being more important in terms of conserving and perhaps of expanding their economic power. Unlike community participation which is looked upon as serving the interests of all groups in the community, political participation should be viewed as a means for serving the particular interests of the group in question. As indicated above, the problem of legitimizing special economic interests perhaps bears more heavily on labor, which may lead one to conclude that labor would attach more importance to community participation as a means for acquiring the social status which it lacks. But it is precisely the fact that community involvement is perceived primarily as a vehicle for acquiring status and is not seen as directly

serving particular economic interests that leads to the
author's conclusion that it is subordinated to political
participation. Despite labor's drive for status a priority
of goals would seemingly dictate greater interest in political
activity because of its more direct and obvious relationship
to the economic aims of organized labor. As for business,
it would appear that this group perceives labor's challenge
to be more in the area of economic power rather than social
power. As a result, it too should look to political partici-
pation as a means for meeting this challenge.

Stemming from the above hypotheses that the community
power structure is seen as a mechanism for resolving "non-
economic" issues, an important question arises as to the
type of agencies which are perceived as resolving these
issues. Here a difference in business and labor imagery is
hypothesized. Granted that both labor and business con-
sider community participation per se as being important,
because of their differential experience they should hold
different views concerning what are the important decision-
making groups. They should consequently hold different
priorities concerning participation in various community
agencies. If the power structure is viewed as composed of
agencies representing various institutions, then one can
speak of economic agencies, educational agencies, welfare
agencies, and so forth. A residual category is then needed
to embrace such groups as social or fraternal organizations,

service clubs, civic-improvement organizations, and various
other "public" agencies. Assuming business domination of
the community power structure, business should enjoy greater
representation in both the various "public" agencies as well
as the institutional agencies, when compared with labor.
Despite its influence in the various non-economic agencies
of the community, it is hypothesized that business will
perceive participation in economic agencies as being more
important. Contrariwise, it is hypothesized that labor
will perceive participation in various non-economic agencies
as being most important.

The rationale for these last hypotheses is not diffi-
cult to formulate. Although business is represented in
most, if not all community organizations, its influence is
probably best expressed in its own organizations such as
the Chamber of Commerce, Real Estate Boards, businessmen's
associations and the like. Accordingly, community partici-
pation to business, should largely be identified with
participation in these various organizations. This view
should prevail despite the existence of the anomalous per-
ception that the community power structure deals primarily
with non-economic issues. In essence, what is being suggested
is that these various "issues" are perceived as being resolved
mainly by economic organizations. Labor, excluded from
business organizations, has perhaps had a modicum of success
in gaining representation in the various "public" agencies

and other institutional agencies. In line with its formal program which encourages local unions to avail themselves of services offered by community agencies, it seems not unlikely that labor has reaped most benefits from its participation in local welfare organizations. As a consequence, its perception of community participation should be largely identified with participation in these organizations, and perhaps to a somewhat lesser extent with participation in other institutional and "public" agencies.

Hypotheses: "Structural" (Imagery of Power of Participants in Structure)

While both groups frequently decry the economic strength of the other, it is doubtful whether either carries this imagery over into its perceptions of broader community power arrangements. Probably the general prestige which business enjoys will affect the image which this group and labor have of the relative balance of power between them. While groups with very great economic power might tend to minimize it, it is unlikely that they would minimize their portrait of social power. The broader community power wielded by such a group as business, rather than being considered a mere extension of economic strength, can be more easily legitimized as the exercise of social responsibility. This fact coupled with labor's relatively recent entrance into the broader arena of community affairs should effect essentially similar images by both groups with respect to

the comparative social power wielded by each. Irrespective
of the "actual" power wielded by either, it is expected
that both groups will point to a power imbalance in business'
favor. Thus it is hypothesized that business perceives it-
self to be more powerful than labor in community affairs;
also, labor perceives business to be more powerful in com-
munity affairs.

Granted that labor should see itself as wielding
social power in the community, it should view itself as
subordinate to business. Moreover, business should
likewise view itself as wielding greater power than labor
in the community. It is not expected, in brief, that
reciprocal imagery of the "other" group as an economic power
or threat will prevail in the groups' imagery of the community
power structure. The expected identity between social
power and "responsibility" should preclude this.

Hypotheses: "Attributive" (Imagery of Attributes of Partici-
pants in the Power Structure)

Aside from this above convergence in the portraits
of the power structure, greater divergence in inter-group
"attributive" imagery is expected. While the two groups
should agree as to the relative distribution of power between
them, they should diverge in their perceptions of the func-
tioning of the power structure as these involve an assessment
of the different "qualities" manifested by the participants.
It is expected that labor's relative newness in community

affairs will result in a less favorable view of the current modes of issue-resolution, primarily because it sees itself absent in the decision-making process. Indeed, this absence should be revealed in the reconstruction of past community issues. Further, labor should legitimize attempts to increase its power in the community vis-a-vis business by pointing to labor's greater possession of social "attributes" such as social responsibility and to the greater identity of labor's aims with those of the "community." Business, on the other hand, should view community decision making more favorably in light of its control over the process. In addition, the existing power disparity should be legitimized in precisely the same manner that labor legitimizes its attempts to reduce the disparity. Thus, business should point to its greater responsibility and to the closer identity of its own aims with those of the community when compared with labor. Accordingly, the following group of hypotheses are formulated:

(1) Business perceives community decision makers as changing from issue to issue; labor perceives community decision makers to be an unchanging group.

(2) Business perceives community decision makers to be businessmen who act only with the approval of their respective organizations; labor perceives community decision makers to be businessmen who act autonomously without approval of their respective organizations.
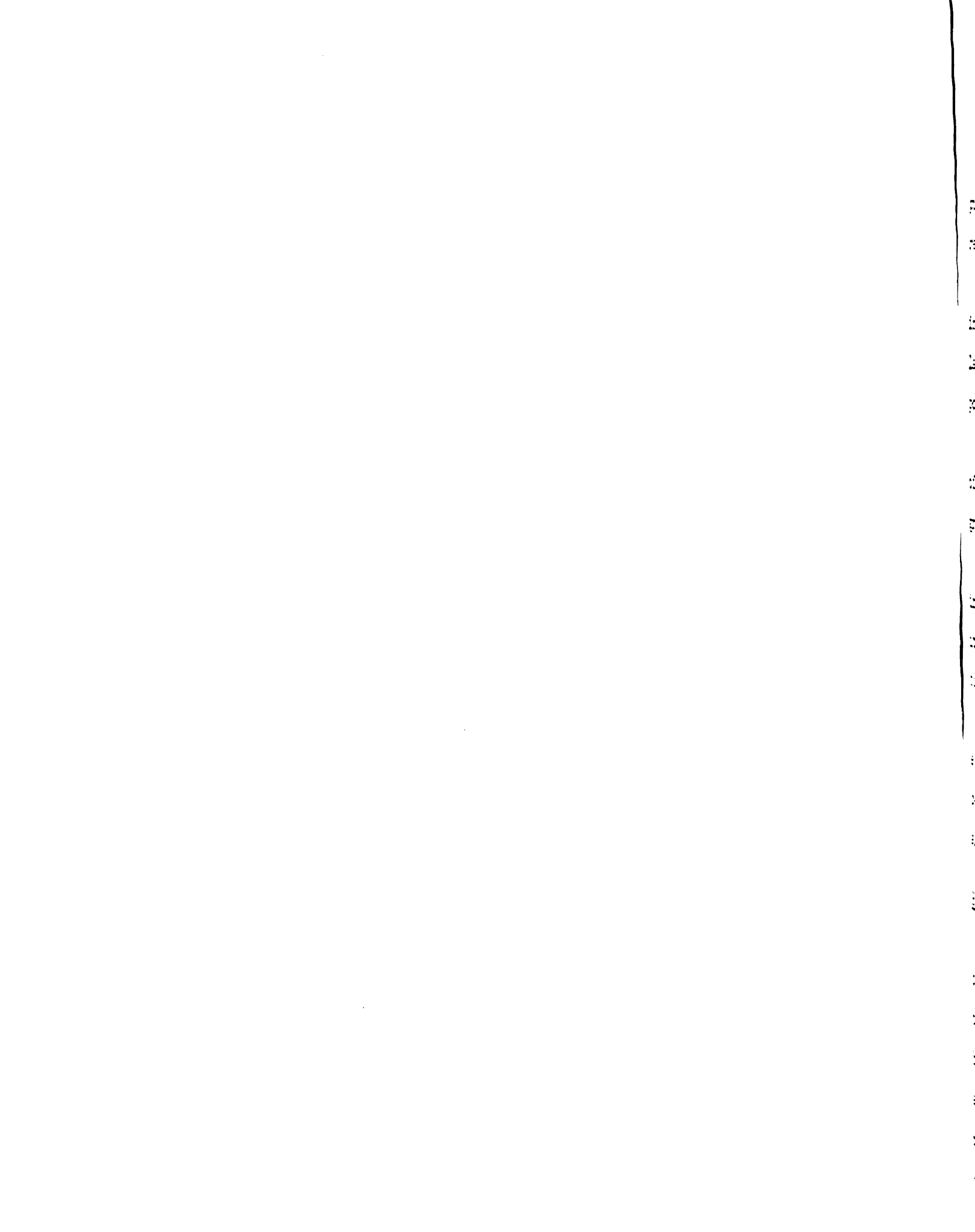
(3) Business perceives community issues to be publicly resolved; labor perceives community issues to be resolved without public awareness.

(4) Business perceives itself to be less united in its position in the community power structure than is labor; labor perceives itself to be less united in its position in the community power structure than is business.

(5) Business perceives itself to have a great sense of social responsibility; labor perceives itself to have a greater sense of social responsibility than business.

(6) Business perceives itself as having greater interest in community affairs than labor; labor perceives itself as having greater interest in community affairs than business.

(7) Business perceives itself as having greater economic stake in community affairs than labor; labor perceives itself as having greater economic stake in community affairs than business.

Hypotheses: "Interaction" (Imagery of Inter-group Relations)

Finally, convergence is expected in a fourth area of inter-group images to be investigated. This area pertains to the images of integrative "interaction" which exists between labor and business in terms of community goals and also images of the relationships between them in the attainment of these goals. As an off-shoot of the groups' perception that the community arena is not an economic battle-

ground in which each pursues diverse and conflicting economic objectives, labor and business should perceive themselves to be in agreement over the community goals of each. Tied in with the claim of social responsibility, each group should profess a desire to cooperate with each other in the attainment of these goals held to be in common. Despite disparate evaluations of the existing power structure, the actions of each group should be predicated upon inter-group cooperation rather than conflict.

It is hypothesized that:

(1) Business and labor see each other as being in agreement on broad community goals or objectives.

(2) Business and labor are desirous of cooperating in the attainment of community goals.

(3) Business and labor attach importance to participation in as many community organizations as possible.

Methodology

The selection of the respondents for both the business and labor groups was dependent primarily upon the consensual nominations submitted by a panel of knowledgeables.[20] In the case of the business group two knowledgeables from each of seven institutional sectors including mass communication, business, labor, welfare, education, government,

─────────

[20]Agger, op. cit.

and religion were asked to nominate individuals whom they considered to have the greatest amount of influence and control over community-wide projects and issues. It is to be noted that the panel was not asked specifically for business nominations; it was expected (as indeed it turned out) that the largest number would prove to be businessmen. This procedure resulted in a list totaling approximately one-hundred and twenty names, from which the thirty-nine top vote-getters were eventually interviewed. It is this list of "community" influentials that is referred to as the "business" group throughout this dissertation.

"Labor" consists of a group of labor influentials chosen in essentially the same manner. In this case the panel of knowledgeables consisted of representatives from mass communication, business, labor, government, and academic personnel in industrial relations at State University. The panel was asked to nominate the representatives of organized labor who were its most influential spokesman in community affairs. Again thirty-nine individuals about whom there was the most consensus were dubbed "labor influentials" and subsequently interviewed.

Separate interviews were conducted with each of the labor and community influentials. The same schedule, with minor variations, was used for both groups. The information solicited by the schedule included the following: (1) Personal data (age, birthplace, etc., of respondent),

(2) Participation in community organizations and its self-evaluation, (3) Self-evaluation of its power in the context of local issues, (4) Nature of the "opposition" in the context of local issues, and (5) Substantive image of the community power structure.

Invariably the interview was held in the office of the respondent after having been arranged through a telephone contact. No refusals were encountered, although in some cases considerable delay was met in arranging an appropriate time for the interview, usually because of the busy work schedule of the informant. In the case of one business influential, it took approximately six months to secure an interview. For the most part, the use of the informant's office for the interview assured privacy, but in several instances there were frequent interruptions by associates of the informant either through a telephone call or a personal appearance. Such interruptions undoubtedly affected the quality of these particular interviews, chiefly because of the diversion of attention of both the investigator and the respondent which they entailed. In several instances the informant, by implication, let it be known to the investigator that due to the burden of his work schedule he wished to complete the interview as quickly as possible. Again, this undoubtedly served to reduce the effectiveness of the interview.

Initial rapport was established by explaining the

nature of the project and assuring the informant of complete anonymity. As a whole, it could be said that more business influentials than labor influentials were concerned with the guarantee of anonymity. Many labor influentials explicitly stated their lack of concern over the question, some of whom commented that their views were public knowledge anyway. The questions were read to the respondents with the investigator writing down the responses as completely as possible. Through this technique the investigator was able to obtain numerous verbatim quotes which are included in subsequent chapters.

The average interview lasted approximately two and one-half hours, a fact which proved somewhat disconcerting to only a few influentials. However, no objections were directly verbalized to the investigator. To some the length of the interview had the effect of shortening their responses to the last section of the interview. On this last section the respondent was asked to recapitulate the participation of his group in past community issues. However, this none-too-frequent tendency was not very costly in terms of interview quality.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF BUSINESS-LABOR INVOLVEMENT IN THE WHEELSBURG POWER STRUCTURE

Research Site

Wheelsburg, Midwest has a population of 108,000

and is the state capitol. Automobile and metal manufactur-

ing represent its two major industries. Four of the city's

five largest plants including Perry Motors Corporation,

Ferris Body, Wheelsburg Motors, and Remo Trucks are in auto

or auto parts production, while the fifth, John Plough pro-

duces farm implements and machinery. All but Wheelsburg

Motors are absentee-owned. However, locally owned forge

and auto parts plants still employ a sizable proportion of

the industrial labor force. The city has a working force

of approximately 80,000, 20,000 of which are employed in the

automobile and metal manufacturing plants. Approximately

24,000 are members of the recently merged AFL-CIO, with

20,000 representing former CIO members. The UAW is the main

union in the city.

The city's neighbor East Wheelsburg is the site of

State University, one of the larger state universities in

the country. Other business interests in Wheelsburg include

several large banks, thriving real estate establishments,

and several local outlets of national department store chains.

Power-wielding in the Wheelsburg Community Chest

As indicated in Chapter I, community power refers specifically to the power which business and labor wield in their relationships with other community agencies. The term "power structure" implies an hierarchical ordering of the power of the various agencies (including labor and business) involved in these relationships. Possibly the "most power-ful" group could be looked upon as that which wields the greatest degree of influence with the greatest number of agencies, although even this interpretation is open to question.

It is easier to make "specific" assessments of the power of a particular group than it is to make a cumulative assessment. Thus it is easier to document the power of labor or business within particular areas or sectors than it is to document the "total" or gross social power wielded by each group. In speaking of the community power of business, one perhaps is justified in using the term in the inclusive or cumulative sense, because of the pervasive influence which the group usually wields. However, in speaking of the community power of labor an inclusive interpretation may be quite misleading for labor is usually restricted to a few specific areas. The main reasons for this have

already been alluded to, namely its relatively recent en-
trance into the broad arena of community affairs and attendant
lack of status.

In undertaking an historical analysis of the positions
of labor and business in the Wheelsburg power structure,
labor's limited power was quickly revealed. As might be
expected, this was contrasted with business' wide social
power. Labor was revealed as most active (and influential)
in the Wheelsburg Community Chest. Accordingly, it was
arbitrarily decided to focus upon labor and business involve-
ment in the Chest and its member agencies as a point of
departure for analyzing the broader historical power relation-
ships between the two groups. Actually the decision was
forced upon us since, as will be seen shortly, labor's in-
volvement in other areas was largely lacking or non-existent
prior to World War II.

Considering the previous definition of community
power, labor and business "power-wielding" is frequently
manifest in what might be termed the "Community Chest com-
plex" of organizations. Indeed, it was in this area that
labor first challenged business supremacy in local community
affairs. In this, and as in other areas of community endeavor,
business reigned supreme until the rise of organized labor.
A consideration of business-labor relationships to the
Community Chest provides a convenient framework by which to
analyze the shifting power arrangements which have taken

place as a result of labor's entrance upon the scene.[1] The

mere fact that labor did enter the scene is evidence of a

shift of power in its favor. Yet one must quickly add that

labor was and still is a distant second to business in in-

fluence not only in this welfare area, but in other areas

as well.

Three Periods of Involvement

One might divide the history of labor and business

involvement in Chest affairs into three periods. In the

first period, from 1919-1932, organized labor was virtually

excluded. In the second period from 1933-1945, labor gained

entry. In the third period from 1946 to the present, labor

consolidated its position.

First Period: Labor Exclusion

During the first period the predecessor to the

Community Chest, the Wheelsburg Community Welfare Fund, was

conceived of and run exclusively by business and professional

---

[1]The bulk of the historical data in this chapter has
been taken from Duane Beck, An Historical Study of Organized
Labor's Participation in Community Chest and Council Activities
in Wheelsburg, Midwest (unpublished Project Report, Depart-
ment of Social Work, Michigan State University, 1955). To
ensure the anonymity of the research site, Wheelsburg, Mid-
west is substituted for the real city and state appearing in
the title of Beck's work.

interests. The Fund was originally organized in 1919 at the close of World War I. The idea for joint fund-raising was apparently the outgrowth of a War Chest conducted in Wheelsburg during the war. At the war's conclusion, the idea was continued with the founding of the Wheelsburg Community Welfare Fund. The original founding group was composed of several local businessmen and a physician.

From its inception until the 1930's the Wheelsburg Fund was under the exclusive administration of business interests. Apparently the same could be said of the member agencies which included Associated Charities, Boy Scouts, Palmer Shoe Fund, Social Center, and others. More than this, labor was apparently not solicited as a group for contributions until 1929 when a form of pay roll deduction was adopted in several local industries. It is obvious from the data available that the attitude of business in terms of fund-raising was one of "go it alone."

A number of factors have been cited to account for labor's absence from participation in the Fund during the twenties and thirties. Actually, they are factors which may be used to account for organized labor's weakness in general during this period and are not unique to Wheelsburg's labor element of this time. To begin with, there was little "organized" labor during the first phase of this period, i.e. the twenties. The most highly organized groups consisted of several AFL craft unions. AFL attempts to organize the

industrial workers met with little success; most of the lat-
ter were members of company unions. Often, joining a company
union was a condition of employment for the industrial
worker.

Along with internal difficulties related to organi-
zing, the unions also faced a hostile public in Wheelsburg,
again not a situation unique to the capitol city. The
public as well as management generally held anti-union
attitudes. Labor had yet to dissociate itself from the so-
called "Red Scare" of the twenties. The negative image of
the I.W.W. (International Workers of the World) was trans-
ferred in many instances to all labor organizations. In-
dustrial relations in general were characterized by hostility
and bitterness; the economic balance of power still weighed
heavily in favor of management, which had such techniques
at its disposal as the "Yellow Dog" contract.

It is not surprising that the Wheelsburg Fund, or-
ganized in such an atmosphere, excluded organized labor from
participation. If economic power is a basis for social
power, organized labor's lack of the former precluded its
attainment of the latter during this early period. Beck,
in his study, makes the observation that the Board of the
Fund at this time represented the power structure of the
community, and that labor was not represented.[2] Management's

---

[2]Ibid., p. 41.

control of the economic situation carried over into the com-
munity setting at large without opposition as the early his-
tory of the Fund so vividly illustrates. Actually, it was
industrial management's economic power that resulted in
labor's first "participation" in Fund activities. Thus
labor began to contribute to the fund when various industrial
plants initiated a "voluntary" form of pay roll deduction
in 1929. This of course is not to say that industrial workers
did not contribute or were not solicited before 1929, but
the date seems significant as marking the first time that
an overt recognition was given to the importance of labor
as a group. However, labor was "granted" this recognition;
it had not "won" social recognition. Moreover, it repre-
sented only a recognition of labor's economic potential in
terms of the Fund; it was not a conferral of status.

Second Period: Labor Participation Begins

It was during the second period that organized
labor began to participate in Fund activities. For the
first time labor become involved in the administration of
Fund affairs. Labor-Fund relationships during this period
are again a reflection of a much wider complex of events
as these involved the development of organized labor as a
whole. The granting of legal recognition to unions as bar-
gaining agents for the workers by the New Deal had obvious
consequences for the economic functions of organized labor.

At the time, somewhat less obvious perhaps was the effect
that such favorable legislation was to have on the "social"
functions which the unions were later to adopt. Legal recog-
nition "solved" many of labor's internal problems.

That the growing power of labor was recognized on
the local scene with respect to the Fund was evident in
1933, when it was suggested that the Board be enlarged so
as to include labor representatives. This appeared to mean
representatives of the company unions. Nothing came of the
suggestions, but as Beck indicates, the move represented at
least a change of thinking toward labor, if not an acceptance
of it. This date (1933) marked the beginning of the second
period of Fund-labor relationships.

The history of the Fund during this period reflected
not only the struggle between management and labor, but
also the depression setting in which the struggle was carried
on. One could interpret the 1933 move to enlarge the Board
of Trustees not merely as an outgrowth of the labor-manage-
ment conflict; one could also cite the financial plight in
which the Fund found itself as a result of the economic con-
ditions of the times. Demands upon the Fund far exceeded
the resources available to it. The base of contributions
had to be enlarged if the Fund was to continue operating.

However, there are several reasons for concluding
that the enlargement move was primarily aimed at obtaining
more "direct" labor participation in fund raising, and at

the same time was being used to combat the growth of independent unions. First, representation of unions meant company unions. Second, labor was already contributing to the Fund through the pay roll deduction plan established in 1929. The establishment of this plan was not heartily embraced by workers at this time; its legal status was clearly indicated in a state law passed in 1931, wherein it was specified that mandatory pay roll deduction for charitable purposes could not be made a condition of employment. Circumvention of the statute could be easily accomplished, for proof of violation was extremely difficult to obtain. The move to include "labor" representation seemingly was aimed at legitimizing the plan, thus forestalling a potential source of ammunition which might be used by the independent unions.

That the Fund was "in the middle" of the growing dispute between labor and management is again illustrated in 1935, when management granted a further concession to company unions by discontinuing the deduction plan. For the Fund this came unfortunately at a time when the demands upon it were still acute. Many of the Board trustees, who were also industrial leaders, occupied the unenviable position of trying to satisfy the virtually irreconcilable demands of the two roles. As Board trustees it was imperative to maintain and increase contributions to the Fund. As industrial leaders it was imperative to ward off the in-

creasing challenge of organized labor. To accomplish the latter objective, the former was sacrificed.

Employer recognition of the unions was not an automatic consequence of the passage of the Wagner Act.[3] The formation of the CIO, which had as its primary objective the organization of industrial workers, intensified the struggle. The CIO met increasing opposition, which it countered with probably the most effective weapon at its disposal--the strike. In the State of Midwest, one of the first targets of the CIO was the industrial giant, Perry Motors. The CIO made effective use of the sit-down strike, subsequently declared illegal, but which was highly instrumental in the early successes of the union in winning employer recognition. As Beck notes, a friendly state administration left labor to its own devices. Perry Motors capitulated in December of 1936 and recognized the CIO as the bargaining agent in all plants.

In Wheelsburg the turbulent era was capped with a labor holiday in 1937, a day in which all union members were called off the job to stage parades and demonstrations. In the fall of 1937 the Remo Motor Car Company of Wheelsburg was the scene of a sit-down strike. Together with labor-

----

[3]See Chapter Nineteen, "Industrial Conflict," in W. Moore, Industrial Relations and the Social Order (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1947), pp. 399-451.

management strife, the Wheelsburg industrial scene felt

the weight of another depression period from 1937 to 1938

when employment figures dropped sharply. Correspondingly,

contributors to the Fund dropped by fifty per cent from

1937 to 1938. The decrease in contributors, while reflect-

ing the economic conditions of the period, was also undoubt-

edly due to the fact that the unions had stopped in-plant

solicitation of its membership.

The unions newly acquired economic power finally

bore fruit in its relationship to the Fund. In 1938,

apparently at the behest of Board members who represented a

"third party" to the labor-management dispute, the Board of

Trustees decided to enlarge its number from twelve to fif-

teen members. Invitations were sent out to AFL and CIO

locals, urging them to participate on the Board by selecting

labor representatives. The AFL responded to the invitations,

but the CIO refused, giving such reasons as business control

of Fund policies, which encouraged what it called "class

collaboration." Actually the main resistance from the CIO

was from one UAW local, with the others following its lead.

Beck likens the attempt of the Chest to enlist CIO

support to a collective bargaining process. Primarily it

was executed by a local industrial leader whose own plant

ironically represented the site of the aforementioned re-

calcitrant union local. His efforts finally yielded results

in 1940 when the various CIO locals agreed to support the

Community Chest after a number of "demands" were met, among which was separate union local representation on the Chest board.

The war years apparently saw labor become acclimated to its newly found position in the Community Chest. Perhaps the period could best be described as one in which labor representatives were at first "tolerated" and then "accepted." The Chest provided another meeting ground for labor and management. Facilitating the increasing rapport between the two groups on the Chest during the war was the relative peace and harmony between them on the industrial scene. Particularly significant in this regard was labor's no-strike pledge. If union and management could agree on the economic front, it was apparently less difficult to agree on Board policy, particularly in a war-time atmosphere when "family" squabbles tend to be subordinated to the common effort.

The Third Period: The Post-War Scene

The post-war period has seen Labor-Chest relationships expanded as evidenced by the following events which serve to indicate an increasing degree of participation. At least in some respects labor's increased participation in this third period may be used to document the conclusion that labor's economic power was now being augmented by social power. This increased participation on the part of

organized labor serves as a barometer of its increasing in-
fluence with regard to the Community Chest over and above
mere representation on its Board of Directors, which it gained
during the second period. For example, in 1947 the Industrial
Division of the Chest campaign assumed the new title of the
Labor and Industry Division. A study of the Chest Board
of Directors made in 1949 revealed that organized labor
had six representatives out of the total of 27 members.[4]
Labor enjoyed the privilege, shared by only one other member
agency, of appointing its own representatives to the Board.
The usual procedure was for the Board itself to nominate
and elect representatives on the basis of their representing
important community segments.

In 1950, labor instituted an educational program
in co-sponsorship with the Community Chest which was designed
to inform union members of the services available to them
through the Chest. The culmination of this program came in
1954 when the Chest hired two labor representatives to work
as full-time staff personnel. An indication of labor's in-
fluence on the Board of Directors is evident, when in 1949,
the Board sent out a letter to member agencies suggesting
that consideration be given to securing labor representation
in their organizations. One notable characteristic of the

---

[4]Membership List of the Board of Directors, Greater
Wheelsburg Community Chest, March 8, 1949 (Mimeographed).

post-war period was labor's increasing penetration into mem-
ber agencies of the Chest. A 1953 study reveals that three
per cent of the board members of thirty-two health and wel-
fare agencies were labor representatives. Table 1 shows
that organized labor still lagged far behind business in
the welfare arena, but the three per cent figure for labor
representation represents a vast improvement from the time
when it was non-existent.

<div align="center">

Involvement in Other Sectors of the
Power Structure

</div>

This brief history of labor and business involvement
in the welfare arena of Wheelsburg provides an illustration
of only one area in which the two groups manifest social
power. The resume' has shown an apparent increase of power
by organized labor, which ran closely parallel to its suc-
cesses on the economic front. Labor first had to win basic
economic objectives after which it could turn its attention
to such non-economic functions as the organization of com-
munity welfare resources. Labor's ability to wield power in
the institutional sector of welfare is obviously related
to its possession of economic resources. The road to social
power was open once the union's economic power had won
legal recognition. This same economic power was then used
as the basis for power-wielding in the welfare sector. Com-
munity welfare, dependent upon the economic resources of
organized labor, was forced to admit labor representatives

into its decision-making processes.

TABLE 1[a]

OCCUPATION OF THE BOARD MEMBERS OF 32 HEALTH AND WELFARE
BOARDS IN BELLVILLE COUNTY, 1953

Occupations	Per Cent
Employees of voluntary and public health and welfare agencies	6
Professional workers	37
Proprietors and managers	32
Junior executives and supervisors	6
Governmental officials	2
Salaried workers	4
Manual workers	4
Labor union representatives	3
Not ascertained	6
Total	100
Number of cases	609

[a]Adapted from Board Membership Study, "A Summary of the Characteristics of Board of Directors and Board Members of 32 Health and Welfare Agencies in Bellville County," Bellville County Council of Social Welfare in cooperation with Community Chests and Councils of America, Inc., April, 1953, (Mimeographed).

Admittedly, even a brief history of labor-business involvement in community affairs must take cognizance of the fact that the community power structure is comprised of various institutional segments of which welfare represents

but one. The question immediately arises as to how labor
has fared in other segments. For example, to what degree
has labor been able to wield power in the local political
institution? Form attempted to trace labor's influence in
various local institutions over a number of different time
spans.[5] With respect to power in local government, several
of his findings are of interest. In a period from 1948 to
1957, only one union official was elected to a municipal
office. Further, no city council had been elected which
had a majority of its members enjoying union support. Union
backing apparently had a negligible effect on a candidate's
chances for winning an election. In a study of municipal
commissions from 1945 to 1957, Form found that only four
union officials had been appointed to serve during this
period. On the other hand, in the period from 1949 to 1957,
17% of the candidates elected to municipal office were "pro-
prietors", 19% were "professionals," and 17% were "managers
and officials." Regarding appointments to municipal com-
missions during the 1945 to 1957 period, 13.4% were listed
as "professionals," 30% as "proprietors," and 14.5% as
"managers in business."

_____

[5]William H. Form, "Organized Labor's Place in the
Community Power Structure," Industrial and Labor Relations
Review, 12 (July 1959), 526-539.

Concerning candidates elected to the city board of education in the period from 1935 to 1959, Form noted that only two union members were elected; over half of the candidates elected were "proprietors" or managers in business," and one-third were "professionals." He similarly indicated that business influence prevails with the city's mass communications media and prominent religious groups. Various civic policies advocated by the local newspaper were invariably followed by the electorate. The professed neutrality of local clergymen in labor-management disputes in effect means submission to business influence.

Form drew several significant conclusions. Organized labor's community power is not consonant with its economic power. It changed its style of community participation after World War II. From 1937 to 1947, the techniques used in community participation were essentially those which labor used in collective bargaining; these included "blunt accusations, insistent demands, and the disregard of social niceties." These tactics were largely ineffective because of the opposition which they engendered. Form characterized labor's approach after the war as that of the "white shirt, (and) soft spoken words." The net result was greater labor penetration into community organizations. Ranking labor's power in various community segments, Form concludes that it is most powerful in economic bargaining and welfare, and least powerful in religion and mass communication. In all

segments, union power is considerably less than that of business and professionals. Organized labor was obviously most powerful in those sectors where it could make use of its economic resources.

In a local history a reporter catalogued the founding of various civic and fraternal organizations in the city of Wheelsburg. Virtually in toto, the organizations represented the products of business and professional interests. Lodges, service clubs, welfare agencies, social groups, professional societies, all serve to illustrate the extended arm of business influence in community affairs. Labor representatives were not included among the "builders" of Wheelsburg.

As in most American communities, the above brief history of labor and business involvement in community participation shows both an historical and contemporary business domination. Organized labor's appearance on the community scene seems both belated and recent. In a relatively short time, its economic strength has come to rival that of business'. However, its attempts to transform this economic power into social power equalling that of its economic rival have been something less than spectacular. Yet some progress has been made, primarily in those sectors where economic strength "tells." It has not been successful in those arenas where something more than economic resources are apparently required to wield power. Continued business domination can

only be explained in terms of these "other" resources.

The Bases of Power

Rossi lists among the various bases of power control over wealth, mass media, solidary groups, values, and prestigeful interaction.[6] In terms of these factors, a comparison of business-labor power in the community sees the latter as much less powerful because of its lack of control over such elements as mass media, solidary groups, and prestigeful interaction. Control over such factors again requires status. However, returning to Weber, the development of status for labor is under way, since labor has made the existing status order "economically precarious."[7] Organized labor appears to be winning recognition for its style of life, or perhaps for its attempts to emulate the "life style" of its "betters," in the social order. In this regard, we may recall the apparent change of labor tactics noted above. This change in labor strategy has won for it a modicum of status as evidenced by the fact of its penetration, however slight, into those sectors of the power structure where raw economic power is not sufficient for

---

[6]Peter H. Rossi, "The Study of Decision Making in the Local Community," August, 1957 (Mimeographed).

[7]Max Weber, "Class, Status, and Power," From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, Trans. and Eds. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford Press, 1946), pp. 180-195.

influence-wielding. If, as seems the case, organized labor's "disruptive" presence has been "accepted" in the economic order, it is not too surprising to witness some attendant modifications in the social order. In any case, the perceptions of the parties involved in this process of social change should directly reflect the process of change itself. The subtle processes involved in labor's "usurpation" of status, as obscure as they are, would hardly seem to yield business or labor imagery which perceives the social order in terms of conflict, assuming that the power structure is seen primarily as a social rather than an economic order. This assumption is the basis of the large degree of perceptual convergence expected between the two groups. Even if this assumption proves to be false and the power structure is seen as a carry-over of the economic relationships between the two groups, the resultant images would hardly seem to be predicated on potential conflict. In a manner of speaking, one might say that the instability of the economic order has become relatively structured. The above history has revealed a maturation of both economic and social relationships.

It should be made absolutely clear that business' claim to social power which is expected in the present study, is in no way a denial of the fact that business also perceives organized labor as an economic threat. The point is that this threat is not perceived as being manifest in

community participation, hence the hypothesis regarding the
relative importance of political versus community partici-
pation. One can argue that the neat compartmentalization
of political and community participation is a product of
methodological procedure and may result in spurious findings.
Thus a re-phrasing of questions could also be used to
prove that business does not perceive itself as dominant
in community affairs. However, it would seem to the author
that there is a "real" distinction to be made between what
he conceives of as "community" participation as opposed to
"political" participation, just as there is a distinction
between community participation of labor and business and
the strictly economic relationships between the two groups.
It is not expected that a consistent distinction will be
maintained in group imagery, as the above body of hypotheses
indicates. However, since a theoretical distinction between
"economic" and "social" power is valid, one is justified in
using methodological techniques incorporating this dis-
tinction.

The history of Wheelsburg gives incontrovertible
evidence of business domination in the city power structure.
Business has, and as the next chapter will show, continues
to be the dominant group in community affairs. Wheelsburg,
as a case study of labor-business relationships, illustrates
a more or less "typical" cycle ranging from inter-group
conflict to accommodation. This transition too should be

reflected in the groups' imagery. Perhaps the ultimate difference in social power between business and labor rests upon business' control over status-enhancing and status-creating resources, a fact which in turn rests upon internal "structural" advantages enjoyed by business. In brief, unlike business, a recruitment problem confronts labor, i.e. finding individuals who not only have the time but also attendant socially "desirable" characteristics, and thus can give a good account of themselves as labor spokesmen in community activities. Counterparts to full-time labor personnel serving on the Community Chest are relatively rare. The manifest result of these resources, business control of the power structure through greater representation in various community agencies, is in one respect a "natural" consequence of their possession by business, and should be perceived as such by both groups.

Additional light on possible divergent assessments of the power structure is also provided by historical considerations. That labor would take less kindly to the existing power arrangements than would business also seems to be a "natural" consequence. Organized labor has changed its ways to satisfy the powers that be, yet still finds itself occupying a relatively minor position in the power structure. Labor's absence from and consequence ignorance of community decision-making processes should lend both "enchantment" and deprecation to its imagery of these processes.

Finally, the historical analysis lends substance to the supposition that labor's future orientation toward community involvement will continue to embrace the present policy of business-labor "cooperation," since this policy has enabled labor to make some headway in wielding influence in community affairs.

Current Positions of Labor and Business

In light of this chapter's historical considerations, the analysis of the current positions occupied by business and labor in the Wheelsburg power structure which follows in the next chapter could hardly be expected to yield evidence of a substantial reduction of the balance of power between the two groups, as indeed it does not. The historical data has indicated that labor's ascendancy to a major power position is not yet an accomplished fact, but rather that progress toward this end proceeds at an unspectacular rate. Consequently, the present-day power structure springing from such historical roots is itself indicative of power-wielding which is not yet labor's.

CHAPTER III

THE PRESENT POSITIONS OF BUSINESS AND LABOR IN THE WHEELSBURG POWER STRUCTURE

Comparison of Labor and Community Influentials

The contemporary positions of business and or-
ganized labor in the Wheelsburg power structure will be
analyzed in this chapter by studying the characteristics
of the lists of community and labor influentials, the two
lists taken together serving as the source material for the
imagery material presented in subsequent chapters. A com-
parison of the two lists should yield valuable data on the
comparative strength of organized labor and business in the
local power structure.

Community Influentials

Perhaps the clearest indication of business power
is provided by the community influential list itself. Only
two labor representatives appeared on the list. The remain-
ing 37 included 29 business representatives and eight pro-
fessionals (See Tables 2 and 3). Clearly, organized labor
is not <u>reputed</u> to have much influence in the community. Of
course, inclusion on the list is no guarantee of <u>actual</u>
power, and exclusion is not conclusive evidence of lack of

power. One way to overcome the possibility that a list of community influentials conceals these limitations is to draw up a list of various institutional influentials as this study has done in the case of organized labor.

Several alternatives are open to the investigator to check the validity of a list of reputed community influentials. One way is to compare the list with a list of persons who hold what are presumably potential power positions in the community, and then check the degree of overlap. This has been done by Schulze and others.[1] Still another procedure focuses on a study of "actual" power by analyzing the resolution of various community issues in order to ascertain the role played by different participants in the decision-making processes. Although the primary focus of this investigation is on the imagery of reputed influentials, and makes no claim for having isolating all elements of the community power structure, it is felt that some attention must be devoted to these alternative methods of studying community power. In the present chapter, the focus will be on the degree to which reputed and potential power-wielders overlap. In Chapters IV and V some space will be devoted to the actual power wielded by business and labor, as this power was perceived by the informants themselves.

---

[1]Robert O. Schulze, "The Role of Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," _American Sociological Review,_ 23 (February 1958), 3-9.

Of course, in one sense this is not an independent study of actual power but rather a study of power as reported by his informants. However, the information elicited should be of value in attempting to establish links between imagery and "action."

Occupations of Community Influentials

Many of the community influentials qualify as "economic dominants," being either business executives or proprietors, and representing the city's main industrial and business concerns. This is quite unlike Schultze's findings in Cibola.[2] Many of them hold top positions in major local economic associations. Three held political offices; two were on the city council and also were the heads of local business enterprises, the third was the mayor. As can be seen from Table 2 one was a representative of mass communication, the publisher of the only local newspaper. Finally, eight professionals were included on the list. The two labor leaders on the list of community influentials were also included on the list of labor influentials.

For purposes of simplicity in comparing labor-business imagery the author feels justified in using the list of community influentials as the basis for his statements and findings relative to "business" perceptions. This

---

[2]Ibid.

TABLE 2

COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS INTERVIEWED BY ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILI-
ATION AND POSITION[a]

Name	Organization and Position
George Hire	Director of Personnel, Perry Motors Corporation
Frank Adman	Public Relations Director, Perry Motors Corporation
Harold Car	General Manager, Perry Motors Corporation
Clint Recorder	Secretary, Wheelsburg Motors Corporation
Tom Banker	President, Kent State Bank
Phil Asset	President, American Federal Bank
Warren Debt	President, American Commonwealth Bank
John Retail	Store Manager, Sanders and Ross, Inc., Department Store
Mike Macey	Manager, Retired, Seller's Department Store
Elmer Local	President, Wheelsburg AFL Labor Council
George Wage	President, Wheelsburg CIO Labor Council
Paul Gas	Division Manager, Peoples Power Company
Sam Risk	Branch Manager, Retired, Fairmen's Life Insurance Company
Tom Bigsell	President, Wheelsburg Public Relations Council
George Piston	President, Wheelsburg Motors Corporation
Henry Metal	President, Snelling Forge Corporation
Cary Iron	President, Williams Metal Corporation
Kent House	President, Kent House Realty Company, Member Wheelsburg City Council
Terry Landy	President, Land Realty Company
Hal Acre	President, Acre Realty Corporation
Gene Buy	President, Buy Realty Corporation
Jay Sale	President, Sale Realty Company
Vance Rent	President, Rent Realty Company
Ray Bild	President, Bild Construction Company
Calvin Brick	President, George Brothers Construction Company
Frank Lobby	President and manager, Cole's Hotel
John Newsworthy	Publisher and editor, _City Journal_
Max Printer	President, Moore Printing Company, Member of Wheelsburg City Council
Jack Hearse	Owner, Estel Funeral Home
Dean Sedan	Vice President, Sedan and Holt, Stutz Car Dealers

TABLE 2 - <u>Continued</u>

Name	Organization and Position
Rob Govern	Mayor, Wheelsburg
Joe Writ	Partner, Writ, Kale, and Cane Law firm
Lee Legal	Partner, Legal and Aller Law firm
Ted Mine	Partner, Mine, Bodee, and Sole law firm
Seth Dean	President, State University
Gunner School	Superintendent of Public Schools, Wheelsburg
Monsignor Abbot	Pastor, St. Thomas Catholic Church
Rev. Bishop	Pastor, St. John's Episcopal Church
Dr. Alvin Medick	M.D., private physician

[a]All names and organizations mentioned in this study are referred to by psuedonyms and fictional titles.

TABLE 3

OCCUPATIONS OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Executives: sub-total	(14)	(36)
Automobile manufacturing	3	8
Other manufacturing	4	10
Banks	3	8
Department Stores	2	5
Labor Unions	2	5
Proprietors: sub-total	(17)	(44)
Real Estate	6	16
Construction	2	5
Communication	1	2
Others	8	20
Professionals: sub-total	(8)	(20)
Lawyers	3	8
Educators	2	5
Clergy	2	5
Physician	1	2
TOTAL	39	100

procedure will be utilized despite the fact that eight of the community influentials are "professionals" and two are indeed "labor" influentials. Aside from the fact that the community influential list consisted of 29 "business" representatives in the strict sense of the word, it was felt that the images of "professionals" would by and large reflect essentially the same type of perceptions and thereby did not merit extensive treatment as a separate category. It was not felt that the inclusion of the two labor leaders on both lists would affect in any significant degree the general business-labor comparison. In a word, "community" influentials are made synonymous with "business" influentials.

The massive power potential amassed by business as illustrated in the community list is impressive, granted that this potential is rarely manifested as a solid front against organized labor in the resolution of particular community issues. Perhaps organized labor never faces "organized" business on any issue, perhaps most issues involve the presence of a "third party." If this is the case, then the problem of winning allies becomes extremely important. In this regard, business enjoys obvious advantages. Business' control over or liason with the mass media and other "solddary groups" naturally effect good public relations, making the task of selling its viewpoint much less formidable than is the case with labor. This would seemingly guarantee some support for business in most of its community involvements,
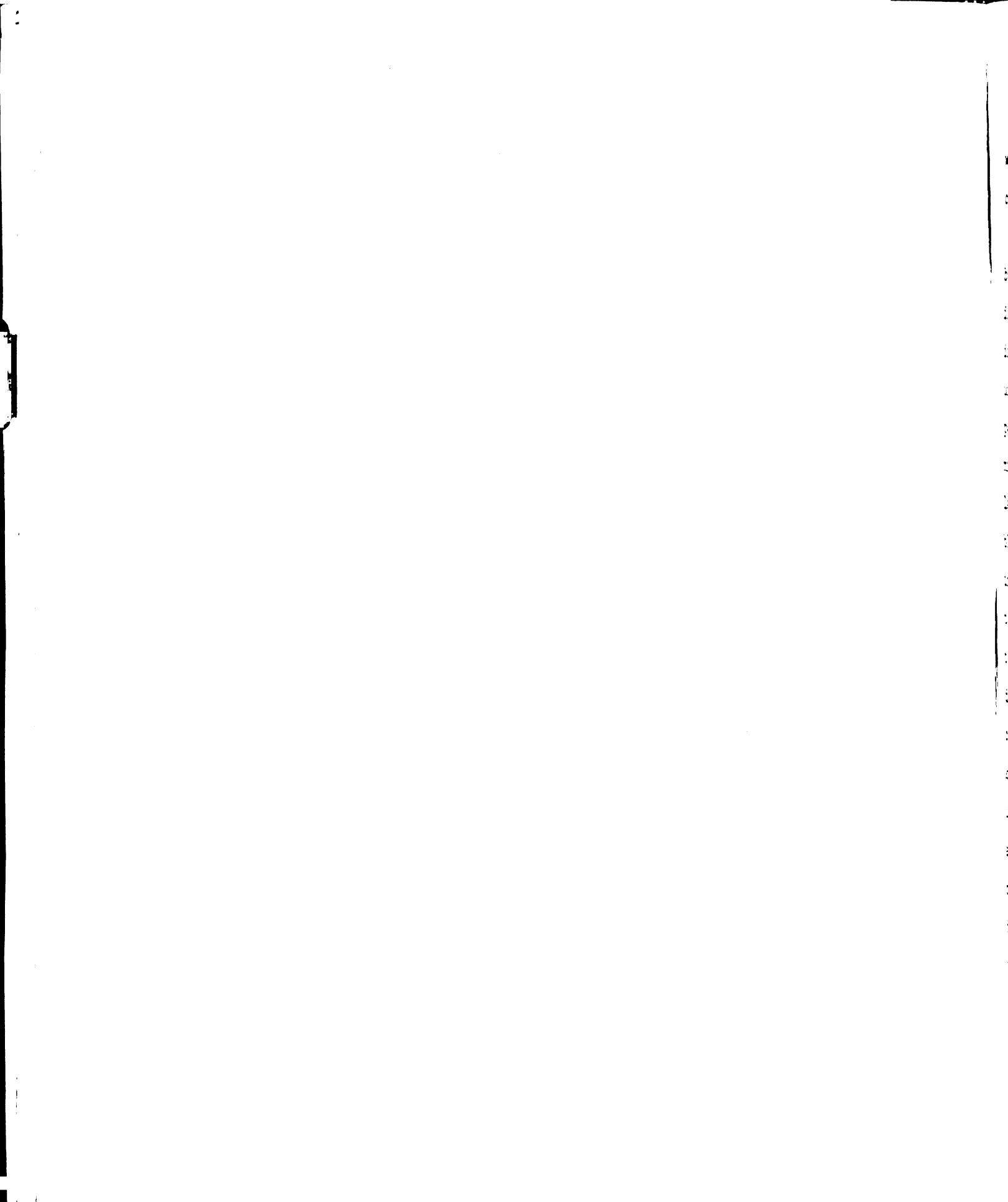
whereas one would speculate that labor cannot rely on the consistent support of any other community group.

Such statements must be taken for what they are-- broad generalizations; the author would admit numerous qual- ifications. It is obviously simplistic to speak of "business" involvement in the resolution of a particular issue. It is unlikely that all business elements would be activated in a particular issue. Furthermore, those that are activated might take opposing sides, some lining up with organized labor. In addition, it is wholly possible though not proba- ble that "neutral" third parties play a more important role in the resolution of more issues than the author is willing to admit. Granted any one or all of these qualifications, the fact remains that generalizations must be made from the data accumulated. At the present state of knowledge of community power, which seemingly permits only of the grossest kinds of comparison regarding institutional influence, the usage of such terms as "labor" and "business" is necessary and inevitable. With respect to the present study, the list of community influentails certainly attests to the power of business, potential and reputed, if not actual. Taking all these statements into consideration, such declarations that "business is guaranteed support," or that "business enjoys advantages," appear to be only indicators underlying pro- bability statements regarding business power-wielding. Actu- ally, that is all they are meant to be. Such assertions are

valid even though it is likely that "business" rarely acts as a unit in community activities.

Judging from the composition of the community influential list, labor's most fruitful source of allies would appear to be "professionals." However, a much close orientation between business and professionals is to be expected than between organized labor and professionals. In broad socio-economic terms, they represent status or class equals with their business colleagues. In addition, both in their occupational and community leader roles, the professionals could be expected to have much more contact with business representatives. As a case in point, the services of the three lawyers are frequently employed by the other business-community influentials. Similarly, the "community" roles played by the two educators would be much more likely to include more frequent contacts with business representatives than labor representatives if only because of the preponderant number of the former to be found in civic activities.

For these rather obvious reasons, a general affinity between the orientations of organized labor and "professionals" is hardly to be expected. Neither does the community list include any political allies for labor. Two of the influentials, as political figures are prominent local businessmen. The third influential who is a political figure, the mayor, is himself a former businessman who in a recent election defeated a strongly-backed labor opponent.

Looking at the power structure in terms of community influentials, one then must necessarily assign labor a relatively minor role. Overwhelmingly so, community influentials are businessmen whose reputed power appears to be matched by their potential power as indicated by the positions of economic dominance which they occupy. This, however, does not tell the whole story. An over-all comparison of the characteristics of community influentials with labor influentials is even more revealing of the disparity which exists between organized labor and business in the contemporary power structure. The comparison is useful in explaining not only the "how" but the "why of the power imbalance as well.

Organizational Participation of Community Influentials

Table 4 serves to illustrate the "interlocking directorate" which the business influentials form. Acknowledging that the organizational structure of community power can be quite varied, the multi-organizational involvement of business influentials is made strikingly apparent. An extensive pattern of involvement is manifest in "civic," "service," and "social" organizations. The Community Chest, Rotary, and Country Club respectively each claim approximately a half or more of the community influentials among their memberships. All but five are members of the local Chamber of Commerce. Mere involvement, of course, does not make

TABLE 4

PARTICIPATION AND OFFICERSHIPS HELD BY COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS
IN CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS, PRESENT AND PAST

Organizations	Memberships	Officerships	
		Past	Present

Civic

Organizations	Memberships	Past	Present
Community Chest	18	17	6
Hospital Boards	12	3	11
Downtown Development Council	9		2
YMCA	7	7	2
Hospital Expansion Fund	5	4	4
State United Fund	5	2	4
PTA	5	3	1

Business

Chamber of Commerce	34	18	5
Uptown Businessmen's Association	9	5	1

Service

Rotary	19	14	2
Kiwanis	7	5	2

Social

Country Club	22	4	3
Masons	19	2	-
City Club	15	6	-
American Legion	8	3	-
Elks	7	1	-
Commercial Club	6	3	-

for influence in these various "types" of organizations. It
is equally important to note that involvement for the com-
munity influentials has usually meant the holding of offi-
cerships in these organizations. This immediately suggests
an "halo image" surrounds business-derived status and en-
hances the businessman's chances of becoming a community
leader.[3] Although the number of officerships held was
greater in the past than in the present, the interviews re-
vealed that the business influentials were usually instru-
mental in shaping the policies of various organizations
whether they held formal positions or not.

The above data support the impression that business
influentials dominate local organizations. They serve to
answer in part at least, the important question of "how"
business dominates local community activities. Still an-
other important question is "how" or "why" this situation
has developed in Wheelsburg, as it seems to develop in most
communities. In more general terms, what characteristics
or attributes are associated with the community leader?
For a partial answer to this question, a closer examination
of background is imperative. If community leaders are
largely recruited from the ranks of business, such an in-
vestigation should prove useful in explaining the

---

[3]Aileen D. Ross, "Philanthropic Activity and the
Business Career," Social Forces, 33 (March 1954), 274-280.
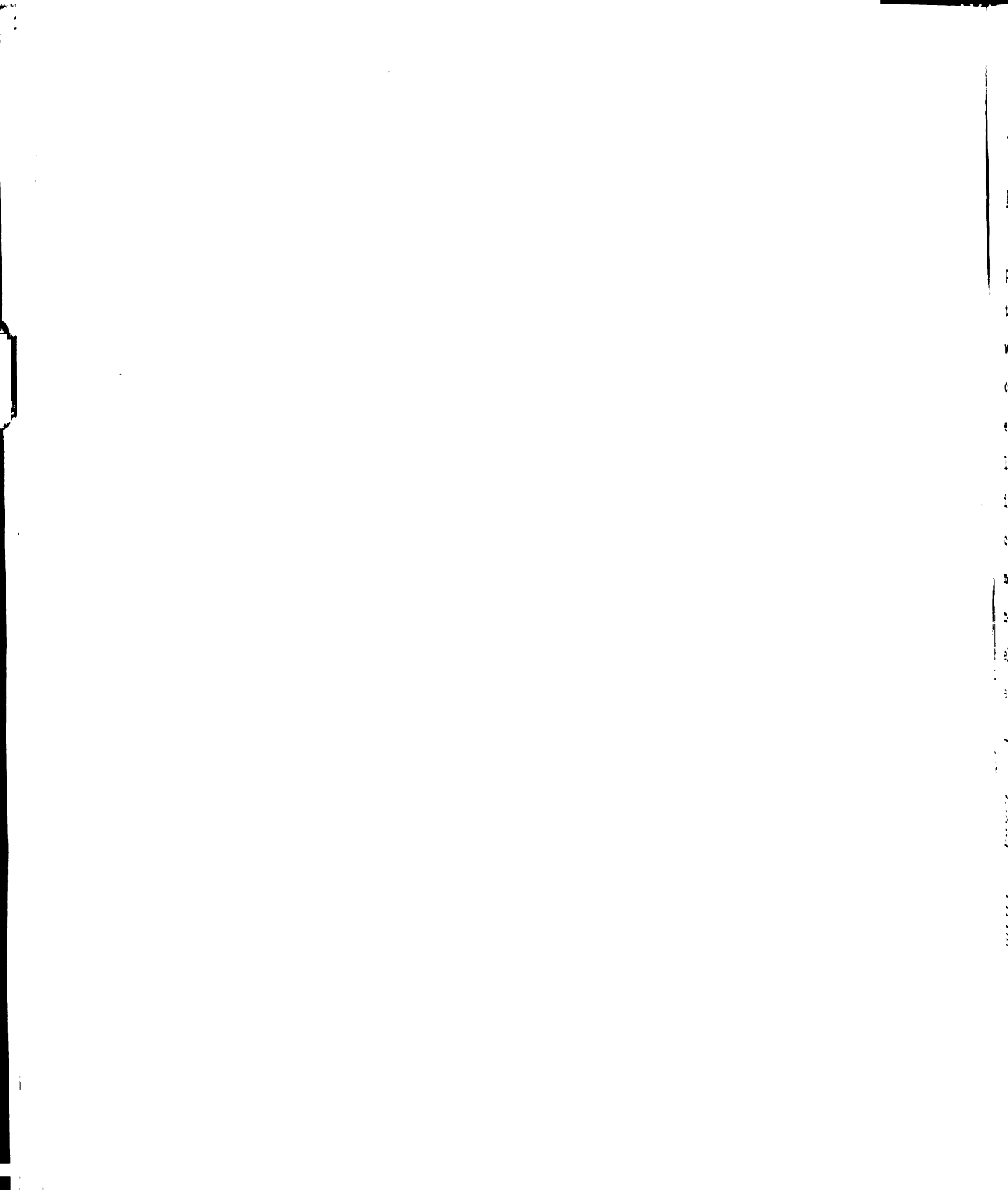
transformation from business to community leader.

Background of Community Influentials[4]

As shown in Table 5 most community influentials are
products of a white-collar background. Indeed, thirteen of
them had fathers who were businessmen. Slightly over half
were from business or professional families. The average
community influential springs from a "privileged" socio-
economic background. This is reflected by the general
level of education attained. Only six of the Wheelsburg
influentials lacked college training. Over one-third were
college graduates. The benefits of such educational attain-
ments in terms of occupational achievement hardly need to be
mentioned.[5] It is shown that the largest number of community
elites demonstrated a preference for business-economics as
a college major.

---

[4]Cf. the findings in the present study with those
reported in "The Nine Hundred," Fortune, (November 1952).
See also Delbert C. Miller, "The Seattle Business Leader,"
Pacific Northwest Business, 15 (February 1956), 5-12.

[5]See William H. Form and Warren L. Sauer," Community
Influentials in a Middle-sized City: A Case Study," Bulletin,
Institute of Community Development and Labor and Industrial
Relations Center, Michigan State University, 1960.

TABLE 5

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF WHEELSBURG'S COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS

Characteristic	Number	Per Cent[a]
Age:		
Under 40	1	3
41 to 50	6	16
51 to 60	18	47
61 to 70	12	31
71 and over	2	5
TOTAL	39	100
Birthplace:		
West	4	10
Midwest	34	88
South	0	0
East	1	3
Foreign	0	0
TOTAL	39	100
Years Spent in Wheelsburg Area:		
Less than 10	1	3
11 to 20	4	10
21 to 30	6	16
31 to 40	15	39
41 to 50	8	21
51 to 60	4	10
Not ascertained	1	3
TOTAL	9	101
Father's Occupation:		
Business	13	33
Professional	7	18
Government or clerical sales	6	15
Farmer or manual	9	23
Not specified	4	10
TOTAL	39	99
Education:		
High School and under	6	16
College attendance	10	25
College graduation	14	36
Postgraduate study	9	23
TOTAL	39	100

TABLE 5 - <u>Continued</u>

Characteristic	Number	Per Cent[a]
Academic major in college:		
Arts	6	21
Law	3	11
Business-economics	10	36
Science-engineering	6	21
Theology and medicine	3	11
TOTAL	28	100
None specified	11	

[a]Rounding errors account for totals other than 100 per cent in this and all other tables.

The occupational stability and success of the influential is matched by and perhaps partially explained by his geographical "immobility." Most were "local" products as Table 5 illustrates. The general mid-western area produced thirty-four. Further, well over half spent over twenty years or more in the city of Wheelsburg.

Finally, Table 5 reveals that approximately half of Wheelsburg's influentials were between 51 and 60 years of age. Apparently, life begins at forty for the potential community leader; only one Wheelsburg influential was under forty years of age. However, as subsequent sociometic analysis will reveal in succeeding chapters, wherein the community influentials themselves chose the top leaders from within their own ranks, age was not positively correlated with degree of influence measured by such group consensus.

A high degree of stability marked the career pattern

of the influentials. Data from Table 6 readily support

this conclusion. This table indicates that all but four

had been with their present association less than eleven

years, and also that only ten had worked for as many as four

or more associations in the past. Long tenure in present

positions is associated with long tenure in present associ-

ational affiliations. Twenty-nine had been in their present

position for eleven or more years; invariably it was the

top or near-top post in the organization. Judged by almost

any criterion, community influentials were a "success" in

their chosen careers.

The Power of Wheelsburg's Community-Business Influentials

From the above analysis of the manifest power struc-

ture, i.e. the potentially powerful organizations and the

positions within them, it is obvious that business influ-

entials exert a commanding influence. In a sense economic

dominance appears to make for social dominance. A good busi-

ness reputation seems virtually a prerequisite for the

attainment of leadership positions within important non-

economic organizations of the city. The occupancy of top

formal positions in economic associations was matched by the

occupancy of similar positions in "social" or civic organi-

zations. The latter fact is obviously less true of the con-

temporary scene, but this does not necessarily mean a diminu-

tion of social power. This only means that elements of the

TABLE 6

PRESENT ORGANIZATIONAL AND POSITIONAL TENURE, PAST ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS

Years	Number	Per Cent
a. Years Spent with Present Firm:		
Under 5	0	0
6 to 10	4	10
11 to 20	8	21
21 to 30	12	31
31 to 40	13	33
Over 40	2	5
TOTAL	39	100
b. Number of Other Companies Worked For:		
0	9	23
1	5	13
2	8	21
3	5	13
4 or more	10	26
Unknown	2	5
TOTAL	39	101
c. Years in Present Position:		
5 or less	3	8
6 to 10	7	18
11 to 20	12	31
21 or over	17	44
TOTAL	39	101

manifest structure which are likely to be "business" elements may exert influence through a "latent" structure as well. Of course, it is realized that a "latent" structure may include non-business as well as business elements. In the case of the business influentials, as was mentioned previously,

although showing a tendency to withdraw from formal positions
within various civic organizations, it is obvious that they
continue to influence the policies of such organizations.
It is a moot question whether formal position-holding is
necessary to wield social power, but if it is, community
influentials often ejoy a double advantage, holding as they
do both economic and social positions. The interviewing
revealed, that irrespective of formal position-holding, they
are consulted on major community issues.[6]

For our purpose we must compare the development of
community influence both on the part of business and or-
ganized labor. For the most part the bases of such influ-
ence for both groups have been touched upon, even though
labor influentials have yet to be considered. The social
power accruing to business and its representatives is mani-
fest in both an organizational and individual sense. Economic
organizations would seemingly constitute an integral part
of any power structure. The Wheelsburg influentials repre-
sent many such organizations. In addition, they represent
business in other organizational elements of the power struc-
ture. Thus business' economic-organizational strength is
transformed into social power, at least partially, through
its individual representatives who go to make up the list of

_____

[6]Ross, op. cit.

community influentials. Organized labor, as an organization, certainly qualifies as a potentially powerful element within the power structure. Yet individual representatives have not found their way into the various segments of the power structure as have business representatives. Manifestly at least, organized labor does not wield social power. Its representatives do not qualify as community influentials. By this criterion of the standing of individual representatives, labor's economic-organizational strength has not been transformed into social power. The ever-slight social power which labor appears to wield is apparently traceable to its economic power and is not due to the "reputation" of its representatives.

A Profile of Wheelsburg's Labor Influentials

The general characteristics of the labor influentials, who are listed in Table 7, are presented in Table 8. Although not as complete as the data on business influentials, a comparison of pertinent characteristics included in this table with those in the business summary is revealing. Whereas seven-tenths of the labor influentials were 52 years or younger, over eight-tenths of the business influentials were 51 and over. Slightly over half of the labor influentials had spent 25 or less years in the Wheelsburg area, while less than three-tenths of the business-influentials had spent less than thirty-one years in Wheelsburg. A considerable

TABLE 7

LABOR INFLUENTIALS INTERVIEWED BY UNION AFFILIATION AND
POSITION

Name	Union	Union Office
George Wage	CIO	Pres., Wheelsburg CIO Labor Council
Elmer Local	AFL	Pres., Wheelsburg AFL Labor Council
John Porter	CIO	CIO Representative, Community Chest
Tod Benning	AFL	AFL Representative, Community Chest
Calvin Jackson	CIO	Subregional Director
Philip Hague	CIO	International Representative
Henry Hanson	CIO	Pres. Local 152
Sam Hunt	CIO	Servicing Representative
Will Cobo	CIO	Educational Director
Bob Ross	AFL	Community Services Council Representative
Darrell Stone	CIO	Pres. Local 235
Arthur Cox	AFL	Pres. Local 410
Connie Fox	AFL	Legislative and Educational Director
Alvin Nagle	CIO	Editor, Wheelsburg Labor News
Warren Benson	CIO	Educational Representative, Local 405
Gene Mintz	CIO	Financial Secretary, Local 405
Ray Stone	CIO	Pres. Local 514
Lennie Knox	CIO	Pres. Local 212
Peter George	CIO	Educational Director
Edith Park	CIO	Legislative Representative
Carl Sawyer	CIO	Treasurer, Local 180
Steve Palter	AFL	Pres. Local 119
Norbert Hill	CIO	Financial Secretary, Local 51
Melvin Miles	AFL	Business Agent, Local 95
Ted North	AFL	Business Agent, Local 42
Frank Cole	AFL	Secretary, Greater Central Labor Council
Grant Gale	AFL	Assistant Project Director State Employees Council
Olive Knowles	CIO	Pres. Local 120
Clint Iser	CIO	Financial Secretary, Local 130

TABLE 7 - Continued

Name	Union	Union Office
Ross Conn	CIO	Pres. Local 55
Alex Cotes	AFL	International Representative
Oliver Boss	CIO	President, Local 75
Helen Morgan	CIO	Secretary, CIO State Office
Larry Nile	CIO	Shop Committeeman, Local 75
Nora Blake	CIO	Financial Secretary, Local 402
Paul Aarun	AFL	Business Agent, Local 65
Bruce Bale	AFL	AFL Representative to United Fund
Mike Doyle	AFL	Financial Secretary and Treasurer Local 42
Jud Payne	AFL	President Local 32

disparity exists between the educational level of the two groups. Thus, while only six of the business influentials had not attended college, twenty-eight of the labor group had not done so. Five labor representatives were college graduates compared to twenty-three of the community influentials.

The organizational participation of union influentials also contrasts sharply with that of their business counterparts. As might be expected and as revealed in Table 8 the labor influentials manifest a high degree of involvement in union affairs. This heavy involvement in their "own" organizations is matched with comparatively little participation in general community organizations. Those holding high-level union positions proved to be labor's most active representatives in community affairs. Again, the contrast

TABLE 8

GENERAL AND UNION BACKGROUND OF WHEELSBURG LABOR INFLUENTIALS

Item	Number	Per Cent
A. General Background		
1. Age:		
53 and over	12	31
43 to 52	12	31
42 and under	15	38
TOTAL	39	100
2. Education:		
High School and under	28	72
College attendance	5	13
College graduation	3	7
Postgraduate study	2	5
Not ascertained	1	3
TOTAL	39	100
3. Years spent in Wheelsburg area:		
0-14 years	14	36
15-25 years	7	18
Over 25 years	18	46
TOTAL	39	100
4. Number serving as union representatives in community organizations	17	
5. Median number of present community organizational affiliations	3.3	
6. Median number of past community organizational affiliations	3.0	
B. Union Background		
1. AFL Unions	15	38
CIO Unions	24	62
TOTAL	39	100

TABLE 8 - _Continued_

Item	Number	Per Cent
2. Union Positions:		
District, regional, or inter-national	12	31
High local officers	20	51
Lesser local officers	7	18
TOTAL	39	100
3. Tenure as union officials:		
20 years or more	11	28
10-19 years	14	36
Less than 10 years	14	36
TOTAL	39	100
4. Union offices:		
Median number of union offices, present	4.5	
Median number of union offices, past	4.3	

with business influentials is striking. The average labor influential belonged to only three community organizations, while his business counterpart belonged to thirteen. Only seventeen of the labor group, it should be noted, were serving as union representatives in various community organizations. Furthermore it should be added, although exact data was not obtained, that participation in various community organizations for labor influentials rarely, if ever, included the holding of officerships in these organizations. The notion that to some degree community affiliations are sacrificed to internal involvement is reinforced by the fact that the labor influential currently holds multiple

union offices, the median number being 4.5. This situation
brings to light the problem of recruitment faced by the
unions, wherein the internal structure of the unions seeming-
ly curtails the extra-union activities of its leaders making
it extremely difficult for them to represent organized labor
in community affairs. The importance of this cannot be
under-estimated in explaining labor's lack of community in-
fluence, granted that the primary reason may be lack of status.
The importance of such an obvious "resource" as time should
not be ignored. This organizational dilemma is usually less
acute for the business influential who can more easily dele-
gate leadership responsibilities, leaving him more time
for community participation.

Summary

The general background characteristics of the labor
influentials give evidence of a restricted range of both
occupational and "social" experiences. Products of a labor-
ing heritage, their contacts have remained essentially within
the same socio-economic circle. Most of them are and have
been blue-collar wage-earners throughout their careers.
Early entrance into the union hierarchy at a time when or-
ganized labor was fighting for its very existence and which
has resulted in continuous service to the union has undoubted-
ly served to preserve a working-class orientation. To these
active unionists falls the task of representing organized

labor in community affairs. Compared to business influentials their community participation is quite limited. Unlike business influentials, who in community affairs associate with other business influentials, the labor leaders do not associate with their "kind," they perforce appear out of their bailiwick. While business leaders enjoy status and prestige, union leaders fall heir to the traditional stigma which attaches to representatives of organized labor. In their role as labor representatives in community affairs, they must "live down" this stigma, which means that they must earn status from the business influentials. Indeed, the basis of organized labor's representation in various segments of the power structure hardly rests upon status recognition, but primarily upon economic strength.

This chapter has clearly demonstrated that business' reputed power matches its potential power. Labor influentials are not reputed to have community influence. Potential business power is manifest not only in terms of its own organizations, but also in terms of the positions which it controls in general community organizations. Labor's potential power apparently lies dormant within its own organizational structure. It remains for the following two chapters to consider how the two groups perceive this manifest power situation.

CHAPTER IV

BUSINESS IMAGES OF COMMUNITY POWER

Global Hypotheses

The first three hypotheses to be tested investigate business imagery concerning the purpose, importance, and area of business participation in the power structure. They are:

(1) Business perceives the power structure primarily as a vehicle for serving general, non-economic interests.

(2) Business perceives community participation as less important than political participation.

(3) Business perceives participation in business organizations as more important than participation in any other type of organization in the power structure.[1]

In testing the first hypothesis, heavy reliance was placed on the responses to two questions. The first was, "What are some of the most important issues facing Wheelsburg today?" It was felt that responses to this question

---

[1] The term "power structure" as used by the author has a dual reference, implying relationships between organizations as well as relationships between individuals.

could be used to gauge the degree to which business influentials perceived their participation in community activities as helping to resolve specific business problems or whether it was perceived as dealing with general community problems. Secondly, the question was asked, "In your opinion what have been the most important achievements of businessmen in community affairs in Wheelsburg?" Again, were these "achievements" the attainment of specific business goals or general community goals? The expectation was that both in terms of current issues and past achievements, business would express a "communal" orientation.

Table 9 presents the responses to the "current issues" question.[2] Metropolitan planning emerges as the most important issue facing the local community. The frequency and range of the other responses do not permit definite conclusions. The responses as a whole, however, seemed to support the first hypothesis. While one may argue that even such an issue as metropolitan planning is in one sense a "business" issue, the opposite position is equally valid. It also appears to be a "community" issue, the resolution of which is important to all segments of the community and not just business. Similarly contesting positions can be taken

[2] Each of the tables referred to in this and the succeeding chapter are placed at the end of this chapter, since many combine data relative to the business and labor groups.

regarding the mention of such issues as "traffic" and "down-town development."

Perhaps the clearest expression of a business orientation is expressed in the response that the attraction of business to the community is an issue. However, even this response was attended with the remark that "more business is good for the community." Also no respondent gave as an issue an item which could be construed as being of concern only to his specific enterprise. In most cases, the item was general enough to include, by implication at least, other business interests.

In sum, a community consciousness appears to underlie business' view of the purposiveness of the power structure. Business participation in the power structure is seen primarily as supportive of broad community goals which simultaneously relate to general business interests. The pursuance of business objectives is identified with community goals.

Table 10 includes business' assessment of its achievements in the local power structure. The responses recorded to this question provide a somewhat clearer indication of how business views accomplishments resulting from the position which it has played in local community affairs. Once again the pervading theme is one of community welfare. Most frequently mentioned was raising the effectiveness of the local Community Chest organization. Running a close second

was business aid to local hospital expansion drives. Relatively high frequencies were evident for "alleviation of traffic problems" and "promotion of civic planning or development." Certainly these responses substantiate the first hypothesis. Such past "achievements" as listed hardly indicate a partisan view on the part of business with respect to its community participation. A few partisan views are in evidence, but they appear inconsequential.

Both with regard to current issues and past achievements, business' view of the power structure is that of a mechanism dealing with non-partisan issues and promoting non-partisan interests. In neither instance, were specific business objectives attributed primary importance. Apparently, community power is perceived as being wielded for the benefit of "all" community groups. The nature of the issues and achievements mentioned does not indicate that the power structure is perceived merely as an economic battleground in which business pursues its specific interests. Rather it is also perceived as an arena of mutual aid and cooperation for the pursuance of common goals.

Assessment of Political Participation

In testing the proposition of the relative importance of political versus community participation, the respondents were asked, "How do you rank the importance of political participation?" Table 11 summarizes the responses. Manifestly, the responses do not indicate overwhelming support

of the proposition since slightly less than one-half of the
respondents indicated that it was "most important." However,
from the nature of some of the comments elicited from those
who ranked it of average importance, it seemed obvious that
their responses were those of the "practical" businessman.
A conflict of interests was apparent. For example:

> Actually, political participation ought to be near
> the top. Practically, you can't stick your neck out;
> it is bad for business. As my friends say, "politics
> is dirty and it perils business." People should par-
> ticipate in politics as individuals, not as a business
> group. Yet more thinking about political beliefs is
> necessary.

Another remarked:

> I tell my boys to be interested in politics as
> such, but not to run for office. This keeps politics
> cleaner.

One respondent who considered political participation
the most important said:

> Everyone in business must be interested in poli-
> tics; government is the biggest business in the land.
> We may not get interested until laws are passed--then
> it is too late.

It should be noted that the respondents were asked
to rank the importance of political participation after they
had been asked whether or not there were organizations or
activities in which they felt business participation was
particularly important. The responses to this latter question,
which were used in testing the next hypothesis, indicated
that somewhat lesser importance was attached to political
participation than to participation in welfare and business

organizations. In brief, their responses to an open-ended query somewhat contradict their responses to the present forced-choice question. These findings are in a sense reconcilable, however, since the open-ended question _forces_ the respondent to consider political participation as a type of community participation. They are also indicative of the ambivalent dispositions of the community influentials toward political involvement insofar as this is seen as entailing a political identification with business interests, a process apparently to be avoided as the above remarks seem to imply.

The oft-implied importance of political participation as "individuals" if not as businessmen leads to the conclusion that basically it was considered more important than community participation, even more so than the distribution in Table 11 would indicate. The general nature of the query left implicit any comparison which the respondent might make between political and community participation. It should be noted that no interviewee mentioned community participation in his response. Certainly the impression was gained that political participation could directly serve business interests, whether this participation was "public" or "private." Community participation is also obviously considered important, but somewhat less so than political participation, for the benefits accruing from the latter apparently are viewed as more directly linked with business

interests. That the business influentials were more active
in "community" rather than "political" affairs does not
serve to refute this contention. Undoubtedly, community
involvement has led to the establishment of local political
ties with the result that energetic political activity is
not needed to safeguard business interests. Yet its basic
importance in time of "need" is obviously realized. Many
of the issues mentioned by the community influentials re-
quire more than their mere participation in community affairs.
Many might demand the heretofore lacking political exertion
on the part of the businessmen. Indeed, this thought was
voiced by a number of informants.

Assessment of Areas of Community Participation

The above proposition embraced what might be called
business' "ultimate" view regarding over-all community in-
volvement. Ultimately political participation seems more
important than community involvement. The third proposition
would attempt to answer the question of how business views
the importance of different types of organizations in its
position or role as a community participant. What are the
important decision-making bodies in the present power struc-
ture as viewed by business influentials? How do the responses
to this question compare with business' view that political
participation is more important than community participation?
It was proposed that business would perceive participation

in business organizations as being more important than
participation in other types of organizations. Holding of
this view would not necessarily conflict or be inconsistent
with the view upholding the importance of political partici-
pation. Immediate community decision making need not be
perceived as falling within the realm of political processes.
Also, "overt" businesss participation in political organiza-
tions would not likely be considered too important in view
of the responses obtained relating to political participation
above. It was expected that business organizations would
be mentioned as most important since it is primarily through
them that business controls the community.

Two-thirds of the respondents answered affirmatively
the question "Are there any organizations or activities in
the community in which you feel that the participatior of busi-
ness is more important than in others?" The complete dis-
tribution is shown in Table 13. For those answering affirma-
tively, the follow-up question "What are they?" was asked.
The responses to this question are presented in Table 14.
The responses do not confirm the proposition. "Health or wel-
fare" organizations were mentioned more frequently than
business organizations. "Governmental" and "educational"
organizations ranked a distant third and fourth respectively.
Little importance was attached to "social" organizations and
service clubs.

The respondents were then asked to give the reasons

for their particular choice of organizations. Table 15
summarizes these responses. The most frequently given rea-
son was that the organization or organizations "contributed
to the general welfare of the community." The next most
frequent reason was that the organization "promoted the
respondent's business." Clearly there was a split between
a community and a business orientation. In some respects
the rejection of this proposition tends to reaffirm the
validity of the first proposition. As the power structure
is perceived as dealing with non-economic issues, so too
does business perceive participation in "non-economic"
agencies as being important. Evidently, the assumption that
these non-economic issues would be perceived as falling
within the province of resolution by economic organizations
is not supported by the data, although business organizations
do rank second in importance to welfare organizations. Not-
withstanding this fact, it should be remembered that the
welfare organizations are essentially controlled by business
influentials. The importance attributed to participation
in welfare groups still seems to represent a tacit interest
in maintaining business influence while contributing to
general community welfare.

Summarizing the findings relative to the above three
propositions, business influentials perceive their local
participation as dealing primarily with "non-economic" issues,
in the resolution of which welfare organizations are considered

most important. Considering the power structure as involv-
ing both political and community participation, the former
is considered more important by the community influentials.
These findings provide a prelude to the "structural" images
which follow, wherein business is asked to make relative
assessments of its influence in the community power structure.

Structural Hypotheses

·It was first proposed that business would acknowledge
itself to be the most influential group in the community.
This would be confirmed in the naming of influential individ-
uals and organizations by the business respondents. Each
community influential was presented the total list of com-
munity influentials and was asked to select the ten most
influential individuals on the list. In addition, they were
invited to add names if they wished. Specifically the query
was, "Which ten have most influence and power to put a
decision across in the community or stop a project from being
executed or realized? Add other names if you wish." Table
17 presents the list of business influentials and the total
votes received by each. Since the respondents could add
names to the list which in itself only contained two labor
figures, it would seem that ample opportunity was provided
to acknowledge labor influence. However no additional
nomination proved to be a labor figure, also no additional
nominees were mentioned more than once. Hence the investi-

gator saw no reason to revise the list as a result of this process.

Table 17 amply demonstrates business' self perception of power. The ten top vote-getters, who received 13 or more nominations, includes seven economic dominants, if one includes the publisher of the local newspaper. Two were educators. The two labor influentials together only garnered a total of thirteen nominations. Many of the community influentials were quick to admit that they did not even know who one labor leader was. The top vote-getter, in the person of Harold Car, general manager of the local plant of a national auto concern, came as no surprise. Car seemingly lends his name, if not his active support, to many local endeavors. Heavy support is also evident for the school superintendent, who apparently is much more active in local community affairs than Dean, the university president. The only political official who made the top ten was the mayor, whose "actual" influence, judging from the interview data, did not match his reputed influence.

Table 18, in turn, lists the leading community influentials as chosen by these top ten themselves. As can be seen, the consensual top ten selected themselves as the ten leading influentials in Wheelsburg, thus agreeing with the choices offered by the complete list of community influentials. The two top-ten listings are identical in composition, if not in ranking, although even in ranking the

differences are only slight. Newsworthy, Dean, and Car are
the leading choices of the top ten as well as all thirty-
nine influentials. Banker, however, proved slightly more
popular among the top ten than he did among all thirty-nine,
receiving the second highest number of votes, seven, on the
list submitted by the consensual top ten. While thirteen
votes qualified an influential for inclusion among the con-
sensual top ten, there was no clear cut-off point for in-
clusion among the top ten offered by the consensual top ten
group itself. Writ, the lawyer, who received thirteen votes
from among the thirty-nine influentials, received only three
votes from among the consensual top ten, thus tying him for
tenth place along with Jay Sale, Monsignor Abbott, Reverend
Bishop, and Phil Asset.

The above data justifies acceptance of the hypothesis
that business perceives itself as supreme in the power
structure, at least in viewing this structure in terms of
community influentials. Additional support is given to this
proposition when business influentials perceive the power
structure in terms of its organizational composition. The
respondents were asked, "What organizations in Wheelsburg
do you feel have most weight in getting things done, or in
preventing some things from getting done in Wheelsburg?"
Although the responses to this question appear to attribute
more power to labor, the over-all results still show a
decided edge in business' favor. The results are summarized

in Table 19.

The most powerful community organization in the eyes
of community influentials is the local Chamber of Commerce.
This is hardly surprising in view of the fact that 34 of the
community influentials were actively involved in this organi-
zation. Among non-members were the two religious officials
and the two labor leaders. The second most powerful organi-
zation in terms of votes was the local newspaper. Two im-
portant factors should be noted in this instance. First,
it was the only daily in the city; secondly, its publisher
is a key influential as was revealed in the above analysis.
The third most powerful organization proved to be the local
plant of a large national automobile-manufacturing concern.
Also, its general manager was a key influential. Organized
labor ranks in fourth place with fifteen votes being given
to its local labor council. After these four organizations
Table 19 reveals that nominations are considerably diffused
among a various number of other local agencies.

In a gross sense, this organizational analysis reveals
that organized labor enjoys a relatively high standing. Con-
sidering the power structure as consisting of "separate"
organizations, it stands in the top four. Yet this fact is
obviously quite deceptive. Three of the four top organiza-
tions are "business" organizations, including the local news-
paper. The latter has an undeniable pro-business orientation,

as revealed by the observations of the respondents as well
as those of the author. Although the potential power which
these three organizations represent may rarely coalesce into
a single force against organized labor in a particular issue,
the proposition under test is still valid. The burden is
obviously upon labor to find allies, even if it is opposing
one of these organizations on a particular issue. Again
the business "tie-up" of community organizations is brought
to mind. This fact coupled with its "own" organizations in
the power structure gives business an overwhelming advantage.

A third question posed to the respondents was, "How
would you compare the relative influence of management and
organized labor in community affairs in Wheelsburg?" Over-
whelming support is given to the proposition under consider-
ation as is shown in Table 20. Thirty-four of the 39 in-
formants answered that business had greater influence than
labor. Only two were willing to concede greater influence
to organized labor. These results need little elaboration.
However, some of the comments are illuminating, particularly
as they involved a legitimation of business' dominant
position.

One informant said,

Labor in Wheelsburg is not as radical as it is in
other places. A large part of labor has faith that
business has its (labor's) interests at heart. It
knows that businessmen do the better thinking for the
people.

A community influential who was a prominent banker remarked:

> I think management has more influence. Management is more apt to come in contact with civic problems before labor, therefore it takes the leadership. Organized labor is always invited in afterwards.

Still another made the following comments:

> Management has much more influence that organized labor at the present time. Labor is new to the community scene. Its leaders aren't of the same calibre as management personnel.

Numerous other reasons were given by the informants to account for greater business influence. These included "internal problems" of labor which precluded more active participation. Still others implied that labor's motives behind its participation in civic affairs were questionable if not insincere, whereas sincerity was not lacking for business and its position. Such "reasons" appear to be more of a legitimation rather than an explanation of the power imbalance.

The data leave little doubt that business perceives itself as the most powerful group in the community power structure. The business informants viewed their own representatives as key community influentials. They also perceived business organizations as more powerful vis-a-vis organized labor. Likewise in a gross comparison, business was perceived as more powerful than organized labor.

Attributive Hypotheses: Composition and Autonomy of Decision Makers

The next set of propositions to be tested involves
the "functional" images pertaining to the "attributive"
orientations of business. Reviewing this set of propositions,
it was hypothesized that business would perceive: (a) com-
munity decision makers as changing according to the issue
of concern, (b) community decision makers to be acting as
organizational representatives rather than autonomously,
(c) business as having a great sense of social responsi-
bility, (d) community issues as being resolved publicly,
(e) business as less united than labor in community partici-
pation, (f) business as having more economic stakes than organized
labor in community participation, and finally, (g) business
as having a greater interest than organized labor in com-
munity participation.

For the most part these propositions were embodied
in a single query posed to the informants and are tested by
analyzing the responses obtained. Thus in testing the first
proposition concerning the stability of community decision-
makers, the respondents were asked, "In your judgment,
do you feel that big community decision in Wheelsburg tend
to be made by the same small 'crowd' of people working to-
gether, or do these people change according to the issue
confronting the community?" The distribution of responses
is presented in Table 21.

The results do not support the proposition. Slightly
over half of the respondents perceived the group as unchanging.

Only three-eighths saw the group as changing from issue to issue. Of those in the former category, only one respondent explicitly included organized labor in its composition. On the other hand, nine explicitly included businessmen. Of those who saw the group as changing, four specifically mentioned that business was represented. Although the results are obviously not conclusive with respect to the composition of decision makers, it would appear that labor representatives are not accorded much of a role, indicating rejection of the hypothesis. Again several quotations prove illuminating.

One informant said that "Basically, it is the same group. The responsibility for decisions lies within a group of from 50 to 100 people." Another remarked that there is "apt to be too many decisions made by a small group, although this group may be a good one. There is only a handful of people that will do the work." A local utility executive said that "the group changes very little. The people on your community influential list are involved in many issues. They have the ability to put over a project."

Those who saw the group as changing commented in the following ways:

Fortunately the group changes. Looking at the composition of various boards, I see new faces.

People change according to the issue, but not altogether of course. In terms of money-raising, it is usually the same group.

The meetings held to resolve different issues involve different groups.

Two questions were used to test the proposition whether community influentials were organizational representatives or autonomous individuals in decision making. First, the business informants were asked, "In any of the organizations you have mentioned (organizations in which the informant was active currently or in the past), do you sometimes think of yourself as representing a group such as business, professions, or government?" Secondly, they were asked, "Is it your opinion that people who make important community decision in Wheelsburg do this pretty much on their own, or do they have to get approval for their actions from organizations to which they belong?" It was expected that in both questions the informants would view themselves as representatives of their business constituency, who as representatives of various business groups acted only with organizational approval. It was felt that autonomous action on the part of decision makers would be associated with social irresponsibility. This did not prove the case as the following results indicate.

Table 22 indicates that most of the respondents did think of themselves as organizational representatives. Twenty-three indicated this and only eight gave an unqualified "no." The types of organizations they mentioned are presented in Table 23.

The wide range of responses indicated here does not support definite conclusions. Business organizations were mentioned as frequently as "all organizations." Although viewing themselves as organizational representatives in the broadest sense, there was obviously little consensus regarding what types of organizations they felt themselves to be representing. This, in turn, might account for their responses in regard to autonomous responsibility in community action, the distribution of which serves to refute the present hypothesis.

While viewing themselves as organizational representatives, community influentials do not perceive local decision makers as requiring organizational approval. Although the question was phrased in such a manner as to indicate that community decision makers did not necessarily include the informants, it was assumed that in answering the question the respondents in essence would be perceiving themselves as the decision makers. Table 24 shows that almost three-quarters of the interviewees indicated that organizational approval was not needed contrary to the hypothesis formulated. Of the respondents who answered unqualifiedly that approval was needed, only one answered that "management" representatives needed organizational approval. When business or management was specifically mentioned in answer to the question, ten of the respondents explicitly stated that its representatives could act on their own.

C

diction"

suggests

elicited f

they purp

ing might

as autonom

allegian

welfare

non-part

ture.

general

struct

ganiza

autono

the ir

ratif

as th

Such

that

th

is

to

th

i

One possible explanation for the apparent "contra-
diction" in the responses to the two questions immediately
suggests itself. The rather hazy organizational affiliations
elicited from the respondents regarding the groups which
they purportedly represent or see themselves as represent-
ing might account for their perception of decision makers
as autonomous actors. The apparent multi-organizational
allegiance which was manifest ties in with the community
welfare orientation expressed above in reference to the
non-partisan issues dealt with by the community power struc-
ture. If the power structure is viewed as dealing with
general community issues and the representatives in this
structure view themselves as representatives of various or-
ganizations, perhaps such a situation dictates individual
autonomy on the part of the decision makers as expressed by
the informants. The decision makers are not perceived as
needing organizational approval since they are not perceived
as the representatives of any one group in the community.
Such a situation might dictate that decision makers act "on
their own" in the best interests of the community. It is a
difficult but necessary task at this point to separate the
respondents' perception from the situation which actually
exists. The task is to explain why the respondents view
decision makers as acting autonomously when at the same time
they view themselves as organizational spokesmen. We have
also attempted to explain in fact, why this may actually be

the case.

It is helpful to consider some of the representative remarks made by the informants themselves:

> Some need approval, labor leaders for example. Management has more freedom. No top executive will be a rubber stamp.

> They know what the policy is, so they can act on their own.

> They have autonomy; there is very little absentee direction.

> They very seldom go into activities with instructions from their organizations.

These represented the general tenor of the responses. Some qualified their responses by stating that although autonomy was the rule, no representative would act contrary to his organization's policy. Others indicated that the individual's autonomy depended on the particular issue involved and its relationship to the particular organization. Those who indicated that approval was needed mentioned such factors as size of the organization as being important; individuals representing smaller units, it was claimed, had much less freedom than those who were representatives of larger organizations. Several answered that it was simply company policy to require organizational approval.

Attributive Hypotheses: Social Responsibility and Technique Attributed to Decision Makers

After assessing the "autonomy" and "stability" of community decision makers, the community influentials were

then queried as to the "social responsibility" which they
attributed to them. This was followed by a question regard-
ing the manner in which these decision makers resolved com-
munity issues, whether the community influentials viewed
them as working "behind the scenes" or "out in the open."
The respondents were asked the following question to test
the hypothesis that business would perceive itself as exer-
cising social responsibility: "Concerning the people who
are primarily involved in making the big decisions in Wheels-
burg, do you feel they have a broad sense of community re-
sponsibility or are they more concerned with protecting
or furthering their own particular interests?" The responses
obtained are presented in Table 25.

Over three-quarters of the informants expressed the
view that community decision makers exercised a sense of
social responsibility, lending substantial support to the
proposition. Only one-tenth voiced the opinion that special
interests were more important; three answered that it was a
combination of special interests and community responsibility.
Typical of the responses were the following:

The huge majority have no particular axe to grind.

I think maybe ten per cent are thinking of their
own interest; ninety per cent are thinking of the
community; they all have children.

The real leaders have a strong sense of social
responsibility.

I think they are big enough to look to community
welfare.

They have a real sense of breadth in their community relationships.

As expected the community influentials were quick to deny any lack of community responsibility. The allegiance of the autonomously-acting decision makers was the "community." Possibly because they were viewed as occasionally changing in composition from issue to issue, they were consequently perceived as indeed precluded from having the opportunity to consistently further special interests. Then too, the community orientation is not unexpected in light of the "issues" and "achievements" perceived by the business influentials, which also were community-wide in nature.

The next proposition, that issues would be perceived as being publicly resolved, seems to follow logically. With a self-perception of community responsibility, it is difficult to envision that any other image could obtain. The respondents were asked, "Are the important issues in Wheelsburg usually quietly resolved without the public knowing what they are, or are they usually brought out in the open?" Table 27 summarizes the responses to this query.

Well over half of the respondents maintained that community issues were resolved with public awareness. About one-fourth thought that the opposite situation prevailed --"secret" resolution. These results give adequate support to the proposition. Among the comments elicited in response to this question were the following:

Formerly "quiet" resolution was the rule. Today
adequate publicity is given to community problems.

I think most issues are brought into the open.
John Newsworthy has been very cooperative.

By and large, issues are generally brought out into
the open. The mass mediate disseminate information;
diverse groups are represented in the decision-making
process.

Somewhat paradoxically, several who saw issues as
being resolved privately were quick to take the local news-
paper to task. Such remarks as the following were heard:

This city needs another newspaper; any city needs
several newspapers. The citizens would be served
better, if there were another paper.

Too much fanfare can be a handicap. It is better
to solve issues quietly.

There is a misconception about private resolution
of issues. Remember most of these men are very com-
munity-minded.

There is public trust in the judgment of these
men.

Both the press and city government are apathetic.

The respondents in this category were split between
those who were legitimizing the situation and those who wished
to correct it. For the former, private resolution was con-
sidered legitimate since the decision makers after all had
a sense of civic-mindedness and were also considered capable
individuals. For the latter, the situation should and could
be improved by better public airing of issues, particularly
in the local mass media agencies.

Attributive Hypotheses: Comparative Business-Labor "Unity," "Economic Stake," and "Interest"

The remaining three propositions in the attributive set of hypotheses concern comparative business judgments of itself with organized labor. In the first, business compares its "unity" in community participation with that of labor. Table 28 summarizes the responses to the question, "Do you feel that organized labor in Wheelsburg is more or less united than management in what they want for the community?" The data lend qualified support to acceptance of the proposition that business perceives organized labor to be more united. Approximately two-fifths maintained that organized labor was more united. Only six of the informants were of the opinion that business was more united. Approximately one-fourth indicated that management and labor were equally united. The distribution indicates that few business influentials were willing to concede that business was more united than labor. The diversity of business agencies represented by the informants undoubtedly accounts for these results. This, plus the fact, that labor was naturally more united, by its very organizational structure, which saw the AFL and CIO joined together in a local labor council. This perception of manifest unity, overlooks the fact of course, that labor leaders are not necessarily in any more agreement on community goals than are their heterogeneous group of business counterparts.

Responses among the various categories included the following:

Labor has more agreement on what is good for the people.

There is too much pressure brought to bear on labor representatives to express the same views, especially since the merger. Labor is more united.

Organized labor is more united than business; on the parking problem labor went right down the line for what it wanted. Management was in disagreement; real estate men opposed the position of local businessmen.

Organized labor is less united. Some individual labor leaders have excellent insights, but this is not true of most of them.

Labor is less united because its leaders can't boss around the good American workers.

Labor has achieved a merger on the local level. Frankly, I think the degree of unity is fairly even. I would say on particular issues the unity might vary.

It is clear that "unity" did not mean the same thing to all respondents. To some it was synonymous with the merger accomplished between the AFL and CIO. To others unity among labor included the rank-and-file as well as the labor leaders; this was considered to be an impossibility. To still others unity necessarily referred only to the labor leaders; their unity was not necessarily any greater than that of business leaders. In sum, however, it can be said that the unity theme prevailed in the business influential's perception of organized labor, thus leading to acceptance of the proposition.

The proposition concerning business' perception of

greater economic stakes was also tested through the use of
a single question, "Do you feel that management has a greater
or smaller economic stake than organized labor in partici-
pating in community organizations and activities?" Again,
the results, as shown in Table 29 tend to support the propo-
sition. Over half perceived business as having the greater
stake in community participation. Twenty-two gave this re-
sponse, whereas only half that number were willing to concede
that the stake was equal. Only three perceived a greater
stake on the part of organized labor. An elaboration of
responses is helpful in gaining the composite imagery elicited
from the informants.

> Of course the question is a relative one, but in
> dollars and cents management has the higher stakes. Of
> course the fellow in the plant depends upon management
> for his job.

> The stakes of the two are equal. Management in-
> cludes folks who work as well as organized labor.

> Labor has a greater stake because they receive most
> of the help from the community agencies.

> The stakes are equal. The community is a part of
> Perry Corporation. Perry is a good place to work be-
> cause it is located in a good community. The factors
> are interdependent.

> No, I don't think management has a greater stake.
> Everybody benefits from a good community. The stakes
> are equal.

> Management has greater stakes because its financial
> concerns are acute. Management has to measure its abil-
> ity to pay from the way the business is run. Labor
> organizations are financed by dues.

Summarizing the diversity of these images is difficult. Apparently those who perceive that business has a greater stake in community participation cling to the paternalistic position that business provides the basis of the community's economy. Business is responsible for providing employment for organized labor, therefore it must have more at stake. However, no clear relationships between "community participation" and economic benefits to business were portrayed. Those who saw the stakes as equal evoked a strong communal orientation given voice in such expressions that labor and management both represented "working folk" and were members of the same community. Both were, economically speaking, interdependent.

The final comparative proposition concerned business' perception of its greater interest in community participation. This hypothesis was tested by posing the question, "Do you feel that management has greater interest than organized labor in local community affairs or not?" Overwhelming support was given this proposition as is evidenced in Table 30. Two-thirds of the respondents answered the question affirmatively. Seven held that the interest was equal. Only five perceived organized labor as having a greater interest. The distribution leaves little doubt as to the general disposition of the business influentials. The following statements are typical:

Management has far more interest. Local labor leaders haven't any authority for direct interest.

Management has had more experience in community affairs. Management must have more interest in the community or it doesn't deserve the title of "management."

Management has more interest and influence. Labor is shortsighted.

Management has to be more interested. Printers, railroads, construction companies, have all played an important part in building this community.

I think management has a greater interest in affairs as they apply to the whole community. Labor's interest centers on union members only.

Two general reasons seem to account for this prevailing type of imagery. First, management is spurred to have a greater interest. Again, it has more at stake. It is interested in preserving or protecting this stake. Secondly, management is better qualified to express its interest than is labor, whose interests are not identified with the community as are those of management. Management's greater capacity for community leadership at one and the same time is seen as serving all interests as well as its own.

In sum, each of the so-called "attributive" hypotheses was accepted with the exception of those positing organizational responsibility and variability among community decision makers. Community decision makers were perceived as an unchanging group, acting independently, and exercising social responsibility. They resolved issues publicly. Comparing itself with organized labor, business viewed itself as having a greater stake and interest in community partici-

pation, but concurrently saw itself as less united. As expected, the total image was thus quite favorable. The favorable image of itself was complemented with the somewhat less favorable image of organized labor, furthering rationalizing business' power position.

Interaction Hypotheses: Business Relationships with Labor and Other Community Organizations

It remains to test the final set of hypotheses, the "interaction" propositions. Having considered perceptions of the power structure and attendant evaluations or interpretations of same, it remains to consider those perceptions which might yield a clue to future courses of action on the part of business. This involves ascertaining business' perceptions of labor's perceptions and also business' perceptions pertaining to possible rapprochment between itself and labor. Finally, it involves ascertaining business' view of organizational participation in the community power structure as a whole.

Reviewing, it was hypothesized that:

(a) Business would perceive itself to be in essential accord with organized labor regarding community "objectives" and the existence of current community issues.

(b) Business would maintain that cooperation is needed between itself and labor to achieve these community objectives.

(c) Business would consider it important to partici-
pate in as many community organizations as possible. It has
already been established that business considers participa-
tion in business organizations as being more important than
participation in any other type of community organization.
As a follow-up it was considered essential to determine
whether or not this meant that business was generally selec-
tive in its participation in the community power structure.

After the business respondents had been asked to
list what they considered to be important and current com-
munity issues, the investigator posed the question: "Would
community representatives of organized labor generally agree
or disagree that these are the most important issues?" The
responses to this question are given in Table 31.

A substantial majority, three-quarters, answered
that labor would agree, thus indicating support for the
hypothesis. Only three gave an unqualified "no." Others
answered the question affirmatively, adding that organized
labor also had issues of its "own." The general tenor
of responses can be gleaned from the following:

I think it would be inclined to agree. The labor
leaders are of pretty high calibre. Of course they are
selfish in their approach but who isn't.

They would agree. Labor is growing up. It is
being educated by the Chamber of Commerce.

They would agree. This is a pretty well-educated
community.

These are not controversial issues. Labor is getting more responsible.

A dissenting voice made the following remarks:

Elmer Local is the only labor leader I have respect for. The typical labor leader promotes agitation. He wants to justify himself to his union membership. Organized labor has no community goals and does not appreciate that there are community issues.

An opportunity was given the respondents to list what they considered to be "unique" labor issues. They were asked, "What are the most important issues for them (Labor's community representatives)?" Business' perceptions of labor issues are presented in Table 32. Clearly, there is a minimal divergency between management's perception of their own and labor's issues. Of course, the problem is the degree of importance which business perceives labor as attributing to these issues. The wide range of responses indicates little consensus on the part of the business respondents. Over half of them fell into the "don't know" or "not ascertained" categories. Of those giving explicit answers, one-fifth replied that labor's issues were the same as those which they had listed for management. Other issues, listed by only one respondent, included parking, increased aid to the aged, and improvement of community health services.

The business influentials were then asked, "What are the general differences, if any, in the community objectives of labor and business?" The summarized results in Table 33 further support the proposition that business

would perceive itself in "agreement" with labor. Approximately two-fifths did not discern any differences. The next most frequent response was that labor and business disagreed as to what constituted proportional representation on community organizations. It is highly questionable whether this response qualifies as a community objective or is more a matter of power "rights" or legitimacy. The relative infrequency of the remainder of the responses leads one to minimize their importance. The vagueness of the imagery obtained is evident in the following quotations:

> Labor would prefer things to be more socialized. For example, they would like free parking.

> I don't really know if there are any differences in basic objectives. I think the labor unions have deliberately gotten representatives on community organizations. This is all right if they act as community representatives rather than union representatives.

> I don't think that labor and business are at odds on community objectives. Their differences are in collective bargaining.

> There are very few differences and a great deal of cooperation.

The data indicate that business perceives itself to be in essential harmony with labor both in terms of community issues and objectives. When differences were expressed, they appeared to be based upon either specific economic questions related to the union's "bargaining" philosophy or to the question of "proper" power distribution, neither type of divergency qualifying as differences in ultimate community objectives. An additional question was asked the

respondents, which although not relative to the present
hypothesis, is helpful in determining the degree to which
business attributes "economic" motives to organized labor,
a tendency which began to manifest itself in the responses
immediately above. The interviewees were asked, "Assuming
that organized labor has three general objectives; namely,
(1) improvement of wages and economic security, (2) political
influence, and (3) community participation, how do you
think they rank them in terms of importance to labor?"

As shown in Table 36 the same tendency is evident
in response to this question. Over half of the respondents
felt that labor considered economic objectives as the most
important. Approximately a third saw labor as striving for
political influence. None saw labor as holding community
participation as most important. This type of imagery is
obviously helpful in interpreting business' claim to greater
stakes, interest, and social responsibility in community
participation.

Business-Labor Cooperation

In testing the hypothesis that business would cite
the necessity of cooperation with organized labor, the com-
munity influentials were asked, "To what extent do you feel
that management and other groups can realize their community
objectives without the help of organized labor? Many of the
respondents apparently felt that the question was rather
naive, since the answer to them was considered "obvious."

This resulted in a large number of brief, wague and incomplete responses which the author necessarily had to classify as "not ascertained." The virtually unanimous categorizing of those who gave explicit responses, however, leaves little doubt as to the prevailing opinion of the business influentials.

No support was given to a "go it alone" approach to community affairs. The help of organized labor was deemed imperative for the attainment of community goals. Although management perceives itself as considerably more powerful than labor, what power is attributed to organized labor cannot be ignored. As the responses of the eighteen interviewees classified as "not ascertained" were brief, so too were the responses of the twenty who acknowledged that business needed the help of organized labor. For the most part, they could be capsulized in the brief phrase, "both are needed." Thus the hypothesis is accepted.

Importance of Organizational Participation

The hypothesis that business attests to the importance of general organizational participation was tested by asking, "Do you think it is important or not important for business to participate in as many community organizations as possible?" If it was considered important, they were then asked why it was so considered. Approximately nine-tenths considered wide participation to be important. Only two contended that

it was not important. With this distribution in mind, it
is to be recalled that the respondents expressed an "organi-
zational preference" for participation in welfare and busi-
ness groups. The importance attributed to community-wide
participation, however, seems significant and is consistent
with its expression of "interest" in community affairs as
well as its sense of social responsibility. Also issues,
achievements, and objectives are perceived in a multi-or-
ganizational context.

As indicated in Table 37, the respondents were
ambivalent when giving reasons for the importance attached
to this participation. For a third of the respondents, com-
munity service was the motivating force. For a quarter of
the group business interests was the motivating factor.
For about an eighth of the business influentials, it was a
combination of both. The split in responses is rendered
more understandable in light of the above findings. The
respondents perceive business as having a substantial economic
stake in community participation, moreso than labor. Busi-
ness organizations are the most powerful agencies in the com-
munity. For these reasons, a business orientation is not
surprising. On the other hand, community issues are essen-
tially non-economic in nature, as are business achievements
in the community. Thus community participation also invokes
a "non-sectarian" or welfare orientation.

A summary of the above imagery is in order before

attempting to relate its various perceptions to business'
historical perceptions concerning past issue-resolution in
the community. Again, the objective of this was to establish
possible relationships between a group's imagery of a struc-
ture and the actions or tactics which it manifests in this
structure. With regard to the former, it has been shown
that business perceives itself as the dominant group in a
power structure dedicated to serving "community" interests.
Issues are resolved publicly by a responsible and changing
body of decision makers, the large majority of whom are
businessmen. Business would continue participation in all
community organizations, acknowledging that welfare and
business organizations are more important. Primarily "com-
munity-minded," business influentials gave some evidence
that a concurrent business orientation existed. It would
cooperate with organized labor, which it sees as sharing its
community objectives. At the same time labor is seen as
more united in what it wants for the community. Greater
business stakes and interest in community affairs are appar-
ent "reasons" for its greater influence, compared to labor
in community affairs.

On the basis of such findings it was hoped that an
analysis of the historical perceptions of business influen-
tials would yield validation of such important factors as
business power and responsibility and perhaps, business-
labor rapproachment. Another potential objective was to

ascertain the various stages of involvement manifest in
issue-resolution and the roles played by different groups,
particularly labor. Ultimately the notion was entertained
to relate the power-wielding of an actor (business or labor)
to the group imagery which it possessed, attempting to
establish the latter as a possible basis of the former. In
general, business imagery would seem to presage a relatively
conflict-free, integrated power structure with business being
able to maintain its superior position with little or no
real opposition from labor. It is realized of course, that
to establish the relationship between imagery, action, and
structure is an extremely difficult undertaking. It is
entirely possible that imagery is the result as well as
the "cause" of the existing structure. The analysis in
Chapter VI is undertaken with these qualifications in mind,
and compares the historical perceptions of both labor and
business. Chapter V presents labor's images of the community
power structure.

TABLE 9

IMPORTANT COMMUNITY ISSUES LISTED BY COMMUNITY AND LABOR
INFLUENTIALS

Issues	Times Mentioned		Per Cent of Respondents	
	Business	Labor	Business	Labor
Metropolitan planning-annexation	23	14	59	36
Parking	16	26	41	67
Downtown development	13	8	33	21
Attracting new business	11	0	28	0
Public transportation	4	18	10	47
Revision of city tax policy	9	0	23	0
Pay roll tax	0	8	0	21
School development	5	9	13	23
Governmental reorganization	5	0	13	0
Medical facilities	0	5	0	13
Full employment	0	4	0	10
Retirement program	0	4	0	10

TABLE 10

GROUP ACHIEVEMENTS IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS LISTED BY COMMUNITY
AND LABOR INFLUENTIALS

Achievement	Times Mentioned		Per Cent of Respondents	
	Business	Labor	Business	Labor
Raising effectiveness of Community Chest	16	11	41	28
Hospital expansion aid	15	6	39	15
Promotion of civic planning	11	0	28	0
Solution of traffic problems	10	0	26	0
Increased representation in community agencies	0	11	0	28
Improvement of local economic conditions	0	9	0	23
City hall construction	8	0	21	0
Inauguration of programs for the aged	0	7	0	18
Governmental improvement	7	0	18	0
Development of favorable community image toward labor	0	7	0	18
Attainment of greater political influence	0	5	0	13

TABLE 11

RANKING IN IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS

Ranking	Number	Per Cent
Most important	16	41
Average importance	14	36
Other	5	13
Not important	2	5
Not ascertained	1	3
TOTAL	39	100

TABLE 12

LABOR'S RANKING OF ITS POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND COMMUNITY OBJECTIVES[a]

Ranking	Number	Per Cent
Economic objectives ranked first	15	38
Political objectives ranked first	14	36
Community objectives ranked first	4	10
Ranked of equal importance	3	8
Other	3	8
TOTAL	39	100

[a]"Labor" and "Business" are used interchangeably for labor influentials and community influentials respectively.

TABLE 13

OPINIONS OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS REGARDING EXISTENCE
AREAS OF DIFFERENTIAL IMPORTANCE FOR BUSINESS IN COMMU-
NITY PARTICIPATION

Opinions	Number	Per Cent
All areas of participation important	9	23
Some areas more important	26	67
Other	1	3
Not ascertained	3	7
TOTAL	39	100

TABLE 14

IMPORTANT AREAS OR COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION LISTED BY COMMUNITY
AND LABOR INFLUENTIALS

Area of Organization	Times Mentioned Business	Labor	Per Cent of Respondents Business	Labor
Health and welfare	19	32	49	82
Business	14	0	36	0
Governmental or political	7	22	18	57
Educational	6	7	15	18

TABLE 15

REASONS GIVEN BY COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS FOR IMPORTANCE OF
AREA IN COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Reason	Number	Per Cent
Contributes to general welfare of community	15	38
Promotes respondent's own business or profession	11	28
Promotes economic growth of city	6	15
Promotes good government	3	8
Not ascertained	4	10
TOTAL	39	99

TABLE 16

LABOR'S ASSESSMENT OF ITS EFFECTIVENESS IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Labor Effective	Labor not Effective	Times Mentioned	Per Cent of Respondents
Community Chest		7	18
Red Cross		5	13
Hospital Boards		4	10
	State Children's Aid	1	3
	YWCA	1	3
	Governmental Agencies	1	3
Democratic Party		5	13

TABLE 17

KEY INFLUENTIALS AND VOTES RECEIVED AS NOMINATED BY COMMUNITY
AND LABOR INFLUENTIALS

Community Influential	Position	Votes Received Business	Labor
Harold Car	General Manager, Perry Motors Corporation	32	18
Seth Dean	President, State University	29	17
John Newsworthy	Publisher, City Journal	26	28
Gunner School	Superintendent of public schools	21	21
Mike Macey	Manager, retired, Seller's Department Store	21	11
Rob Govern	Mayor	16	27
Gary Iron	President, Williams Metal Corporation	14	*
George Piston	President, Wheelsburg Motors	13	*
Joe Writ	Partner, Writ, Kale, and Paul Law Firm	13	*
Tom Banker	President, Kent State Bank	13	*
Monsignor Abbott	Pastor, St. Thomas Church	*	22
George Wage	President, Wheelsburg CIO Labor Council	*	19
Kent House	President, Kent House Realty Company, member of city council	*	16
Calvin Jackson[a]	CIO Subregional Director	*	13

*Did not make group's top ten choices.

[a]Jackson, a labor influential, did not appear on the list of community influentials presented to the labor informants.

TABLE 18

TOP TEN INFLUENTIALS AND VOTES RECEIVED AS NOMINATED BY CON-
SENSUAL TOP TEN OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS

Community Influential	Position	Votes Received
John Newsworthy	Publisher, _City Journal_	8
Seth Dean	President, State University	8
Harold Car	General Manager, Perry Motors Corporation	8
Tom Banker	President, Kent State Bank	7
Rob Govern	Mayor, Wheelsburg	5
Mike Macey	Manager, retired, Seller's Department Store	5
George Piston	President, Wheelsburg Motors	5
Gunner School	Superintendent of public schools	4
Cary Iron	President, Williams Metal Corporation	4
Joe Writ	Partner, Writ, Kale, and Paul Law Firm	3*

*Jay Sale, Monsignor Abbott, Rev. Bishop, and Phil Asset also received 3 votes.

TABLE 19

INFLUENTIAL ORGANIZATIONS LISTED BY COMMUNITY AND LABOR
INFLUENTIALS

Organization	Times Mentioned		Per Cent of Respondents	
	Business	Labor	Business	Labor
Chamber of Commerce	29	28	74	73
Perry Motors Corporation	20	7	52	18
City Journal	22	10	57	26
Organized labor	15	28	38	73
Churches	10	6	26	15
Board of Realtors	7	10	18	26
Service Clubs (Rotary, Lions, etc.)	7	6	18	15
Parent-Teachers Association	7	0	18	0
Uptown Businessmen's Association	0	5	0	13
Community Chest	0	3	0	8
City Council	0	2	0	5

TABLE 20

COMPARISON OF RELATIVE POWER OF BUSINESS AND LABOR BY COMMU-
NITY AND LABOR INFLUENTIALS

Comparison	Number		Per Cent	
	Business	Labor	Business	Labor
Management has greater influence than labor	34	29	87	74
Management and labor have equal influence	2	2	5	5
Labor has greater influence than management	2	3	5	8
Amount of influence varies by issue	1	2	3	5
Not ascertained	0	3	0	8
TOTAL	39	39	100	100

TABLE 21

COMPOSITION OF DECISION-MAKING GROUPS ACCORDING TO BUSINESS
AND LABOR

Composition	Number		Per Cent	
	Business	Labor	Business	Labor
Same group, no comment about composition	12	17	31	43
Same group, explicitly composed of businessmen	9	5	23	13
Same group, labor included	1	3	3	8
Group changes according to issues	15	9	38	23
Other	2	2	5	5
Don't know	0	2	0	5
Not ascertained	0	1	0	3
TOTAL	39	39	100	100

TABLE 22

OPINIONS OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS REGARDING THEIR ACTIONS
AS BUSINESS OR NON-BUSINESS REPRESENTATIVES IN COMMUNITY
ACTIVITIES

Opinion	Number	Per Cent
Act as business representative	23	59
Do not act as business representative	8	21
Other	5	13
Not ascertained	3	7
TOTAL	39	100

TABLE 23

ORGANIZATIONS MENTIONED IN WHICH COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS
REPRESENT BUSINESS

Organization	Times Mentioned	Per Cent of Respondents
Business	8	21
All organizations	8	21
Civic or welfare	4	10
Governmental	2	5

TABLE 24

OPINIONS OF BUSINESS AND LABOR REGARDING AUTONOMY OF WHEELS-
BURG DECISION MAKERS

Opinion	Times Mentioned		Per Cent of Respondents	
	Business	Labor	Business	Labor
Can act on their own, no elaboration	17	4	44	10
Can act on their own (business)	10	3	26	8
Can act on their own (labor)	0	1	0	3
Must get organizational approval (no elaboration)	6	12	15	31
Must get organizational approval (business)	1	3	3	8
Must get organizational approval (labor)	3	12	8	31
Autonomy depends on issue	3	8	8	21
Other	0	3	0	8
Not ascertained	0	2	0	5

TABLE 25

BUSINESS' AND LABOR'S ASSESSMENT OF THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
OF WHEELSBURG DECISION MAKERS

Assessment	Number		Per Cent	
	Business	Labor	Business	Labor
Have broad community responsibility	31	18	79	47
Responsibility depends upon issue	1	11	3	28
Lack social responsibility, further particular interest	4	9	10	23
Combination of self-interest and social responsibility	3	0	8	0
Not ascertained	0	1	0	3
TOTAL	39	39	100	100

TABLE 26

LABOR'S COMPARISON OF LABOR AND BUSINESS SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Comparison	Number	Per Cent
Labor has greater sense of responsibility	12	31
Sense of responsibility equal	19	49
Business has greater sense of responsibility	3	8
Other	1	3
Not ascertained	4	10
TOTAL	39	100

TABLE 27

OPINIONS OF BUSINESS AND LABOR REGARDING MODE OF RESOLUTION
OF COMMUNITY ISSUES

Opinion	Number Business	Labor	Per Cent Business	Labor
Issues generally made public	27	16	69	41
Issues made public but slanted toward business	0	1	0	3
Issues resolved secretively	10	7	26	18
Mode varies	1	12	3	31
Don't know	0	2	0	5
Not ascertained	1	1	3	3
TOTAL	39	39	101	101

TABLE 28

COMPARISON OF DEGREE OF GROUP UNITY BY BUSINESS AND LABOR

Comparison	Number		Per Cent	
	Business	Labor	Business	Labor
Labor is more united than business	16	11	41	28
Business is more united than labor	6	17	15	44
Labor and business are equally united	11	11	28	28
Unity depends on issue	2	0	5	0
Don't know	2	0	5	0
Not ascertained	2	0	5	0
TOTAL	39	39	99	100

TABLE 29

BUSINESS' AND LABOR'S COMPARISON OF GROUPS' ECONOMIC STAKES

Comparison	Number		Per Cent	
	Business	Labor	Business	Labor
Business has greater economic stakes	22	12	57	31
Labor has greater economic stakes	3	10	8	26
Economic stakes are equal	11	9	28	23
Stakes are relative to issue	0	1	0	3
Don't know	1	4	3	10
Not ascertained	2	3	5	8
TOTAL	39	39	101	101

TABLE 30

BUSINESS' AND LABOR'S COMPARISON OF GROUP INTEREST IN COM-
MUNITY AFFAIRS

Comparison	Number		Per Cent	
	Business	Labor	Business	Labor
Business has greater interest than labor	26	12	67	31
Labor has greater interest than business	5	8	13	21
Business and labor have equal interests	7	15	18	38
Other	0	2	0	5
Don't know	1	1	3	3
Not ascertained	0	1	0	3
TOTAL	39	39	101	101

TABLE 31

LABOR'S AND BUSINESS' ASSESSMENT OF WHETHER OTHER GROUP
AGREES ON NAMING DOMINANT COMMUNITY ISSUES

Assessment	Number		Per Cent	
	Business	Labor	Business	Labor
Business (labor) disagrees on naming community issues	3	5	8	13
Business (labor) agrees on community issues	27	27	69	69
Business (labor) partially agrees on community issues	1	4	3	10
Other	3	0	8	0
Don't know	4	1	10	3
Not ascertained	1	2	3	5
TOTAL	39	39	101	100

TABLE 32

BUSINESS' AND LABOR'S LISTING OF ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO
OTHER GROUP

Issues	Times Mentioned	Per Cent of Respondents
Business' Listing		
Same as listed for business	8	21
Economic improvement	4	10
Other	10	26
Don't know	6	15
Not ascertained	14	36
Labor's Listing		
School district mergers	1	3
Public transportation	3	8
Parking accommodations	3	8
Annexation	4	10
Pay roll tax	2	5
Local city administration	2	5
No response	23	59

TABLE 33

BUSINESS' AND LABOR'S PERCEPTIONS OF DIFFERENCES IN COMMU-
NITY OBJECTIVES BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS

Differences	Times Mentioned	Per Cent of Respondents
Business		
Proportional representation in government and civic boards	10	25
Differences over financing of projects	4	10
Differences in philosophy of government	3	8
Differences over wage levels for labor	3	8
No differences	16	41
Not ascertained	3	8
Labor		
No differences	11	28
Differences in methods of achieving identical goals	9	23
Depends on the issue	6	15
Differences in tax policies	5	13
Differences in political objectives	4	10
Differences in social philosophies	2	5
Not ascertained	2	5

TABLE 34

LABOR'S PERCEPTIONS OF STAGE OF COMMUNITY DECISION MAKING
WHEN LABOR IS CONSULTED

Stage	Number	Per Cent
Beginning stage	10	25
Later stages	20	52
Depends on issue	7	18
Don't know	1	3
Not ascertained	1	3
TOTAL	39	101

TABLE 35

LABOR'S PERCEPTIONS OF ITS STAGE OF ENTRANCE INTO COMMUNITY
DECISION MAKING

Stage of Entrance	Number	Per Cent
Labor in from beginning	9	23
Labor not in from beginning	16	41
Stage of entrance depends on issue	9	23
Don't know	4	10
Not ascertained	1	3
TOTAL	39	100

TABLE 36
COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS ASSESSMENT OF HOW LABOR RANKS THE IM-
PORTANCE OF ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES, POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, AND
COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Assessment	Number	Per Cent
Economic objectives ranked first	22	57
Political participation ranked first	11	28
Other (Equal priority given to economic objectives and political participation over community participation)	4	10
Don't know	1	3
Not ascertained	1	3
TOTAL	39	101

TABLE 37

REASONS GIVEN BY COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS FOR IMPORTANCE AT-
TACHED TO MAXIMAL ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION BY BUSINESS

Reason	Number	Per Cent
Community orientation	13	33
Business orientation-specific business interest	11	28
Professional orientation	3	8
Combination of community and business orientation	5	13
Not ascertained	7	18
TOTAL	39	100

TABLE 38

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS OR ACTIVITIES IN WHICH LABOR SHOULD
PARTICIPATE BUT DOES NOT

Organization or Activity	Times Mentioned	Per Cent of Respondents
Labor already participating	17	44
Local governmental agencies	13	33
Health and welfare organizations	6	15
Business organizations	3	8
Educational agencies	3	8
Council of Churches	2	5

TABLE 39

SOURCE OF OPPOSITION TO LABOR'S COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Sources	Times Mentioned	Per Cent of Respondents
No opposition	21	55
Mayor and governmental bodies	4	10
Business and management groups	5	13
City Journal	1	3
Groups cannot be specified	3	8

TABLE 40

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS IN WHICH LABOR SHOULD NOT PARTICIPATE

Organization	Times Mentioned	Per Cent of Respondents
No limit on labor partici- pation	28	73
Chamber of Commerce	8	21
N.A.M. and other business organizations	4	10
Welfare activities	3	8
Religious organizations	1	3
Communist Party	1	3

CHAPTER V

LABOR IMAGES OF COMMUNITY POWER[1]

Global Hypotheses

The first set of hypotheses concerning organized labor's "global" images of the power structure suggested essential convergences with business images with one important exception. Thus, as with business, it was hypothesized that labor would perceive: (a) the power structure primarily as a vehicle for serving general, non-economic interests, (b) community participation as less important than political participation, (c) participation in welfare organizations as more important than participation in any other type of organization in the power structure.

In testing the first proposition, the labor influentials like their business counterparts were asked to list the "most important" issues facing Wheelsburg. Secondly, they were asked to list the "most important" achievements

---

[1]See Warren L. Sauer, "Labor's Image of its Place in Community Power Structure; An Exploratory Study" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, 1958).

of organized labor in community affairs. The objective in
both cases was again to ascertain to what extent labor per-
ceived the power structure as dealing with "partisan" issues
as opposed to "community" issues. As in the case of business,
it was expected that a communal orientation would prevail.

The issues listed by the labor informants are pre-
sented in Table 9. As can be seen, parking, public trans-
portation, and annexation, in that order emerged as the most
important issues. Clearly, these can be interpreted as
"issues" of importance to all community groups, not merely
labor or business. Traditional labor concerns such as em-
ployment, education, and welfare concerns, ranked far down
on the list. It will be recalled that metropolitan planning,
traffic, and downtown development were the most important
issues according to the business influentials.

The achievements mentioned by the labor influentials
are presented in Table 10. Here labor's view of the power
structure is slightly more partisan in nature, although the
top two achievements mentioned again could be considered as
beneficial to the community as well as to organized labor.
Thus labor considers its top achievements to be in the area
of community welfare services. In this instance, labor is
perceiving its own participation in the power structure as
contributing to the resolution of community-wide issues.
The mentioning of such achievements as the acquisition of
representation in community agencies, and improved prestige,

political standing, and economic conditions, of course lends a slightly more partisan hue to labor's image of its position in the structure. However, as in the listing of issues, the present distribution relative to achievements tends to support the proposition.

Organized labor, like business, views the power structure as dealing primarily with general "non-economic" issues. Coupled with this general imagery, there is some evidence to indicate that labor perceives its participation in the power structure as having "achieved" certain "labor" objectives despite the general character of the issues dealt with by the structure. Thus, labor considered as an achievement the mere acquisition of its ability (through representation) to be a participant in the structure. It is important to note that labor representation in community agencies was not listed as an "issue." Both with respect to its own power-wielding in terms of past achievements and power-wielding in terms of issue-resolution, organized labor views each as involving community-wide concerns.

Assessment of Political Participation

The second proposition relative to the comparative importance of political and community participation was again tested through a direct question, "Assuming that organized labor has three general objectives, viz., (1) improvement of wages and economic security, (2) political influence,

and (3) community participation, how would you rank these

in terms of importance?" The distribution of responses ap-

pears in Table 12.

Fifteen respondents accorded top-ranking to labor's

economic objectives, whereas fourteen accorded most impor-

tance to political participation. Only four thought community

participation was the most important objective of labor.

Although political participation was not considered labor's

most important function, it far outdistances community par-

ticipation. Thus, the distribution tends to support the

proposition.

Supplementing the rankings which were given were the

following comments:

> Unions must have political power before they can
> obtain the other objectives. Wages are no good in and
> of themselves. Man does not live by bread alone.

> In the over-all picture political action helps
> everyone out. Through it the unions have obtained un-
> employment and compensation benefits and old age pen-
> sions. Our organization (the UAW) looks at what's good
> for the country!

> Without political influence the unions would have
> no chance of succeeding in collective bargaining. It
> follows that community participation would improve
> economic conditions.

> Labor couldn't be accepted if it sought only politi-
> cal influence. On the other hand, it would be operating
> in a vacuum, if it didn't seek political influence.
> Labor doesn't deserve to be given political responsibil-
> ity, if it doesn't participate in community affairs.

In sum, labor's traditional economic functions were

seen as being served more through political activity than

through diffusely-oriented community participation. Although not considered unimportant, community participation could wait until the union had accomplished its more "important" objectives. Perhaps the main function attributed to community involvement was the raising of organized labor's prestige level in the eyes of other community groups. Labor's imagery with respect to political participation again converges with that of business.

Assessment of Areas of Community Participation

With regard to labor's assessment of organizational importance relative to its position in the power structure, the labor respondents were asked, "Are there some organizations or areas of the community where you believe the participation of organized labor is more important than other areas?" The responses to the question are categorized in Table 14.

The most frequently mentioned area or type of organization, as hypothesized, was "welfare." Running a close second, was the "political" area. Business, too, attributed most importance to welfare organizations. However, second in importance for business was "business" organizations; the "political" area ran a distant third.

It was previously suggested that the importance attributed to welfare organizations by labor might in large measure be due to its successful penetration into the area

and its modest success in wielding influence in this arena.
To this end the respondents were asked, "Generally speaking
do you feel that participation of organized labor in Wheels-
burg organizations genuinely affects their basic policies
or not?" Almost nine-tenths of the labor influentials
attested to the effectiveness of labor's participation. In
Table 16 is a list of specific organizations which were
mentioned. These were divided into two types, those in
which labor was supposedly effective and those in which
they were not.

The incompleteness of the data prohibits the draw-
ing of any definite conclusions. Labor perceived itself as
effective in various welfare organizations such as the
Community Chest, Red Cross, and hospital boards. Some effec-
tiveness is also perceived with respect to the Democratic
party. On the other hand, only three respondents listed
labor as ineffective in any type of community organizations
and two of the organizations mentioned were welfare organi-
zations, i.e. hospital boards and the State Children's Aid
Society. In brief, labor perceives itself as influential
in the power structure, particularly in the welfare sector,
yet it desires to increase its influence in this area. The
responses in Table 16 lend some support to the speculation
that the welfare arena is most important to labor because of
the opportunity it affords for influence-wielding.

The summary of these global images which labor has

of the power structure and its own position in it lead to
the following observations. Acknowledging that the power
structure deals with community-wide concerns and that its
own participation in the structure has helped achieve "com-
munity" objectives, organized labor does not attribute para-
mount importance to community participation. Much more im-
portant are labor's political and economic objectives,
which are barely distinguishable. Apparently, labor does
not see in community participation at this time an opportunity
to fulfill these more "traditional" functions. Although com-
munity participation is obviously considered as accruing
"welfare" benefits to labor as well as the community, these
same interests are also linked more directly with economic
security and political involvement, objectives which are
divorced from such participation. As in the case of busi-
ness, labor's imagery of its position in the structure is
seen primarily as "contributing to" rather than "receiving
from" the set of relationships which obtain. The partisan
interests of the group are better served in the political
arena.

Structural Hypotheses

To test the proposition that labor would perceive
business as more powerful than itself, the respondents were
presented with the complete list of community influentials
and were then asked, "Which ten have most influence and power

to put a decision across in the community or to stop a pro-
ject from being executed or realized. Add other names if
you wish." Table 17 presents the list of individuals with
the nominations which each received. A comparison with the
same list offered by the community influentials is illumi-
nating.

Newsworthy, the top vote-getter of the labor respon-
dents, ranked third on the business list behind Car and Dean.
Govern, number two on the labor list, ranked sixth on the
business list. Monsignor Abbot, number three on the labor
list, did not appear on the business list. School, the
local public school superintendent, ranked fourth on each
list. Dean, the university president, was ranked second
on the business list and seventh on the labor list. While
no labor leader appeared on the business list, two appeared
on the labor list, namely Wage and Jackson, the latter repre-
senting an addition since his name did not appear on the
community influential list presented to the labor respondents.
Altogether four names appeared on the labor list that do not
appear on the business list; these are Abbott, House, Wage,
and Jackson. In place of these four business substitutes
Writ, Banker, Piston, and Iron. This difference in the
group's selections points to their divergent assessments of
labor's power, with labor including two of its own represent-
atives among the top ten community influentials while busi-
ness fails to include any.

Analyzing labor's selections by agency affiliations, the results lend only minimal support to the hypothesis. Only three of the ten are what might be called business-economic dominants: Newsworthy, Car, and Macey.

The business selections included seven such business-economic dominants. The labor list included two political figures, Govern and House, while business selected only Govern, as one of the top ten community influentials. Both groups selected two educators. Again, labor included two union leaders on its list, while business omitted labor figures from its list. In summary, labor's list included three business affiliations, two educational affiliations, two political affiliations, two labor affiliations, and one religious affiliation. The business list included seven business affiliations, two educational affiliations, and one political affiliation.

Despite the fact that labor tended to see community power more diffused among the various institutions and manifestly appears to attribute business only a slightly higher degree of power than itself and other community agencies, subsequent analysis gives some indication that the group tends to identify business interests wih other community agencies, particularly local government. Thus, labor's perception of diffuseness is more apparent than real. The list of community influentials is indicative of the consistent trend revealed in the interviews with the labor leaders.

While acknowledging that business had more influence, labor tended to credit itself with more influence than business was willing to accord labor. Thus labor perceived two of its own members as community influentials while labor representatives were omitted from the list offered by business influentials.

To further test the present proposition, the labor respondents were also asked, "What organizations in Wheelsburg do you feel have the most weight in getting things done, or in preventing some things from getting done in Wheelsburg?" Table 19 presents the resultant distribution. Like the business influentials, the labor respondents most frequently mentioned the Chamber of Commerce. At the same time, the labor informants mentioned labor itself an equal number of times. With the business influentials, the local newspaper received the second highest number of mentions, the Perry Corporation the third highest number, and labor, the fourth highest number of mentions. Labor placed the Board of Realtors and the local newspaper in a tie for third and fourth place.

The labor responses conceded business dominance in the power structure, but perhaps to a lesser degree than business itself.

In this question, labor is clearly expressing power on its behalf. As expected, the respondents themselves more or less bi-polarized community power between labor and management. However, where no blanket comparison of power is asked for, labor views itself in a more

(

favorable position, with respect to management. Yet
the image of management dominance continues to pre-
vail even in this distribution, if the different types
of groups are considered. Most of the organizations
are obviously "management" organizations. In an addi-
tive sense, management again emerges as superior to
labor. Almost three-tenths of the respondents left
labor organizations off their list, although all of them
mentioned business organizations. The lack of influ-
ence attributed to governmental agencies is also sig-
nificant and is perhaps due to their being viewed as
business vehicles. The relative infrequency with which
Perry Motors was listed as an influential organization
belies the observation that unions see the city as a
"company" town. It is not paradoxical for labor to con-
sider itself the equal in power to any other single
organization but still see the community power structure
as management-dominated. It is apparent from the above
that labor's view of community power is made up of
labor, plus an alliance of different management groups.[2]

In brief, labor like business sees labor as a force

to be reckoned with in the community. However, labor like

business also sees the power structure as made up primarily

of a number of different <u>business</u> organizations. The

Chamber of Commerce, Board of Realtors, and the <u>City Journal</u>

can hardly be considered as allies of labor and are not per-

ceived as such by the labor influentials. The two groups

are identical in their listings of the top four with but

one exception. Whereas business included the automobile

corporation, labor included the Board of Realtors. Perhaps

the main reason for labor's inclusion of the Board of Realtors

as one of the top influential organizations is the fact

that this group did align itself with labor on a particular

community issue and the two were "victorious" in the ultimate

resolution. The relative lack of influence attributed to

_____

[2]<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 61-62.

the Perry corporation by labor is perhaps due to the "behind the scenes" operation often carried on by this organization unbeknown to labor.

Finally, the labor respondents were asked, "How would you compare the relative influence of management and organized labor in community affairs in Wheelsburg?" As can be seen in Table 20, approximately three-quarters perceived management as having the greater influence. Less than one-tenth attributed greater influence to labor. The distribution is essentially the same as that obtained from the business informants. Such comments as the following were evoked:

> Management has a stronger voice than we do. Maybe if we used our votes better we could offset the influence of those dollars.

> Management has stronger influence but labor's influence is growing and it will keep growing as we keep developing better leadership.

> Business does a better public relations job than we do.

> Management has more money to express their views and put their ideas before the public.

> Management has greater influence because of its control of the press and radio.

Thus labor concedes greater influence to business because of its economic dominance which labor sees as resulting in business control of the mass media, which affords the group a better public relations program. However, labor is not completely pessimistic about the situation, seeing the possibility of overcoming this business advantage by

developing its own leadership and perhaps exerting more political influence.

Viewing the complete set of data obtained, the proposition relative to labor's perception of greater business power must be accepted. Business is conceded the greater influence in the community. Business' strength is perceived more in an organizational sense than in an individual sense. This greater power is seen as based upon business' greater economic resources, which, however, labor feels some chance of overcoming through greater political activity and better leadership.

Attributive Hypotheses: Composition and Autonomy of Decision Makers

It was in the area of "attributive" imagery that the author expected the greatest, indeed, the only real divergency between the business and labor influentials. Whereas the business group was expected and has been revealed to have a positive image of the power structure and its own position in the structure, it was expected that organized labor would hold a much less favorable view, not of its own position, but of the structure itself. To test the various propositions, the labor group was asked the same questions that were asked of the business group.

The first proposition states that labor perceives most community decisions to be made by the same small group of powerful people. The labor influentials were asked, "In

your judgement, do you feel that big community decisions in
Wheelsburg tend to be made by the same small 'crowd' of
people working together or do these people change according
to the issue confronting the community?" It was hoped that
the responses to this question would also yield some clues
as to the composition of the group, particularly in regard
to labor or business as participants. Table 21 summarizes
the responses obtained.

Quoting from my M.A. thesis:

Two-thirds of the respondents perceived a ruling
clique, and of these only ten per cent saw labor as in-
cluded in this clique. Although two-fifths of the re-
spondents made no comment about the composition of the
group, it was quite obvious that labor was not thought
to be included.

One respondent said that he had heard that there
was a small group running things, but that he did not
know from first-hand experience who they were. Another
replied simply: "Every town had a small clique running
it." Another was slightly more specific, saying, "A
handful of people run things, with X being the leader."
Still another generalized from his experience stating
that in any group, "Religious, community, or union,
there is a smaller clique within, actively running
things."

The three who included labor in the ruling group
were equally vague. One elaborated, "You go to various
governmental board meetings and see the same faces; la-
bor is included in this small group usually."

Those who thought that influentials involved in im-
portant community decisions changed according to issues
were unclear as to the composition of the influential
group, but again it seemed that labor was not generally
included. Most comments ran in a similar vein. "They
change according to issue and over a period of time."
Who "they" were was not generally explained. Another
said, "I think the group changes according to what the
problems are; officers change in government and in the
Community Chest." Several did give labor a role among

the community decision makers. One replied, "People change according to the issue in both management and labor," indicating that he felt that there was labor participation in community decision making. Similar comments were elicited from only one or two other respondents, however.[3]

Whereas business perceived little variability and change among community decision-makers, labor too saw stability, thus supporting the proposition offered. Labor, as expected, was less explicit as to the composition of the group, but when explicit statements were forthcoming, it like business attributed a greater role to the latter's representatives in this small "crowd." At the same time, it attributed a greater role to itself than did business. In short, both groups acknowledged business' greater power, but business perceived a greater power differential than did labor.

It will be recalled that contrary to the proposition formulated, business influentials perceived community decision makers as being able to act without organizational approval. With regard to labor, it has been proposed that labor will perceive community decision makers as acting without need of organizational approval. The labor influentials were also asked, "Is it your opinion that people who make the important community decisions in Wheelsburg can do this pretty much on their own or do they have to get approval for

---

[3]Ibid., pp. 53-54.

their actions from the organization to which they belong?"
Table 24 lists the distribution of responses obtained, re-
lating where possible the perceived "need of approval" to
either management or labor.

Two observations can be made with respect to the
results presented in Table 24. First, the data serve to
reject the hypothesis. Almost three-quarters of the labor
influentials see community decision makers as requiring some
organizational approval. However, breaking the responses
down according to the specific group mentioned, only four
perceived management representatives as requiring organiza-
tional approval, while twelve saw labor as requiring such
approval. Secondly, although the question was not used
primarily to elicit a perception of labor's own power, it
is extremely important to note that one-third of the re-
spondents explicitly mention labor in their responses, thus
indicating that to some degree labor influentials perceive
themselves to be among the people that make "big" community
decisions.

Such comments as the following were expressed by
the labor leaders:

> On routine issues, these people can act on their
> own. On important issues, when the battle lines are
> drawn, representatives return to their organization
> for approval, including representatives of labor.

> It depends on the issue, but usually labor selects
> those individuals who can make their own judgement. I
> don't know about other organizations.

Labor leaders get approval; business leaders don't need approval.

Everybody needs organizational approval, labor representatives as well as others.

Divergent business-labor imagery was manifested in response to this question, but not in the expected direction. Unlike the hypotheses which were proposed, it was business and not labor that attributed autonomy to community decision makers. One reason for this unexpected finding seems clear. Labor saw its own representatives as decision makers, and it is customary for them to report back to their organizations and secure their approval for the expression of labor's stand on a particular issue. It was apparent that business influentials tended to identify themselves and not labor influentials as community decision makers. It was previously suggested that business influentials legitimize their autonomous actions on the basis of their perceived identity with all community groups or their perceived "disaffiliation" from any particular group.

Attributive Hypotheses: Social Responsibility and Technique Attributed to Decision Makers

The next hypothesis states that labor would perceive itself as having a greater sense of community responsibility than business. The labor influentials were first asked, "Concerning the people who are primarily involved in making the big decisions in Wheelsburg, do you feel they have a broad sense of community responsibility or are they more

concerned with protecting or furthering their own particular
interests?" In Table 25 approximately half attributed re-
sponsibility to community decision makers. Slightly less
than a fourth said that they were concerned with furthering
their own interests, and an equal proportion qualified their
response by saying that the responsibility manifested depended
upon the particular issue. These results again are probably
in no small measure related to the fact that labor is includ-
ing its own representatives among these community decision
makers. Willing to acknowledge that business influentials
are more powerful, labor sees both these and its own influ-
entials as making up community influentials. The inclusion
of its own representatives among community influentials
fosters a favorable image on the part of labor.

However, when asked to compare specifically labor's
sense of community responsibility with that of business',
the labor informants tended to support the hypothesis sug-
gested. Table 26 reveals that approximately half perceived
both groups to have an equal sense of responsibility. Three-
tenths however, thought that labor had a greater sense of
responsibility. Only a small minority conceded greater re-
sponsibility to business.

The following views were expressed:

Both groups have the same sense of responsibility.

Basically, they have community interests at heart,
despite the fact that some are misguided. Everything
stems from business. Business has a greater sense of
responsibility because it has greater power.

I believe on the whole that organized labor is interested in both labor and the community. Business representatives put their own organizations before the community. Labor is far more community-conscious.

Both groups have the same sense of moral obligation.

Labor represents people who are in the greatest need. We are a little more statesmanlike. Management is interested in profit.

Although responsibility was attributed to business, it is obvious that it was not considered to be as "sincere" as that exercised by labor. There was a tendency to relate business' responsibility to its economic power, whereas labor's responsibility was not motivated by economic concerns. The image of the "underdog" is strongly suggested.

Labor's perception of issue-resolution by the community power structure was analyzed by asking the respondents, "Are the important issues in Wheelsburg usually quietly resolved without the public knowing what they are, or are they usually brought out in the open?" It was hypothesized that labor would perceive issues as being resolved "privately" or secretively. The data in Table 27 serve to reject the hypothesis.

Approximately two-fifths of the respondents saw community issues as being publicly resolved. Less than one-fifth perceived issue-resolution as being "secret" in nature. About three-tenths saw both methods as being in operation. It is debatable whether this distribution is due to labor's perceived role in the power structure or its "real" or actual

role. It has been obvious from some of the data presented above that labor influentials have tended to perceive themselves as community influentials, although acknowledging the greater influence of business influentials. The images of business influentials attributed labor a minor role in community decision making, yet labor does not perceive this decision making as taking place without public awareness. Again, the perceived power differential is greater for business than for labor.

Labor influentials elaborated with respect to decision making as follows:

> Most of the issues are brought into the open. Those that aren't brought out I wouldn't know about.

> Issues are made public if the City Journal decides to publicize them. It really depends on the issue; some are resolved quietly.

> Issues are brought out in the open. We have a good labor press.

> If it's a vital issue it comes out in the open. People often don't know things, so they can't see an issue. The average worker isn't concerned about building a new hotel for the city. He doesn't know that Lobby has sewed up the hotel property in this city.

> Issues are brought out, but you only get one side of an issue.

Clearly, there are many qualifications attached to labor's image of public issue-resolution. As one individual indicated issues are publicized, but he wouldn't know if they weren't. Then the criterion of "importance" is introduced. Apparently, "important" issues are perceived as being

dealt with out in the open. However, even when issues are
brought into the open, the labor influentials disagree as
to the nature of the publicity which they receive. There
is evidence of an underlying feeling that many of the mechanics
of issue-resolution may remain hidden. In short, it is apar-
ent that labor <u>thinks</u> issues are resolved publicly, but it
really is not certain that this is the case.

Attributive Hypotheses: Comparative Business-Labor "Unity," "Economic Stake," and "Interest"

The final three attributive propositions elicit
inter-group comparisons from the labor respondents. The
first proposition states that organized labor sees itself
as less united that its co-participant in the community
power structure. The labor leaders were asked, "Do you
feel that organized labor is more or less united than manage-
ment in what they want for the community?" Table 28 presents
the responses which tend to support the hypothesis. Over
two-fifths perceived management as more united than labor.
Slightly less than three-tenths indicated that the two groups
were equally united and the same proportion saw labor as
more united. The author had assumed that each group would
see the other as being more united, with "unity" being con-
sidered as a possible dimension of power. The divergent
interpretations given to the question are evident in the
following quotations:

Management is less organized than labor. This is
why we're effective. Business doesn't really get all
of its groups together in the Chamber of Commerce and
the Board of Realtors. It's a good thing that they don't.

Labor is more united because it represents a more
homogeneous group.

They are both solid groups. There isn't much differ-
ence between them. Issues are resolved by both groups
being united.

Labor is less united. In Wheelsburg, there is no
doubt about the unity of Perry Motors. Labor disunity
is inevitable because it has more than one organization.

Management has "associations!" It knows what it is
going to do. Generally, it doesn't come out into the
open, but labor does.

Most of the respondents who saw business as more

united could not verbalize their reasons for holding this

view. In some instances business' unity was seemingly re-

lated to its power. To others business was less united be-

cause of the diverse groups which it represented. To still

others this inter-group diversity was what made labor less

united than management. Labor's organizational unity as

manifested in the local labor council was considered by

some to be more apparent than real, serving to obscure disa-

greements among various locals, particularly between AFL

and CIO locals. The over-all distribution justifies accept-

ance of the hypothesis that labor perceives business to be

more united as indeed business perceives labor to be more

united.

Labor influentials were asked, "Do you feel that

management has a greater or smaller economic stake than

labor in participating in community organizations and
activities?" The distribution in Table 29 indicates rejec-
tion of the hypothesis. Approximately three-tenths attribu-
ted greater stakes to management, whereas as one-fourth
thought that labor had the greater economic stake. Slightly
less than one-fourth thought that both groups had equal
stakes in their community involvement.

Some of the labor respondents made the following
remarks:

> Management has more money invested. They have to
> have the money so that labor can survive.

> Both groups have economic objectives, but management
> moreso than labor.

> Management's stakes are just as large as ours. Our
> stakes relate to the health and welfare of our people.

> Management has more money and thus can participate
> in more things. But both groups have equal economic
> stakes.

> Labor has a greater economic stake, because all of
> the people represented by labor are personally affected
> by economic conditions, although the rank-and-file
> doesn't really know this. Management recognizes clearly
> its economic stake and is more effective in initiating
> economic policy.

Thus to some respondents management's greater stakes
are a natural consequence of its greater economic power.
This "natural consequence" is subject to varied interpreta-
tions, however. To some, it is "good" since labor is seen
as being dependent upon management's economic power. On
the other hand, some thought that management was primarily
interested in protecting this greater economic power and not

sharing its benefits with labor. At the same time others took the position that management's greater economic power is "proof" that labor has the greater economic stake. Management has nothing to lose in community involvement and labor has everything to gain. The virtual trichotomizing of the responses is indicative of the conflicting and ambivalent perceptions held by the labor influentials.

To ascertain how the labor informants compared labor-business "interest" in community involvement, they were asked, "Do you feel that management has greater interest than labor in becoming involved in community affairs or not?" The data again reject the proposition that labor would perceive itself as having a greater interest. The responses are again trichotomized.

Approximately three-tenths indicated that management had greater interest as shown in Table 30. Slightly less than two-fifths indicated that the two groups had equal interest. Only a fifth indicated that labor had greater interest. As with their perception of economic stakes, the labor respondents again manifest a high degree of ambivalence and uncertainty. Consider the following comments:

Management has greater interest. Labor doesn't have the machinery to originate policy.

Labor has more interest because laboring people have homes in the community.

Labor is just as much interested in getting things going as management is. The livelihood of the people is important to labor.

Labor has a more "active" interest. Labor really
believes in what it is doing. Over-all, management has
a greater interest because of its greater economic stakes.

Suspicion of management's participation in community
affairs is again in evidence. Management's interest or
greater interest rests upon "questionable" motives, often
thought to be economic in nature. Like business' show of
responsibility and the question of economic stakes, labor
tends to view business' actions in terms of its greater
power. Labor's actions are predicated upon service to the
"community."

Four of the seven "attributive" propositions relative
to labor's imagery of the power structure have been rejected.
As hypothesized, labor perceived community decision makers
as a relatively stable group. Contrary to expectations,
they were perceived as requiring organizational approval
and as resolving issues publicly. Comparing itself with
business, as hypothesized, labor considered itself as exer-
cising greater responsibility but as being less united than
business. Also, contrary to the hypotheses formulated, labor
perceived business to have greater stakes and interest in
community participation. In sum, both groups agreed as to the
consistency of community decision makers. Labor perceived
them as requiring organizational approval, but business did
not. Both groups attributed greater responsibility to them-
selves. They both perceived issues as being publicly resolved.
Each saw the other group as being more united. Each agreed

that business had a greater interest and stake in community involvement.

Interaction Hypotheses: Labor Relationships with Business and Other Community Organizations

Further convergence between labor-business imagery has been postulated in the so-called "interaction" hypotheses. It has been hypothesized that labor would perceive itself to be in essential agreement with business regarding community objectives and the existence of current community issues. It was also hypothesized that labor would assert that cooperation is needed between itself and business to achieve these community objectives. Finally, the proposition was formulated that labor would consider it important to participate in as many community organizations as possible.

Having listed what they considered to be important community issues, the labor respondents were then asked, "Would community representatives of management generally agree that these are the most important issues?" The results are presented in Table 31. Seven-tenths answered affirmatively, tending to confirm the hypothesis. Only about one-eighth perceived management disagreeing as to the importance of the issues which labor had listed. Again, the latter had listed parking accommodations, public transportation, and annexation to be the most pressing community issues. Business has listed metropolitan planning, parking, and downtown development.

The labor respondents were given a chance to list what they considered to be specific management issues. Table 32 categorizes these responses. The wide range and low frequencies for the various issues mentioned indicates a high degree of uncertainty. As can be seen, however, annexation, transportation, and parking are more frequently mentioned than any other issues, indicating that labor feels that business also attributes importance to these issues.

Two other questions were posed to the labor influentials, which although not directly relevant to the present hypothesis give added evidence concerning labor's perception of its power in community involvement. Table 34 categorizes the responses obtained from asking the respondents "Was or is organized labor in Wheelsburg consulted from the beginning on these community issues or not?" Two-fifths indicated that labor was not in at the initial stage of an issue, tending to confirm the recapitulations given by the business informants. Slightly more than one-fifth asserted that labor was in at the beginning, while the same proportion indicated that labor's sequential involvement depended upon the particular issue.

A still more general question was asked, "Is organized labor usually brought in from the beginning to make policy on broad community issues or not?" As Table 35 indicates, slightly more than one-half maintained that labor did not become involved in issue-resolution at the initial stages.

Only about one-fourth asserted that labor was consulted from the beginning. Again, labor is acknowledging its subordinate position in community decision making.

A second question used to test the proposition that labor would perceive itself in agreement with management as to the existence of issues and the holding of community objectives was the following: "What are the general differences if any in the community objectives of labor and management?" Table 33 shows that slightly more than half could ascertain no differences in objectives. Half of this same group saw only differences in means. Slightly more than one-eighth indicated that differences depended upon the issue. Of those mentioning specific differences, only "governmental objectives" and "tax policies" appear as significant items and these received infrequent mention. These data lend support to the proposition. The following are representative comments:

> Basically, the objectives are about the same. The solutions of problems may differ slightly.

> Labor is for everyone; it works for things that benefit the community, not for things that benefit one small group. Management leans towards those things that will help them and others that have a broad education and the necessities of life.

> I don't think that we're too far apart. Maybe I'm thinking wrong. Labor wants a better community in which to live.

> They vary. Labor would judge any program as to its effects on the lower income groups. Management retains its attitude of privilege.

It would appear that labor is hard pressed to discern basic differences between itself and business. The general tenor of responses indicated that perceived differences were essentially differences in motivation. Thus precise differences were not formulated even in the cases where tax policies or governmental objectives were mentioned. As shown above, references was usually made to business' sectarian motivation as opposed to labor's "common man" orientation. Both with regard to objectives and issues, labor's agreement with business is validated by the data. It may be recalled that labor acknowledged the importance of economic objectives in terms of its own program. At the same time, both business and labor attribute to each other primary economic motivation for the group's community involvement.

Business-Labor Cooperation

Labor's perception of the desirability of cooperation with business was elicited through the use of a number of questions. The labor respondents were first asked, "To what extent do you feel that organized labor can realize its community objectives without the help of management and other groups?" Over seven-tenths acknowledged that labor needed the assistance of business to attain its community objectives. Only two respondents voiced the opinion that labor was not in need of assistance from business. These results clearly support the author's hypothesis.

As a followup, the following question was posed: "In the long run will labor be better off to set up its own community services program independent of other groups in the community?" The respondents were virtually unanimous (nine-tenths) in denying the feasibility of an independent labor program. This, of course, is not surprising in view of the responses to the question immediately above. In short, labor is dedicated to a program of general, community-wide involvement. Its own goals are identified with those of the community and for the attainment of both labor perceives the need and desirability of cooperation with other civic agencies.

Importance of Organizational Participation

Some indication of labor's perception of organizational participation in the community has already been revealed. Welfare organizations were considered to be labor's most important concern; labor generally feels that its participation has affected the policies of various organizations. The present proposition states that labor considers it important to participate in as many community organizations as possible. To indicate the degree to which labor felt its present participation was adequate, the respondents were asked, "Are there organizations or activities in the Wheelsburg area in which you feel that labor should participate but does not?" Table 38 summarizes the responses given. As

indicated, almost half felt that labor's present participation was adequate. However, the remainder took the opposite view and listed various organizations and areas in which they felt labor participation was inadequate. The most frequently mentioned area was government. This is particularly significant in view of business-government participation in issue-resolution as revealed by the business informants. The other responses cover a wide range with only hospital boards and the Board of Water and Light receiving as many as four mentions. They do indicate perceived gaps in labor's community involvement on the part of labor influentials.

The respondents were then queried as to possible opposition to labor participation in these various areas and organizations. They were asked, "Is anybody opposing labor?" The results in Table 39 indicate that labor is uncertain of the existence of possible opposition, and if it is, the opposition cannot be clearly specified. Again, slightly less than one-half perceived no opposition. Those that did perceive opposition most frequently mentioned "business" groups and next in order the mayor and governmental bodies. The local newspaper received one mention as a source of labor opposition.

The author wrote in his master's thesis:

When pressed to name the "opposition" only about three-tenths of the respondents actually pointed to business groups as opposing their participation in community affairs. To be sure management groups were the only ones mentioned, for municipal agencies or officials were

considered "management" in the eyes of labor, as was
brought out in numerous ways during the course of the
interviews. As a matter of fact, local government
agencies and commissions were mentioned frequently as
opposing labor participation. These were seen as almost
entirely staffed by business and industrial figures,
appointed by the mayor. The difficulty of getting a
labor representative on the parking authority was men-
tioned by a number of informants who resented its being
"packed" with businessmen.[4]

Labor is clearly split with regard to the general
level of satisfaction with its present program of community
involvement. This is revealed in a dimly perceived source
of opposition manifested in a business-government alliance.
To probe further into the problem, the respondents were asked,
"Are there organizations or types of organizations in which
labor should not participate, including organizations in
which it now has representation?" It was assumed that labor
might evince a desire to curtail rather than expand its
community participation. The results in Table 40 demonstrate
rather conclusively that this is not the case. Almost three-
quarters of the informants gave a negative reply to the
question. Of those answering affirmatively, most frequent
mention was given to business organizations such as the
Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufac-
turers. It might be added, somewhat parenthetically, that
in neither of these organizations did labor have representa-
tion. The general conclusion that can be drawn from these

---

[4]Ibid., p. 57.

two queries is that labor desires to maintain its present
level of community participation, and if possible, to in-
crease it. It would seem that this conclusion is supportive
of the proposition under investigation.

Finally, the respondents were asked, "Do you believe
it is important or not important for organized labor to
participate in as many community organizations as possible?"
All but two voiced support of the widest range of community
participation possible. The responses resound with such
comments as:

> Organized labor summarizes the thinking of the
> people. It cuts across many segments of the community.
> Labor can make its greatest contribution if the doors
> are kept open.

> For the common good of the community, it is desir-
> able and necessary for labor to participate. Labor must
> know what other organizations are doing. No organiza-
> tion should become sectarian in its views.

> Wide participation for labor gives each side a better
> understanding of the other.

> Labor makes up the largest segment of the population.
> It should have a voice in community affairs. Anything
> that happens in the community will affect labor so labor
> has to participate.

Thus, the widest participation is important to labor
because it is both "right" and "functional" for labor to do
so. In the first instance, labor is identified with the
community. In the latter, labor participation better ac-
quaints the group with other community agencies; this is
necessary so that each group will retain its community orienta-
tion.

As was the case with business, each of the "inter-
action" hypotheses was confirmed. Labor, like business,
perceived the two groups to be in accord with respect to
issues and objectives. Both stressed the importance of
mutual assistance and cooperation. Community-wide organi-
zational participation was likewise considered to be im-
portant by both labor and business. Comparing the total
imagery of the two groups, it has been shown that both groups
viewed the power structure as being concerned with "non-
economic" issues. Both groups perceived community partici-
pation as somewhat less important than political participa-
tion. With respect to the power structure, both groups
attributed primary importance to participation in welfare
organizations. With respect to "structural" imagery both
labor and business perceived the latter as wielding the
greater power. Most divergency was found in the two groups'
"attributive" imagery. They agreed as to the invariability
of community decision makers and that the mode of issue-
resolution was "public." Labor, however, perceived these
decision makers as requiring organizational approval, while
business perceived them as acting autonomously. Viewing
their respective positions in the power structure, business
perceived itself to be more responsible but less united than
labor and to have more interest and stakes in community
participation. Labor viewed itself as being more responsi-
ble but less united than business. It agreed that business

has more stake and interest in community participation.

Given such labor imagery, it is again necessary to relate such perceptions to labor's actions through an analysis of the group's further perception of issue-resolution. Does labor's imagery of business domination "come through" or emerge in its historical recapitulations of issues or projects? Are labor tactics predicated upon a perceived lack of opposition? Does labor really wield the influence which it claims to wield? Is potential power-wielding on the part of labor inhibited by its imagery? Does labor in "reality" manifest the "cooperative" spirit revealed in the above imagery? In short, what is the relationship between labor's "definition of the situation" and its actions in the situation? The same questions can also be applied to business as the historical perceptions of the two groups are analyzed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

BUSINESS AND LABOR PARTICIPATION IN ISSUE-RESOLUTION

Part One: Historical Reports of Community Influentials

To more accurately assess the objective power
positions of business and labor and also to complement the
study of group imagery as it relates to action, an attempt
was made to ascertain the role of each group as it
participated in the resolution of particular issues. An
analysis of a group's participation in the decision-making
processes involved in issue-resolution affords the oppor-
tunity to test the group's potential or reputed power. Ac-
cordingly, in the last part of the interview, the respondent
was invited to discuss an issue of his own choosing or to
select one from a list which the investigator had compiled
on the basis of a sample drawn from a perusal of past
editions of the local newspaper. The respondent was queried
as to the individuals and organizations involved, judgments
as to the position taken and influence wielded by the
participants mentioned, and finally questions as to the
techniques manifested by the various participants. Experi-
ence gained from the initial interviews led to the abandon-
ment of strict adherence to the formal questions, since most

of the respondents tended to stray from the formal line of questioning and would give rambling accounts of various issues as they came to mind. As a result the desired information was not always elicited or was usually incomplete. However, in some cases the information obtained suggested new modes of analysis not previously considered by the investigator.

Summary of Data on Issues

Table 41 briefly summarizes the quantity and quality of the data procured from the business informants. Twenty-four of the respondents gave what might be called historical recapitulations of issues. Two of the twenty-four gave accounts of two issues. Fifteen respondents limited themselves to brief statements, usually pertaining to the perception of the general role played by particular organizations or individuals in the power structure, sometimes supplemented by a brief anecdote to support their generalizations. Table 41 also shows that only ten "types" of issues were related. As will be revealed in the following paragraphs, most of these were in reality what might be termed "projects" rather than issues, since there was little perception of conflict among participants as to the "end" to be achieved and only a minimum of perceived conflict as to the "means" to be used. Regarding business-labor relations, there was little, if any, perception of cleavage. As can be

TABLE 41

SUMMARY OF HISTORICAL DATA ON ISSUES OBTAINED FROM BUSINESS
AND LABOR

Issue	Number Business	Labor
Respondents giving issue-resolution histories	24	23
Total histories given	26	23
Different histories (i.e. different types of issues mentioned)	10	6
Types of issues labor mentioned as participant	2	6
Types of issues business mentioned as a participant	10	6
Types of issues government mentioned as a participant	8	4

seen, labor was viewed as a participant in only two issues.
Government, on the other hand, was viewed as a participant
in eight of the ten issues. Here too, there was little
perception of cleavage, but rather a general imagery of
business-government "cooperation" which virtually without
exception saw business as "winning its point." For this
reason, the relatively high incidence of perceived govern-
ment involvement does not mean that government wielded a
great deal of community power. This point too will become
clearer as the analysis proceeds.

Table 42 attempts to relate the types of issues
mentioned and their frequency of mention with perception
of actor involvement and frequency of mention. For example,
thirteen historical resumés of the "hospital issue" were
related. Business was included in all of the resumés, labor
in six, and government in none. Four recapitulations of
the "downtown development" issue were obtained; business
was mentioned in each while labor and government were
excluded from each. The only other issue in which labor
rated a mention was the parking bond issue. Government
was perceived as a participant in all issues except those
of the "hospital" and "downtown development." In a gross
sense, of the twenty-six recapitulations given, labor was
included in seven while government was included in nine.
Such figures give a clear indication of business' self-
perceived power-wielding, even though the histories do not

reveal any "tests of strength" involving opposition between business and other institutional segments. For the most part, "issues" seen in oppositional terms involved internal splits among business itself and not between business and labor or business and government.

The nature of the issues mentioned again points to an imagery of business' social responsibility. With perhaps but one exception, "Sunday shopping," the issues were of a broad, community-wide nature. Particularly significant is the fact that one-third of the respondents felt disposed to give an account of the hospital expansion program and the role which business played in it. The next most frequently mentioned issue was downtown development in which apparently business was the only group involved. Both types of issues are of obvious importance to the whole community as are such problems as "annexation," "metropolitan planning," "airport facilities," and the others. The respondents were usually quick to point this out, by implication disclaiming any self-interest on the part of business. However, some exceptions will be noted, wherein an accusing finger was directed at a particular organization or individual for being "selfish." A degree of ambivalence was expected in view of some of the findings noted above which revealed business to be participating in community organizations for itself as well as for the community. Based upon the types of issues mentioned, however, the author is

TABLE 42

FREQUENCY OF ISSUES AND ACTOR PARTICIPATION MENTIONED BY
BUSINESS AND LABOR

Issue	Fre-quency	Times Labor Mentioned	Times Business Mentioned	Times Government Mentioned
Business				
Hospital expansion	13	6	13	0
Downtown develop-ment	4	0	4	0
Annexation	2	0	2	2
Metropolitan planning	1	0	1	1
Parking bond	1	1	1	1
Airport construc-tion	1	0	1	1
Street extension	1	0	1	1
Tri-county pro-posal	1	0	1	1
Sunday shopping	1	0	1	1
Location city hall	1	0	1	1
TOTAL	26	7	26	9
Labor				
Hospital expansion	9	9	9	0
Payroll tax	5	5	5	5
Parking bond	5	5	4	5

TABLE 42 - <u>Continued</u>

Issue	Fre-quency	Times Labor Mentioned	Times Business Mentioned	Times Government Mentioned
<u>Labor</u>				
Bus subsidy	2	2	2	2
Flouridation	1	1	1	0
Revision of city charter	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	23	23	23	13

led to conclude that business perceives the community power structure in terms of a "public welfare" model. This view usually obtained whether business was relating its own role in community participation or the role of labor or government. Thus business was not quick to attribute selfish motives to either government or labor as well as itself.

Before attempting a needed elaboration of this preliminary summarizing data, two outstanding observations are in order, both of which will be lent further support by the analysis to follow. The first observation is that the respondents apparently did not report "real" issues. Rather the execution of "projects" was reported in which there were no real contests of power between opposing groups. Certainly

on no issue, was business found to be opposing labor. Second,

overwhelming influence was attributed to business in these

various histories and little influence was attributed to

both labor and government. Granted an image of power

structure integration in which cooperation is the perceived

mode of operation, it might appear that business' prepon-

derant influence in reality renders this cooperation unnec-

essary. The paragraphs to follow relate in more detailed

fashion such cooperation as was reported by the inter-

viewees. We shall note the number of references to specific

people named as participants in the various issues. More

difficult is the task of presenting in a precise form the

influence attributed to participants and the task of repre-

senting precisely the "techniques" of influence they used.

Both tasks will be attempted with the verbal reports of

the influentials themselves serving as the chief guidelines.

Community Influentials and Organizations

In constructing Table 43 an attempt was made to

ascertain the role played by the various community influen-

tials in the various types of issue-resolutions which were

mentioned. The main purpose was to determine whether cer-

tain influentials were found participating in all issues

or whether influentials varied from issue to issue. Is

there a solid core among the influentials who take the

lead in all community problems, or are they divided into

TABLE 43

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH INFLUENTIALS AND ORGANIZATIONS WERE
MENTIONED BY TYPE OF ISSUE

Issue Frequency	Frequency of Mention of Influentials	Frequency of Mention of Organizations
Hospital expansion (13)	Newsworthy (7), Car (4), Macey (4), Sale (3), Banker (2), Metal (2), Hearse, Wage, Local, Medick, Iron, Piston, Mine (1)	Chamber of Commerce (7), City Journal (3), Perry Motors Corporation (2)
Downtown development (4)	Car (2), Newsworthy (1), Writ (1)	Chamber of Commerce (4), City Journal (1), Uptown Businessmen's Assoc. (1)
Annexation (2)	Acre (1)	City Journal (1)
Airport construction (1)	Banker (1)	Chamber of Commerce (1)
Street extension (1)	Brick (1), Dean (1)	Chamber of Commerce (1)
Metropolitan planing (1)	Risk (1), Piston (1)	Chamber of Commerce (1)
Tri-County proposal (1)		Chamber of Commerce (1)
Sunday shopping (1)	Bigsell (1)	
Location of city hall (1)	Lobby (1), Govern (1)	
Parking bond (1)	Govern (1), Wage (1)	Board of Realtors (1)

sub-groups of "specialists" whose influence is wielded only in particular kinds of community issues or projects? It will be recalled that the business influentials were asked to designate their ten top key leaders. The present analysis should provide a further check on the reliability of the choices of the individuals so designed. Table 43 provides the same cross-check on influential organizations previously mentioned by the informants. With respect to the naming of organizations, it should be mentioned that unless an organization was specifically mentioned it was not included in the tally. Similarly with regard to the naming of influentials, if a particular organization was named this in some cases would necessarily imply the involvement of certain influentials. These influentials were not included in the tally unless they were specifically mentioned by name.

An illustration should make this point clear. For example, if "labor" was mentioned as a participant, it was obvious that this meant meant that Wage, the labor influential was also a participant. However, this was only recorded as a mention for "labor" and not for Wage. Conversely, if Wage was mentioned and not "labor," this was recorded only as a tally for the individual Wage and not the organization "labor." This point is particularly important when viewing the total results, particularly as its concerns the mentioning of the Chamber of Commerce. Although the Chamber of

Commerce was not specifically mentioned in each issue-re-
capitulation, its involvement was implicit since those in-
fluentials mentioned were members of the Chamber of Commerce.
This is an extremely important point to bear in mind, even
though the Chamber garnered the highest number of mentions.
The final tally is not wholly indicative of the pervasive
influence of this organization.

Table 44 summarizes the detailed tallies of organi-
zations and individuals given in Table 43. Table 44 presents
the total mentions received by individuals and organizations
and the total number of types of issues which these mentions
covered. The results are informative, if not conclusive.
Among the community influentials, the highest frequency of
mention was given to Newsworthy, the local newspaper pub-
lisher. Car, the automobile plant executive, received the
next highest number of mentions. In third place was Macey,
a department store executive. At the bottom of the list
were Govern, the mayor, and Wage, one of labor's representa-
tives among the community influentials. Each of these in-
dividuals rated only two mentions apiece. As can be seen,
the range of mentions is relatively small, going from News-
worthy's eight to Wage's and Govern's two. However, even
this small distribution is consistent with the general
imagery documented above, in which business accorded itself
the leading position in the community power structure.

TABLE 44

TOTAL MENTIONS RECEIVED BY ORGANIZATIONS AND INFLUENTIALS
BY NUMBER AND TYPES OF ISSUES

	Mentions	Number and Type of Issues
Organizations		
Chamber of Commerce	14	5 (Hospital, downtown development, airport construction, metropolitan planning, tri-county proposal)
City Journal	3	3 (Hospital expansion, downtown development, annexation)
Perry Motors Corporation	2	1 (Hospital expansion)
Labor	2	2 (Parking bond, hospital expansion)
Influentials		
Newsworthy	8	2 (Hospital expansion, downtown development)
Car	6	2 (Hospital expansion, downtown development)
Macey	4	1 (Hospital expansion)
Banker	3	2 (Hospital expansion, airport construction)
Sale	3	1 (Hospital expansion)
Govern	2	2 (Location city hall, parking bond)
Wage	2	2 (Hospital, parking bond)

It will be recalled that Car, Dean, Newsworthy, Banker, School, Macey, Govern, Iron, Piston, and Writ represented the key influentials as chosen by the total list of informants themselves. Half of these influentials, namely Car, Newsworthy, Banker, Macey, and Govern make their appearance on the list of participants in issue-involvement. Somewhat surprising is the absence of Dean, the university president, who received the second highest number of votes among the key influentials. In reality he received one mention as a participant. However, comments made by a number of respondents indicate that Dean operates "behind the scenes" not of choice, but perhaps of necessity because of the heavy burden of his office. His role in community affairs apparently was often limited to the expression of a judgment or opinion, which in itself was sufficient to stimulate the initiation of a project or the resolution of an issue. It might be added that each of the key influentials received at least one mention as a participant, but these were not included in Table 44. In general, the overlap between the lists of influentials and participants lends some support to the community influentials' judgments as to their key power-wielders.

Table 44 only partially supports the influentials' notion that the same members of their group are represented on different issues; that the body of community decision-makers is a solidary "stable" group. For example, Car was

mentioned as a participant in the resolution of only two
out of a possible ten issues. Newsworthy, who received more
mentions than Car, received these mentions in reference to
only two issues. In fact, five of the seven "participants"
received mention in reference to only two issues. Notwith-
standing these observations, it is quite clear that decision
makers are drawn from the pool of community influentials.
The data point to the existence of "specialists" among the
business influentials. Issue-involvement appears to be
selective among the group. Of course, it is extremely
difficult to generalize in this regard due to the paucity
of issues mentioned. The author realizes that the "full"
or complete participation of the influentials was not ob-
tained by his investigation. The data he did obtain, how-
ever, lead to the conclusion just offered. Yet even this
conclusion must be qualified. Though there is some turnover
of influentials from issue to issue, it is not definite that
certain influentials are associated with only certain "types"
of issues. For example, in viewing Table 44 it is difficult
to maintain that Newsworthy concerns himself with only a
particular type of issue. Newsworthy was mentioned in
reference to hospital expansion and downtown development.
In the former, raising money was the basic problem; in the
latter setting up organizational machinery was the initial
task. These two "problems" seemingly require different
skills, and thereby different "specialties." In one sense,

both issues required publicity, which Newsworthy was able
to supply through his newspaper. From the recapitulations
which were given, however, it would seem that Newsworthy
contributed organizational skills as well as publicity.
With these facts in mind, the reader is left to his own
judgment regarding Newsworthy's classification as a community
"specialist." The same comments apply to Car who raised
money for the hospital expansion program and was instru-
mental in setting up the organizational framework for "down-
town development."

        The same trend toward selectivity in issue-involve-
ment is evident in an organizational sense, with the sole
exception of the Chamber of Commerce which was directly or
indirectly involved in all of them either through what might
be called direct "formal" participation or "indirect"
participation through individual members who serve as its
informal representatives. Thus this organiation's involve-
ment in Table 44 is underestimated, wherein it is shown
that the group participated in five types of issues. Even
taking the distribution as it is, the diffuse power of the
Chamber of Commerce is unmistakable. The organization
received five times as many mentions as the next organiza-
tion, the local newspaper! Only two other groups, labor
and the automobile corporation, received more than one men-
tion and they only received two each. Numerous agencies
received only one specific mention and are not included in

the table. Conspicuous by its absence is the city council
which received only one specific mention. The author should
reiterate that these are mentions of specific organizations.
Otherwise the data presented in this table might seem con-
tradictory to the data presented in Table 41 in which it
was shown that "government" was a participant in eight of
the ten issues. The latter table was developed by consider-
ing the mention of both individuals and organizations and
by looking at the total history which was obtained. Often-
times the interview included references to "politicos" or
politicians with no further elaboration. In some instances,
no reference was made at all to governmental participation,
although it was obvious from the nature of the issue that
government had to be a participant. For example, one in-
formant spoke of annexation without any direct or indirect
reference to the role which government played, limiting
himself exclusively to the part played by business.

When the influentials were asked to nominate the
most powerful organizations in the city the top four, in
order, were the Chamber of Commerce, the local newspaper,
the automobile concern, and the labor council. This rank-
ing coincides perfectly with that in Table 44. The pre-
ponderance of influence attributed to business associations
is validated in terms of their perceived participation in
issue-resolution. As one views the perceptions of issue-
resolution, business power vis-a-vis labor and government

is strikingly portrayed. As will be revealed shortly, even
those issues in which labor and government were involved
found both agencies to be largely devoid of influence-
wielding.

The writer is fully aware of the methodological
hazards facing the investigator as he attempts to recon-
struct the histories of various issue-resolutions. Dependence
upon the verbal reports of informants in the present instance
represents a formidable obstacle or short-coming. The nature
of the present problem demands that such an undertaking be
attempted. Actually it represents an attempt to compare
the reputed power of the influentials with their "actual"
power. There is one important qualification, however. The
"actual" power wielded by the influentials in the resolution
of the following issues is based upon their own perceptions
and not those of the investigator. But again, a comparison
of such historical perceptions with those structural images
revealed above seems highly significant. Of concern is
the discernible relationships between the two. In a broader
sense, the question revolves around the effect which a group's
imagery has upon its relationships in the power structure
as these relationships are manifested in part by the group's
tactics of issue-involvement. Since the most data was com-
piled on the so-called "hospital" issue, the author will
present a brief recapitulation of its whole history for
the purpose of illustrating the type of information which

was obtained. This information in turn will be used to document actor involvement as to mode and degree of influence-wielding. Such information regarding the other issues will be summarized in tabular form.

An Issue Analysis: The Hospital Project

Form and Miller suggest that a study of actual power based upon an analysis of decision making should attempt to construct what they call "tests of involvement."[1] Three such tests are formulated by the authors. The first one is called Involvement by Issue or Decision Saliency, in which an attempt is made to link influentials and groups to issues differentiated by their degree of saliency or importance. The more important the issue the more accurately the power of the actors can be gauged. The second test is called Involvement by Temporal Sequence in Issues of Relative Saliency. This test assumes that early involvement indicates greater power. The third test is Involvement by Sanctions. It attempts to ascertain the effectiveness of the sanctions that are applied by the various power contestants.

Due to the dearth of "real" issues uncovered by the author in his investigation, he cannot make full use of such tests. The data obtained do not seem adequate for

---

[1] William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, *Industry and Community* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960).

the construction of either test one or three. Regarding
test one for example, in no instance was there a clear
challenge to business authority considering "business" as
a unit. In some instances there was revealed an internal
split among business itself, when the influence of a
specific business agency was challenged. In general, one
would be forced to conclude that one issue was considered
as important as any other. Similarly, for test three since
there was no real challenge to business, there was little
apparent use of sanctions. In view of the nature of the
data, test two seems most applicable. Most of the infor-
mation obtained was relative to the temporal sequence of
involvement. Following this mode of analysis, the author
is best able to document the relative power of business
and labor in issue resolution.

The history of the hospital issue runs as follows:
The board of one of the local hospitals had drawn up a
proposed plan for expanding its facilities. One of the
board members happened to be Newsworthy, publisher of the
local newspaper. Newsworthy eventually agreed to give the
plan publicity in his paper. It was generally agreed upon
by the board that the financial backing of the community
was needed, if the desired expansion was to be a success.
This entailed the organization of some type of hospital
"drive." A meeting was called at one of the local hotels,
in which various influentials, including the then president

of the Chamber of Commerce, Mine, and Newsworthy attended.
The proposed plan was presented at the meeting. Several
doctors were in attendance who represented hospitals other
than the one which had proposed expansion. They objected
to holding a drive for only one hospital. Several spoke
up for a local Catholic hospital. Two influentials, Macey
and Iron put in a word for the local osteopathic hospital.
Apparently a year and a half elapsed after this meeting
before the project was resumed.

After this time lag a meeting was set up in the
office of the City Journal at the behest of the Chamber of
Commerce. In attendance were representatives from Perry
Motors (including Car), Wheelsburg Motors, and the 3 hospitals,
and, of course, Newsworthy. At this meeting an extremely
important development occurred. Car said that he could not
guarantee the financial support of Perry unless the osteo-
pathic hospital was to be included in the drive, the reason
being that many of his corporation's employees availed them-
selves of the services of this particular hospital. Appar-
ently there was little if any opposition to this demand.
The meeting was adjourned after making two important de-
cisions. First, the drive was to include all three of the
hospitals. Secondly, to organize the fund-raising a non-
profit corporation was set up with Newsworthy as president
and Macey as vice-president. Car wanted the incorporating
process speeded up so that any contribution which Perry

might make could be used for tax deduction purposes, since
the year was drawing to a close. This was accomplished and
at a "kick-off" dinner Car presented Newsworthy with a check
for $750,000, which according to Newsworthy was to his com-
plete surprise.

It will be noted that labor was not represented in
this initial phase of the project. After the above had
transpired, Al Barrett the secretary of the Chamber of
Commerce contacted Wage, president of the CIO labor council,
to enlist the union's support. Newsworthy called Local,
the president of the AFL council. Apparently the need for
rapid incorporation was used in both cases to pressure a
verbal committment of support from both labor leaders. This
proved a source of later embarrassment and difficulty since
in giving a verbal commitment the labor officials were by-
passing regular union channels to which such matters were
usually referred. As it turned out, the matter was ultimately
thrashed out in respective council meetings of the two
unions, but was never referred to the rank-and-file accord-
ing to standard procedure. Newsworthy made personal appear-
ances at the labor council meetings to "sell" the program.
After lengthy debates, in which various union officials
made the charge of "rail-roading" the labor groups agreed
to support the program. The net result of ignoring the
rank-and-file in this process also placed a heavy burden
upon the union leaders themselves who had to explain to the

workers in the various plants the nature and purpose of the
drive.

However, for its participation, the unions insisted
that several demands be met. The chief of these was that
labor be represented on the boards of the various hospitals.
The Hospital Fund Committee which had been set up as part
of the campaign agreed to meet this demand. Almost immedi-
ately, two of the hospital boards solicited labor representa-
tion. The third agreed to set up an advisory committee to
its board in which labor could participate, saying that
its board did not have members who represented any organized
group.

For the edification of the reader, a sampling of
the reports from which the above history was reconstructed,
is in order. Among these were the following:

> There was pressure for beds at Robin hospital.
> Robin decided that it was too small. It started plans
> to add beds on its own. Plans for a Robin hospital
> drive got underway. Someone talked to the Chamber of
> Commerce about it, and the Chamber suggested a joint
> drive. Representatives from the three local hospitals
> got together and organized a joint drive. Many groups
> were contacted, including labor.

> Newsworthy was the big push. He had expansion
> plans all drawn up for Robin hospital, where he was
> serving on the board. We had the same idea for Osteo
> hospital. When I heard that Robin was going to have a
> drive, I called Mike Macey and told him the news. I
> told him to contact the St. Martin hospital. He's a
> Catholic. Macey contacted Newsworthy. We decided to
> join Newsworthy and Macey in a joint fund-raising cam-
> paign. Car told Newsworthy that Perry corporation
> wouldn't participate if Osteo hospital wasn't included.

Newsworthy, the most frequently mentioned individual,
gave this version, which has been edited and abbreviated
by the author:

> I initiated the project at a board meeting of Robin
> hospital. I contacted Car, Ames, and others by letter
> explaining the need for such a project. Ames suggested
> a community-wide campaign so we formed a corporation.
> Car and Ames invited me to a surprise dinner at which
> Car gave the corporation a check for $750,000. Letters
> were written to Wheelsburg Motors and other groups and
> we were pledged $1,250,000 before the actual campaign
> got started. Then complaints came in from the labor
> unions. We explained the whole thing to them and they
> came along.

For purposes of making the desired analysis of this
issue or project the following salient points should be
noted. The emphasis of course will be on the particular
roles played by business and labor. This analysis will
serve as a model when considering the other issues as
well. Business influence is in evidence from the inception
of the project. It was a "business" representative who
defined the "problem" and got hospital expansion accepted
by other community groups as a problem. Business was totally
responsible for organizing the fund-raising campaign. Busi-
ness groups made the initial contributions to the campaign.
Internally, one agency within business, wielded effective
sanctions in the form of threats to withhold its support.
Its demand was met as a result. All this transpired before
labor entered the scene. Excluded from this initial stage
of definition and organization, labor was then called upon
for its financial support. It also wielded an effective

sanction in the form of a threat to withhold support until
its "demands" were met.

In terms of sequence of involvement then, business
wielded much the greater influence. In terms of sanctions,
a power comparison is difficult to make. Business did <u>not</u>
wield sanctions <u>against</u> labor. Labor did wield sanctions
<u>against</u> business, which proved effective. Thus there was
no real "power struggle." Both groups were "for" hospital
expansion, but labor's apparent perception of its exclusion
from the initial stage of the program, led it to attach
conditions to its participation. In this instance, it had
the power, based upon its financial resources, to see that
these conditions were met. In brief, labor did manifest
the ability to influence business. However, in a gross
sense, the author must declare the power balance to be in
business' favor.

Business evidenced greater influence in getting not
only labor, but other community groups as well to agree
that there was a problem and in enlisting their support to
solve it. Business was obviously influential in the actual
execution of the project, organizing the campaign during
which time it "moved" other groups. These aspects entail
"manifest" power on the part of business; in terms of <u>ex</u> <u>post</u>
<u>facto</u> issue analysis, it is essentially illustrations of
"manifest" power which the investigator must use in his
comparison of inter-group influence. In this instance

business' latent or potential power was obviously transformed into "actual" power. To some degree, the same process was also true of labor, but in the author's opinion, to a much lesser extent.

This particular project serves to illustrate that labor's power potential, at this stage of development of its position in the power structure, is based primarily on its economic resources as was indicated in earlier chapters. Business' power potential as evidenced in this case has a much broader base in terms of its resources; its occupancy of key potential power positions in the community power structure being one of these. One can argue of course that this in itself is the result of the possession of other resources such as "talent," "status" or the like. Of importance in the present analysis, however, are the objective consequences of this fact which yield examples of power-wielding. Any quantitative judgments as to "greater" or "lesser" power-wielding on the part of particular groups is difficult to make when considering a particular situation. Yet it would seem that such discrete judgments are necessary if one is to make an over-all judgment regarding the power balance between two such institutions as business and labor. In the present issue analysis the author's judgments are based primarily on the temporal sequence of involvement as reconstructed from the respondents' reports, and to a much lesser degree on the apparent effectiveness of sanctions

since their use in most instances must necessarily be inferred by the investigator due to the lack of real issues which limited clear manifestations of same. (It should be noted that there was little disagreement between respondents regarding their reports of the same issue). Thus, it is somewhat easier for the investigator to discern the use of "negative" sanctions or penalties than it is to discern and portray to the reader the use of "positive" sanctions or rewards. The issues analyzed here see heavy use of the latter, but not the former. In the hospital issue under consideration, business made use primarily of "positive" sanctions in influencing other groups. Labor made use only of a "negative" sanction. Because of business' realizations of its will as measured by the "objective" results, its influencing of other agencies, and because of its earlier involvement, the author is led to attribute greater influence to business in the hospital project. This trend will carry through the other issues as the reader will see shortly. Unfortunately in the analysis of the other issues, labor was revealed as a participant in only one. This bald fact of itself strikingly documents business supremacy in the community power structure. The other most active participant was government, whose influence was also revealed to be minimal.

Other Issues

The analysis of the various issues is summarized in

Table 45. It includes the nature of the issue, the sequence
of actor involvement in the issue, the nature of sanctions
or techniques employed by the participants, and finally, a
judgment as to the power-ranking of the various participants.
Those issues reported more than once will be described
briefly.

"Downtown development" was and continues to be a
favorite project of local businessmen. Manifestly, the
concern of all community elements, its initiation and imple-
mentation have not extended beyond the circle of community
influentials if the following reports are any indication:

> Car, while a member of the municipal parking
> commission, suggested that the city hire a group of
> planners. He was supported by the Uptown Businessmen's
> Association which was interested in the ultimate develop-
> ment of a good downtown shopping area. The idea of a
> proposed study was taken up by the Journal and given
> wide publicity by Newsworthy.

> The idea was taken up by the Chamber of Commerce.
> Writ was president at the time. He appointed a special
> study committee with Jones as chairman, who in turn
> appointed sub-committees. The net result was the for-
> mation of the Downtown Development Corporation. It
> is currently trying to raise $70,000.

Although technically born in a city agency, the
reports obviously show that local government has virtually
dropped out of the picture as far as the program of down-
town development is concerned. The program although origi-
nally given expression in a government commission was the
exclusive product of business thinking. One informant in
answer to the question why the city didn't plan local

TABLE 45

ISSUE-RECAPITULATIONS REPORTED BY BUSINESS

Issue	Sequence of Involvement	Sanction-Technique of Involvement
Downtown development-- Rennovation of central business district of the city including possible construction of a mall	1. Government, business-- Idea conceived in municipal parking commission, Car a member. 2. City Journal proposed a study. 3. Study Committee set up in Chamber of Commerce, Down- town Development Corporation formed by Chamber of Commerce. Power-ranking 1. Business 2. Government	1. Project defined by Car, business influ- ential on government body. 2. Project publicized by business influ- ential in his paper. 3. Organizational machinery set up by business agency.

TABLE 45--Continued

Issue	Sequence of Involvement	Sanction-Technique of Involvement
Annexation of school district to city	1. Business, Government--realtors, including Acre contacted "politicians" in the district concerned. 2. Referendum put on ballot for annexation and passed. Power-ranking 1. Business-Government	1. Realtors' discussion with politicians resulted in referendum being put on ballot. 2. Advertising campaign financed by realtors supporting referendum.
Metropolitan planning--consideration of the establishment of a civic or governmental agency to handle problems of annexation of outlying areas, the construction of new buildings, etc.	1. Business--idea conceived on highway committee of Chamber of Commerce. 2. Government--Committee formed by Chamber composed of a business and government representative from each political district in the city. Power-ranking 1. Business 2. Government	1. Project defined exclusively by business in Chamber of Commerce. 2. Government representatives brought into new Chamber of Commerce committee.

TABLE 45--Continued

Issue	Sequence of Involvement	Sanction-Technique of Involvement
Improvement of airport terminal facilities	1. Business--defined as problem by Chamber of Commerce. 2. Study group set up in Chamber of Commerce including city, state, and federal government representatives. 3. Improvements agreed upon and made. Power-ranking 1. Business 2. Government	1. Exclusive business definition of problem. 2. Government support and acceptance won through joint meetings.
Parking bond--proposed sale of bonds by the city to finance parking facilities construction.	1. Government--bond sale proposed by city council. 2. Board of Realtors opposed to bond revenue. 3. Labor joined realtors resulting in defeat of proposal. Power-ranking 1. Business-Labor 2. Government	1. Business entrance through Board of Realtors on pretext of opposing higher taxes potentially resulting from bond financing. 2. Board contacted CIO enlisting support to fight "higher taxes."

TABLE 45--Continued

Issue	Sequence of Involvement	Sanction-Technique of Involvement
Street extension--lengthening of downtown city street.	1. Business--idea conceived by several downtown merchants. 2. Meeting held between businessmen, Dean, and several local politicians not acting in official capacity of government representatives. 3. Public meeting called to discuss project. 4. Final plan drawn up at private meeting between businessmen, project carried out. Power-ranking 1. Business 2. Government	1. "Public" and government brought in to support privately-conceived business project. 2. Project executed by business.

TABLE 45-Continued

Issue	Sequence of Involvement	Sanction-Technique of Involvement
Tri-County--problem of improving and coordinating governmental services among a three county area.	1. Business--"problem" defined at Chamber of Commerce meeting. 2. Government--county supervisors contacted by Chamber 3. Government machinery erected to deal with problem. Power-ranking 1. Business 2. Government	1. Dinner held by Chamber for county supervisors, existence of problem agreed upon. 2. Business withdrawal, tri-county commission set up.

TABLE 45--Continued

Issue	Sequence of Involvement	Sanction-Technique of Involvement
Sunday shopping--question of opening business establishments on Sunday.	1. Local Council of Churches proposed banning of Sunday sales, big-small business split regarding proposal. Small business against proposal. 2. Various bills suggested to local city council, Bigsell acting as big business lobbyist suggested loopholes for "small" business, issue unresolved or pending. Power-ranking Undetermined	1. Business involvement as response to churches' proposal. 2. Government involvement secured, business won its point of "watering down" original "strict" church proposal.

TABLE 45--Continued

Issue	Sequence of Involvement	Sanction-Technique of Involvement
Location city hall--proposed shift of city hall.	1. Government--mayor approached by outside business group wishing to construct hotel on site of present city hall. Business--Lobby, local hotel executive against sale. 2. Mayor, planning commission, Lobby, lined up against sale, City Council split. 3. 3/4 Council vote needed to over-ride planning commission was not obtained, sale vetoed. Power-ranking 1. Business 2. Government	1. Segmental business participation as response to perceived threat to local interests. 2. Internal business split reflected in government split, business influential on city council for sale, Lobby against.

development replied that there were many interests in the
city's fringe areas, representing many votes, that did not
wish to see such development concentrated in the down-
town area. Many respondents expressed concern over the
loss of business to suburban shopping areas. Government
inactivity in this case had a "practical" basis.

Regarding annexation, some extremely interesting
remarks were verbalized by the informants. These included
such as the following:

> We got the Sampson district in the city without
> too much difficulty. It didn't cost a lot of money.
> We contacted several of the politicians in the areas.
> I put in $1400 and another realtor put in the same
> amount. The local fellows spent it where it would do
> the most good. Then we got the advertising campaign
> launched and they came in.

Another respondent gave a much more elaborate and
insightful analysis of annexation in general. His report
is worth quoting in more detail.

> When we go into an area to consider school annexa-
> tion posibilities, I usually go first to the Chamber
> of Commerce and ask their ideas on a city and the
> outlying area.
> Now I know that Perry wants the Wilson district
> (where their forge plant is located) and the west
> side (where their jet plant is located) to be brought
> into Wheelsburg. Adman, their public relations man
> asked me years ago to pull in the Wilson District,
> not because they wanted the educational facilities,
> but because they wanted the fire protection of the
> Wheelsburg department. Since then they have worked
> out an arrangement to get the protection they need. But
> they were and are afraid to come out and say that this
> is what they want.
> I know that Perry is behind an annexation study.
> They are willing to foot the bill in the guise of a
> Chamber of Commerce study. In Laurel they have come
> right out in favor of a study of the Laurel metropoli-
> tan district and they are paying for that study openly.

They are afraid of antagonizing the local popula-
tions in the area where they are located. This is a
lot different than the situation years ago, when they
pushed their weight around. Labor too has gone through
the same stages, from pushing their weight around to
being afraid to offend someone for fear of being
told they have ulterior motives. They both now push
the information approach. "Let's see what the facts
are."

The above reports concerning annexation point to

business influence, but not without important qualifications.

In this instance, government is again the "influencee"

and business the "influencer." Business' approach seems

predicated on the assumption of potential opposition or

at least as it perceives same. Such imagery results in a

"cautious" approach bent at winning over the opposition

which may be perceived as the government or the "public"

through advertising campaigns or through more subtle study

plans. Although the techniques may vary, the net result

is usually the upholding of business' position. Yet it

is interesting to witness the varied modes of influence-

wielding employed by business, despite its proven success

as a power group which can overcome the opposition, it

still feels disposed to proceed with caution. As the

latter informant remarked, this seems to represent a "new"

tact on the part of business.

The informant who reported on the parking bond issue

also made a number of general comments about the functioning

of the power structure which merit repeating here. They

are particularly enlightening as they pertain to the

relationship between local government and business.

We can work through city government only indirectly. For example, someone in the Negro district wants to move his tavern into a white district. He wants to follow his trade. Some on the city council are against this; they want Negroes to confine their drinking to the colored area. However, the proprietor has the right to serve the clientele he wants to. I lined up two or three people on the council and told them the story. They agreed to back it. Max Printer and Fred House gave their approval, because this fellow would place his tavern in an industrial area where there were no single homes. Also he would build a nice place that would furnish good taxes to the city. "You can't stop progress," said Fred. I had lunch with the two councilmen and told them to tell my story. We then hired an attorney to present the case to the council and he swung over two or three more votes, so we got the change of license through. You've got to work quietly on these kinds of things. People will say you are for the proposal only because you are interested in making the fee.

The planning commission in Wheelsburg is sad. It has no power whatsoever. Everything has to go through the council. There is no sense hiring professionals if they cannot make any decisions themselves. Politics always get involved. In the general bonding issue for parking, the idea was that every alderman would have a parking place in their district as a monument for what they had done for their area.

If the ten people I checked got behind a proposal they could put it across. The Community Chest gets together about thirty or forty people occasionally. Most of them are on your list. They ask this group what they want, and then they put it into effect. The trouble is that this group does not act together on things that are important for the city as a whole. They are really interested only in their plans and in some very general things such as the Community Chest. Government is really not important for them. This is why they let the small fry (small businessmen) handle government jobs. Most of them are incapable of handling the second largest business in Wheelsburg which runs into millions of dollars.

The Big Five (Perry, Remo, Wheelsburg Motors, John Plough, and Ferris Body) could if they want, put anything across in this community. But they don't. They are content to make their contributions to the Community Chest, but are not concerned with general vital

or governmental issues. Government could act on the downtown problem. They have all the power they need, but they are not handling the problem. They are letting the Downtown Development Council do the job they should be doing.

The informant is clearly conceding greater power to business in the community power structure. Yet it is not used efficiently to cope with community problems. As for the informant's other remarks, several comments are in order. There is more or less a tacit admission of the government's subservience to business interests. This, however, has not resulted in an unfavorable image of business. It is not looked upon as "interfering" with local government except for the purpose of protecting its own interests; this interference does not result in "unreasonable" demands. This image of business' studied "non-interence" in governmental affairs, stands in sharp contrast to previous imagery which viewed business' position as largely apathetic or lackadaisical regarding its relationship with government.

Summary of Group Participation in Issue Resolution

Summarizing business, labor, and government participation in the various issues a number of salient factors should be noted. These types of issues mentioned by the informants bear out a general conclusion which one infers from the imagery documented above. The "issues" were essentially "projects" which for the most part did not provoke contesting positions on the part of the participants.

The perceived power structure is conflict-free. In general,
what conflict there was appeared to represent a "means"
conflict rather than an "ends" conflict. For example, no
group was against hospital expansion per se, a minimal
amount of friction was generated over which groups were to
benefit from the program and/or which groups were to
participate in the program. Such an integrated power struc-
ture as was evidenced makes it difficult to cite examples
of "raw" power-wielding from the historical recapitulations
given. In terms of sequential involvement, business power
is clearly established although such documentation rests
upon the reports of the informants. In virtually each
type of issue, business itself had defined the issue or
became immediately involved therein in its resolution.
Government, although appearing in eight of the ten issues
obviously played a relatively minor role. Its involvement
was usually secured by business to validate and legitimize
an already defined project. Organized labor made an
appearance in only two of the issues and then its involve-
ment came at a rather late stage of the resolution process.
On the basis of mere involvement, organized labor manifested
little power. In terms of sequence of involvement, the
judgment is hardly more favorable.

In terms of "techniques" of involvement, it was
invariably business that got other groups to be involved
merely by asking them to be a participant. In most instances,

the "other" group(s) represented government. Mere communication was usually sufficient to win support for business' "position." It was usually a position regarding the existence of a "problem" and its solution. The general lack of contesting positions made the use of other than verbal persuasive techniques on the part of business unnecessary. In perhaps in only one instance did business find itself confronted by a solid front of opposition; this was in the parking bond issue. Business, with the support of organized labor and the public vote, won its position. On this issue, it will be recalled, business itself was split into opposing camps. A degree of internal disunity was also in evidence on the "Sunday shopping" issue, but business itself did not appear to be in a contesting position with the church group. In essential agreement with the local church group, it can indeed be said to be winning its "position" that the Sunday ban should be applied with discretion. Finally, in regard to the location of the city hall, a business split was reflected in the government's position with the result that a certain business unit won its position and another unit lost its position. In sum, looking at the total number of issues, in no instance can it be said that "business" as a whole lost its position. The limited opposition encountered was overcome by winning the support of other groups, again through verbal techniques rather than the use of overt sanctions.

Other Reports

The responses of the fifteen respondents who gave no histories were limited to brief statements about the general functioning of the power structure and occasional remarks about particular individuals or groups. For the most part these comments run in the same vein as the histories related above and serve to reinforce business' self-perception of influence-wielding. Several are quoted.

> Business supports churches by check, but not by attendance. People seek us because we help them when they're in trouble. [The informant was a clergyman.] They see the clergyman as being a potentially influential individual. Every Christmas I give talks on the meaning of the religious holidays. This way we gain a wide reputation.

> The influentials on your list know each other well, but they represent varying personalities. There is no advance planning for the problems which arise in this community. Problems come into focus only when particular interests are affected. Then they send for an expert, after blaming each other for shortcomings. They want the expert to tell them what they should have known.

> There is no scandal to arouse the people in this town. We need a crisis; there are no special problems. We can't stimulate the mayor . . . Government is largely neglected by businessmen; business delegates jobs to be done. It is impossible to get important business people to run for the city council . . . Dean operates behind the scenes locally. I talked to him about annexing East Wheelsburg to Wheelsburg. I've no doubt he is for it and will work for it, but not in public.

> We rely on experienced individuals to carry out community projects. We usually go to the top of an organization and get its clearance if we want to use one of their men. We give the newer men first-hand experience by placing them directly on a project. We indoctrinate beforehand; it is usually worth the effort. There is a carry-over of personnel from one project to the next. It's a network of interpersonal relations.

Conclusions

It now remains to relate, if possible, the various historical perceptions of the informants with their previously obtained imagery to ascertain to what degree the actions of business are influened or affected by its imagery of the power structure in which it is a participant. The general tenor of the historical perceptions appears to lend further validation to business' self-image of power and "responsibility." A rather fluid group of business actors dealt with "community" issues. The professed importance attached to participation in or cooperation with other community groups did reveal itself in the resume's which were given, but to a limited degree. Cooperation was revealed mainly with government and much less so with labor. Business participation in other community agencies was scarcely a factor in the resolution of any issue. It is significant that this "cooperation" was revealed to be in the later stages of an issue or project. The perceived rapproachment with organized labor was realized, with qualifications, in those two issues in which labor made an appearance.

Briefly, business' techniques or actions revealed in community involvement perhaps could be summarized as follows: A rapidly-formed coalition of business units was usually developed for the purpose of defining an issue or project. In most cases, business deemed it necessary to secure the involvement of other community actors, one of

which was invariably the city government. Usually, coopera-
tion was secured from other community groups, by merely
"explaining" the issue. However, business itself usually
continued to play the principal role in the actual execu-
tion of the project or the resolution of an issue.

The problem now becomes to relate this general mode
of involvement or techniques with the structural images
which business holds. Are these techniques a direct result
of business' perceptions of "issues," "power," "responses
of the other," and "techniques?" Is perception itself one
of the bases of business' power-wielding in the community?

A review of business' perception of each of these
elements is in order if the problem is to be clarified.
Thus, with respect to "issues," it has been established
that business perceives these to be community-wide and
essentially "non-economic" in nature. It views community
power in terms of "interest," economic stakes, responsi-
bility, and "unity." It perceives the "responses of others"
as essentially harmonizing or converging with its own
position rather than opposing it. Finally, business per-
ceives the techniques of power-wielding primarily in terms
of "participation" in various community agencies.

For the most part, an assessment of the data col-
lected, would seem to justify the conclusion that business'
imagery of the power structure facilitates rather than
impedes its power-wielding. Its techniques are affected

by the imagery which it holds and are generally "success-
ful" as a result because the imagery itself represents what
one might call a "correct" or valid definition of the power
situation existing in the community. The mechanics of
issue-resolution are generally anticipated by business. The
point under consideration needs further elaboration, since
several qualifications must be introduced.

In view of the historical recapitulations obtained,
one must conclude that business power is most in evidence
in its ability to win acceptance for its "definitions" of
issues. This, in itself, does not represent a suprise
finding. The more important question is "why" other groups
accept the definitions. To say that acceptance is based
upon the fact that business enjoys obvious status and prestige
and/or power seems to beg the question. It is not enough
to say that business wins acceptance because it has power.
The important question to consider is how business' obvious
power potential is transformed into manifest power in the
act of winning acceptance. It will be recalled that busi-
ness perceives issues to be "community-wide" in nature and
it is clear that it wins acceptance for its issue-definitions
in the concrete situation by retaining this "communal"
orientation. Business is able to win acceptance from other
community groups by pointing out the implications which a
particular project or issue has for these groups.

An important theoretical issue arises at this point.

Does business' success in the winning of acceptance really represent an act of power? This again returns to the complex problem of the use of sanctions. It can be claimed that "true" power is manifest only in those situations wherein one has opposing groups and may judge the power of the groups concerned by noting the effectiveness of the sanctions which each applies. This position is necessarily holding to one important assumption with regard to sanctions, namely that sanctions are necessarily always "negative" in character. Following from this, the only valid measure of power is to note the effectiveness of these negative sanctions when applied.

In the data which were obtained there were few illustrations of the use of negative sanctions. Only in the hospital issue did several groups, including a business organization and the local labor organization, resort to the use of negative sanctions, these taking the form of a threat to withdraw economic support. The question becomes, does such a general finding with regard to the lack of use of negative sanctions, preclude the observation that business wielded power in those issues in which it did not resort to such negative sanctions? For example, in the airport project, is it correct to say that no "true" power was wielded by business, because after all, government was in basic agreement with business from the initial stages of the project? Since the data dealt more with projects

rather than issues, do these involve power-wielding?

We shall contend that power is also manifest through use of "positive" sanctions; it is through the use of some form of positive sanctions that business invariably won support for the project which it proposed. Part of these sanctions include the very "definitional mode" which was employed by business and which was careful to point out the benefits to be reaped by other groups if the proposed project was supported. It seems that the winning of such legitimation is itself a form of power. At one and the same time it is realized also that the very fact that business takes the pains to secure such legitimation may also be taken as a sign that business perceives itself as incapable of "going it alone," that is, it is an indication of the group's awareness of its own power limitations. Granted this assumption, it would still seem that business is confident that it can effectively use the power which it does have.

The use of positive sanctions also is in evidence in the later stages of project execution. Business was able to "move" other groups to aid in the carrying-out of the various projects. Business was invariably the influenc-ing group rather than the influenced group. Of course, from the data obtained, it is extremely difficult to portray the various "forms" which such positive sanctions took. The various conclaves held between business and government

elements undoubtedly saw the former "selling" its plan of action which entailed "joint" participation, by showing that such cooperation was needed and would be rewarding to each party. The basic reward offered by business perhaps could best be described as a "sharing of credit" for the successful accomplishment of the particular project. Business' own reward in many instances was "prestige," for government the intangible reward of "sharing the credit" could often result in the more tangible reward of increased political strength. The use of such positive sanctions assumes greater importance when one views the lack of project-initiation and acceptance on the part of other community groups such as churches, the local labor organization, welfare agencies, or the government itself.

As business' imagery of "issues" affected its actions in the power structure so too did its view of "power" itself. For example, business actions always achieved a degree of unity which business perceived as a basis of community influence. However, labor was viewed as more "united" than was business. Related to this achievement of unity was business' perception of its economic stake in the community. One of the bases for the rapid assemblage of key influentials themselves was undoubtedly the perception of protecting these stakes in the resolution of "issues" defined to "outsiders" as being community-wide in nature. In short, among the business elements the business

orientation prevailed. In the latter stages of an issue
or project when other groups were drawn in, a community
orientation prevailed. Similarly, the technique of draw-
ing in other community agencies could be traced in part at
least to business' self-perception as a "responsible" power
group, "interested" in the welfare of the community. Mani-
fest in the actions of business and related to its imagery
was the recognition of the need to legitimize its power by
securing the involvement of other community agencies.

That business' actions are predicated upon an ex-
pectation of the favorable responses of "others" is evi-
dent as one views the relative "exclusiveness" of the first
stage of an issue or project. The frequent absence of
other community groups which are later presented with a
"pre-packaged" issue provides mute testimony of confidence
of acceptance. Of course, in such an instance as the hospital
issue, the expected favorable response was not immediately
forthcoming, as on the part of labor for example. However,
as can be seen, such a case was the exception rather than
the rule; business' confidence in the other's cooperation
was usually not disappointed. That this confidence would
affect the practiced exclusion seems quite clear.

Importance of Community-wide Participation Validated

Finally, one may conclude that business' perception
of the techniques of power-wielding as revealed in the

importance which it attributed to "community-wide" partici-
pation was also manifested in its actions. Undoubtedly
business' success in winning support of its position can
largely be attributed to its multi-organizational partici-
pation in the community. Although manifestly by-passed in
the initial stages of an issue, other community agencies
were indirectly involved in the sense that the business
influentials themselves were simultaneously members of
these other groups. Again, the inter-locking directorate
formed by the influentials often made it easy to win the
support of various "non-partisan" agencies in the later
stages of an issue. Although business could not be said
to control government in the formal sense of having its
representatives in key governmental positions, it was able
to exercise control quite often through informal channels.
Nominally, only three of the community influentials were
in government, the mayor and two councilmen. The former
had been a businessman, having operated a grocery store.
The latter two currently headed their own business concerns.
Officially, the city government is "non-partisan." Un-
officially, the Republican ties of the present administration,
which has been in power for over 15 years, are well known.
The overwhelming choice of those business influentials who
expressed their political allegiance was the Republican
party. As a result, it was not surprising to learn that
the mayor's long tenure in office was in no small measure

due to the rather consistent support which he has received from the majority of business influentials. However, it was evident from the remarks of several of the informants that business' ardor for the present administration was cooling. This fact, coupled with business' self-acknowledged apathy toward political participation, nearly resulted in the mayor's defeat in the election two years ago. In this election, a labor-backed candidate was defeated by a very slim majority.

With these facts in mind, business' "informal" control of city government is readily apparent. Where business acted in unison or concern on an issue or project, government entered the scene only in the later stages or in several instances was completely by-passed. This was the case in both the hospital and downtown development programs. Official government involvement in the first stage of an issue was realized only when the issue itself required government action for its resolution or was "political" in nature to begin with. In these instances, factions among the business influentials often resulted in factions among the government, as in the city hall and parking bond issues. Part of business' ability to put over projects with little or no governmental participation must be explained by the hesistancy or reluctance of either or both groups to endow a project with overt political overtones. Thus the government was not initially involved in the downtown

development program because the administration did not
want to lose the support of outlying business interests.
This fact raises the question of how much unanimity there
is among business itself with respect to the program. In
this study, "business" refers to the business influentials
and there was no indication of a split among them on this
particular issue. Whether or not business was split on a
particular issue, in terms of business-government relations,
the fact remains that the latter was invariably "responsive"
to the former or at least a segment of the former. In
conclusion, with regard to business' actions in these
relations, or its actions in community involvement in
general, it might be said that these were definitely influ-
enced by business' underlying perceptions of the "situation."
Business' "technique" of securing the involvement of other
community groups, albeit it at the latter stages of issue-
resolution, appears to be a direct consequence of the value
and importance it attaches to community-wide participation.

Business actions vis-a-vis labor in the power
structure represent a clear embodiment of pre-existing
imagery. Business' imagery of its "responsible" or legiti-
mized power-wielding actually results in little formal
contact with organized labor. Labor's support was solicited
and won in only two of ten issues. In both cases, labor's
involvement was secured primarily through a portrayal of
the economic consequences for labor. This was the technique

employed in both the hospital and parking bond issues. In the former, labor was asked to contribute its economic support for the success of the program; in the latter it was asked to support an educative or propaganda barrage in order to defeat the proposal. In the other issues an apparent perceived identity between business, community, and labor interests resulted in the complete exclusion of organized labor. In none of these instances was there any indication of a labor protest. From business' point of view the perceived agreement between itself and labor on the existence of community issues could be used to legitimize the latter's exclusion. In point of fact, labor's "needed cooperation" did not materialize. Furthermore, business did not expect and did not meet "unfavorable" responses from labor. Indeed, it did not meet any responses from labor unless it solicited a response. One might conjecture that business' tie-up of the power structure justified its confidence in the ability to wield power and perhaps blunted labor's enthusiasm for attempting to do so, at least in those areas where its potential economic and political strength were not telling factors. Where these factors were important, business utilized them to its own as well as labor's advantage.

In the majority of issues or projects in Wheelsburg, the power potential of business was realized while that of labor was not. Again, the bases of the power potential

of the two groups is considerably different. The ability
of labor to move other groups is considerably less than
that of its co-participant in community affairs. As has
been revealed, labor influentials are not community influ-
entials. For all practical purposes, community influentials
are business influentials. Labor is effective only in
those issues where it can marshal its own forces and this
in itself is often a formidable task with labor not always
being able to "deliver." Although nominally more "united"
than its business counterpart, labor can rarely match in
effectiveness the small coalitions of community influentials
who initiate community projects and issues. The latter do
not have the stigma of special-interest groups. The ability
of these small business formations to influence other groups
seems to rest in large part on the "non-partisan" posture
which they assume. This is particularly true when the
"other" group is not merely another business unit but repre-
sents another institution such as government or religion.
Business influentials, being community influentials, are
largely devoid of the partisan stigma which often attaches
to the labor leader. In some instances, as in the present
study, the business influential is seen playing a role in
another institution such as government. All these state-
ments, of course, merely represent a description of the
structural advantages which business enjoys and which give
it a greater power potential than labor along with the

greater ability to realize the potential. Labor "internally"
perhaps is less united in fact than is business. "Externally"
it has demonstrated a striking lack of ability to influence
other groups or perhaps more accurately it has not revealed
any significant attempts to wield power on its own.

In conclusion, business' imagery directed the trans-
formation of its potential power into manifest power. Its
actions seem a direct outgrowth of its assessments of the
power structure. There was blanket and early involvement
in all issues. Each of the issues required the resources
possessed by business. These included not only economic,
but the so-called "social" resources like "status," "respon-
sibility," and "interest." The supportive involvement of
other groups, which invariably responded favorably to busi-
ness' position, was obtained. The whole mode of issue-
resolution and involvement related by business influentials
seemingly validates business' images of issues, other's
responses, bases, and techniques as these relate to its own
power-wielding in the local community.

Part II: Historical Reports of Labor Influentials

Table 41 briefly summarizes the outstanding char-
acteristics of the data obtained from the labor influentials
relative to their historical resumes of issue-resolution.
Approximately two-thirds were able to give such recapitula-
tions. The number, (23) is one less than the corresponding

number of business influentials who volunteered such sum-
maries. However, where the business influentials mentioned
ten "types" of issues, the labor leaders included only six
types. Whereas the business informants saw labor as being
involved in only two of its ten issues, labor saw itself
in all of the issues it related. Also, labor saw business
as being involved in all these issues. Business perceived
government as an actor in eight of its ten issues, while
labor perceived government as an actor in four of its six
issues.

A tentative conclusion from the data in Table 41
would indicate that labor attributes power to itself as
well as government and business in the power structure.
While labor attributed power to business, business attributed
little power to labor. A differential perception between
the two groups is also revealed in labor's rather constricted
range of types of issues when compared with business. This
fact perhaps illustrates the general quality of labor's
historical perceptions, which, as the following analysis
will reveal, were much less rich and detailed. The average
resumé lacked names of specific individuals and organizations
and their sequence and mode of involvement. Even the precise
role which labor played was not always clearly described.
Part of the reason for this was undoubtedly due to the fact
that many of the respondents were not directly involved in
a particular issue either as labor representatives meeting

with the representatives of other community agencies or
even to the extent of performing an inner-union role. For
example, with respect to the hospital issue, only Wage and
Local found themselves in the former role, while several
of the respondents became involved in the issue only after
being contacted through union channels by these two leaders.
Then again, some respondents played neither role, with the
result that their recapitulations were perhaps based pri-
marily on second-hand information garnered from their
"active" compatriots, their attendance at local labor
council meetings, or any other number of "indirect" sources.
"Knowledgeable" reports could hardly be expected from such
informants. The importance of this fact for group imagery
should be obvious. As the historical recapitulations were
sketchy, even moreso were the comments of the sixteen re-
spondents who did not relate such summaries. These ranged
in nature from "I can't help on this question," to "I've
been away too long" or to a one-sentence statement regard-
ing a particular issue such as "Regarding the hospital ex-
pansion program, Mike Macey appeared at one of our labor
council meetings and asked for our support." Considering
the responses of all the respondents a tally of individuals
and organizations is not presented as in the case of busi-
ness informants, again because of the paucity of such
detailed information volunteered by the labor interviewees.
A number of quotations will be cited to illustrate the

general sketchiness of the historical recapitulations ob-
tained.

Inter-group Divergency

An indication of divergency between labor and busi-
ness imagery with respect to the groups' positions in the
power structure is to be noted in the fact that labor listed
four issues not included on the business list. Thus, pay
roll tax, bus subsidy, flouridation, and revision of the
city charter were not listed as issues by the business
influentials. With the exception of the last issue, in
each instance labor's position was upheld, but again it
is difficult to document the "manifest" power wielded by
labor because of the lack of crystallized opposition either
on the part of business or government. For example, with
respect to the bus subsidy issue, labor's position was
clear; it was against subsidizing the local bus company.
However, it is not possible to say that business or govern-
ment was "for" such a subsidy. It is only possible to say
that the bus company itself had proposed such a subsidy, a
proposal which was debated by the city fathers and various
business leaders and eventually turned down. Labor's anti-
proposal campaign undoubtedly played a part in the final
decision, but labor's degree of influence remains indeter-
minate. The same comments apply even to the pay roll tax,
which was not wholeheartedly endorsed by either business

or government although apparently it was originally proposed
in a government agency, the city council, at the behest
of certain business representatives. The important factor
in terms of labor's tactics in such issues, however, is
the perceived opposition of business and government. In
many instances it was obvious that the respondent perceived
crystallized business or government opposition, although
in reality such opposition did not really exist. Only on
the question of revision of the city charter did there
appear opposing positions taken by business and government
on the one side and labor on the other. This issue was
ultimately decided at the polls and labor's position was
not supported by the public. It will be recalled that
labor, with the support of the Real Estate Board, "won its
point" against the sale of parking bonds through a general
city election.

The two issues on which labor and business reported
in common were the hospital and the parking bond issues.
The hospital program was the most frequently mentioned
issue by both groups. Thirteen business influentials re-
ported on this issue, while nine labor influentials did
likewise. The parking bond issue was reported by five
labor leaders but only one busines influential. With regard
to the hospital project, the business reports were unanimous
in citing labor as a relative late-comer into the decision-
making process. On the other hand, three of the nine labor

respondents reporting on this issue, saw labor as being in "from the beginning." Again, lack of personal involvement and consequent "ignorance" would seemingly account for this "erroneous" imagery. As in the case of perceived opposition, this kind of imagery can have "real" consequences in terms of labor's tactics in the power structure alignment. A perception of power when in reality no power was manifested, can result in the inhibition of a group's power potential. More specifically, if labor is unaware of the early stages of issue-resolution it is unlikely to act in these early stages.

By virtue of the type of issues mentioned and labor's perception of its position being upheld with respect to these issues, (with the one exception noted), one must conclude that labor sees itself as more influential than does business. In the business recapitulations labor was assigned a relatively insignificant position. However, that labor itself concedes the greater power to business is also evident if one considers the sequence of actor involvement reported in the group's historical summaries. With the exception of the hospital issue, no report was given in which labor was seen as being involved in the initial stage of issue-definition or resolution. Using the sequence of involvement as a criterion of a group's influence, it could be said that labor perceived itself as less powerful than business. The informant usually saw

labor as being influential in the later stages of an issue,
after labor's participation had been solicited by some
other community agency. As in the case of business, docu-
menting the group's "real" influence is extremely difficult
because of the lack of conflict-producing issues which would
have resulted in clearly opposing groups resorting to the
use of negative sanctions. There is no clear illustration
of labor being influential "on its own," of labor getting
a group to accept its position on the basis of labor's
resources alone. Labor invariably needed an ally, when it
stood alone it risked defeat. Indeed, if the use of positive
sanctions for the purpose of winning allies be used as a
criterion of a group's power labor's historical perceptions,
unlike those of business, revealed little evidence of the
group's success. Business, as an initiating agent in
issue-resolution, had no difficulty in winning allies. Labor,
as a "follower" in the decision-making process was won as
an ally. Finally, in no case did a labor informant perceive
singular action by the group, another criterion of power,
as was evident in business' perceptions of the downtown
development project.

Whereas business revealed itself to be quite influ-
ential in its dealings with local government the latent
tendency for labor to perceive a business-government coalition
perhaps inhibited the group's attempts to influence the
government directly and seemingly shifted its attention

more to governmental processes, namely city elections.
Truly, political participation was revealed as being ex-
tremely important to labor, since in two of the six issues,
a decision was made at the polls; these were the charter
revision and parking bond issues. With respect to the pay
roll tax issue, there was a tendency for the respondents
to credit labor with keeping the issue off the ballots.
Regarding the bus subsidy issue, labor looked forward to
putting the final decision up to the voters. The apparent
reliance of labor on the electorate seems to be direct in-
dication or reflection of its lack of influence with other
formal agencies. Judging from the historical resumés, of
particular consequence was the dearth of labor representa-
tives or supporters, especially on the various governmental
units. It was considered a victory by labor when the mayor
appointed Henry Hanson to the parking commission after the
bond proposal was defeated at the polls. Previously men-
tioned was labor's unsuccessful attempt to put its own
candidate into the mayor's office in the city election of
two years ago.

Implicit in these summary observations with re-
spect to the historical data obtained from the labor influ-
entials is the general conclusion that an "objective"
power ranking of labor and other groups on discrete issues,
as was done with the business reports, does not seem possible
or feasible in this instance. Admittedly, even with the

business summaries such a procedure was at best highly
opinionated due to both the qualitative nature of the data
which revealed rather subtle modes of influence-wielding
in essentially "conflict-free" situations and to the con-
sequent reliance on such limited criteria as sequence of
involvement and issue-definition in order to rank a group's
power on a particular issue. Attributing power to business
in various issues was based primarily on the fact that the
group ranked "high" using these criteria. Due to the reasons
listed above, labor's precise role and attendant influence-
wielding on specific issues is difficult to determine.
From its own reports, it would not rank high on all criteria,
despite the aforementioned tendency to report issues in
which labor's position was upheld. This fact, coupled
with the sketchiness of the reports, renders the utility
of a power-ranking even more dubious. Accordingly, the
author will tabularize by issue, only the sequence and mode
of involvement and the reader can make his own power-rankings.

Summary of Comparisons

Considering the total set of issues mentioned by
both labor and business, both groups listed business as a
participant in all the issues. All told, there were
fourteen types of issues listed, ten by business and four
by labor. (The labor total does not include the hospital
and parking bond issues which it mentioned as well as business.)

Both business an labor listed the latter as a participant
on these two issues. Out of fourteen total issues, labor
is seen as a participant in only six of them and four of
them were issues mentioned only by labor. These data are
summarized in Table 46. Whereas labor had listed parking,
public transportation, and annexation as important issues
in Wheelsburg it clearly saw the group "acting" on the first
two, if not on the last issue. Business saw itself as
acting on the "important" issues which it had listed, namely,
metropolitan planning, traffic, and downtown development
as well as annexation which labor had listed. Granting a
degree of saliency to all of the issues mentioned, one
can conclude that business is a more frequent as well as a
more powerful participant in their resolution.

Labor's Report of Issues

The following table summarizes the labor reports
in the same manner followed for business influentials in
Table 45, except for the aforementioned deletion of a
power-ranking. The author will consider individually each
issue reported more than once, using in each case selected
quotations from the informants. Table 47 which is self-
explanatory, is based solely on the reports of the labor
informants and illustrates the group's perceived mode of
involvement in the resolution of issues reported.

TABLE 46

A COMPARISON OF BUSINESS AND LABOR VIEWS ON THEIR INVOLVE-
MENT IN LOCAL ISSUES

Issue	Labor Perception of Actor Involvement	Business Perception of Actor Involvement
Hospital expansion	Labor-Business	Labor-Business
Parking bond	Labor-Business	Labor-Business
Pay roll tax	Labor-Business	Issue not reported
Downtown development	Issue not reported	Business
Annexation	Issue not reported	Business
Bus subsidy	Labor-Business	Issue not reported
Flouridation	Labor-Business	Issue not reported
Revision of city charter	Labor-Business	Issue not reported
Metropolitan planning	Issue not reported	Business
Airport construction	Issue not reported	Business
Street extension	Issue not reported	Business
Tri-county proposal	Issue not reported	Business
Sunday shopping	Issue not reported	Business
Location of city hall	Issue not reported	Business

TABLE 46--<u>Continued</u>

Issues reported in common: Hospital expansion,
                            parking bond

Issues reported only by labor: Pay roll tax, bus
                                subsidy, flouridation,
                                revision of city charter

Issues reported only by business: Downtown develop-
                                   ment, annexation, metro-
                                   politan planning, airport
                                   construction, street
                                   extension, tri-county pro-
                                   posal, Sunday shopping,
                                   location of city hall.

Labor mentioned as a participant in two issues by
                            business.

Business mentioned as a participant in six issues by
                            labor.

TABLE 47

LABOR'S RECAPITULATION OF ISSUES

Issue	Sequence of Involvement	Mode or Technique of Involvement
Hospital expansion--proposed drive for construction of additional hospital facilities.	1. Business organization of fund drive. 2. Labor participation in fund-raising.	1. Wage called by Chamber of Commerce Sec'y.,Barret. Barrett called by News-worthy. 2. Discussion of program at respective labor council meetings, labor support agreed upon.
Parking bond--proposed sale of bonds by the city to finance and build parking ramps	1. Proposal made by parking commission,Macey a member. 2. Labor informed of proposal by Macey. Labor contacted by Board of Realtors to fight proposal.	1. Proposal initiated at behest of Chamber of Commerce and Uptown Businessmen's Assoc. 2. Macey invited Benning to meeting of parking commission. Labor voiced opposition. 3. Proposal put on ballot and defeated after Real Estate Board and Labor campaign against it.

TABLE 47--Continued

Issue	Sequence of Involvement	Mode or Technique of Involvement
Pay roll tax--pay roll tax proposed.	1. Proposed by alderman in city council. 2. Labor acquaintance with issue through publicity in City Journal.	1. Ccbb introduced resolution in council suggesting that tax question be put on ballot, proposal stated in Journal. 2. Labor Council sent letter to city council voicing opposition, proposal not placed on ballot.
Bus subsidy--private bus line requested government subsidization.	1. Bus company request made to mayor and council. 2. Presumed labor acquaintance with issue through labor representatives in attendance at council meeting, labor voiced opposition at its own council meeting.	1. Committee appointed by mayor to study request. 2. Labor involvement through initiation of opposition to request, issue still pending.

TABLE 47--Continued

Issue	Sequence of Involvement	Mode or Technique of Involvement
Flouridation issue--putting of chlorine content into city water supply.	1. Proposal made by dentists' association. 2. Labor invited by PTA to appoint representative to Flouridation Committee.	1. Flouridation Committee set up by PTA to study proposal. 2. Labor appointed representative to Committee. 3. Labor-PTA "defeated" proposal.
Revision of city charter--proposed reduction size of city council.	1. Proposal made in city council, supported by Chamber of Commerce, Uptown Businessmen's Association, and City Journal. 2. Labor began campaign against revision.	1. Widespread business campaign in support of city council proposal. 2. Labor involvement through campaign against revision. Issue placed on ballot in city election, proposal passed.

As to the hospital project, the investigator heard the following reports:

Labor was in from the first. Wage and others were invited to private meetings. There was considerable discussion in the various locals and the labor councils before labor agreed to support the drive. Management representatives made appearances at the union halls. It was Newsworthy's idea to have a united campaign which would include the three hospitals. He was president of the Robin board. Wage was invited to serve on the Hospital Fund Board which was formed at the beginning of the campaign. The drive wouldn't have been a success unless labor was behind it.

There was a letter to Wage asking him to join an initial committee meeting. Various people on the city council wondered why the Community Chest couldn't handle the problem. We were angry because labor didn't have representation on the boards of hospitals as had been promised.

The project was discussed at our council meetings. Management set up meetings with the various shop committees. Labor was right in from the beginning and was just as active as management. Certain management people living outside of Wheelsburg were afraid to express their anti-fund views.

Someone contacted the CIO Council. I was told at a council meeting to report the proposed campaign back to my local. Certain individual citizens were opposed to the campaign because they didn't know exactly how the money was to be spent. Labor decided to keep close tabs on the fund-raising because of this.

Almost totally lacking in these reports was any reference to the first stage of the issue in which the program was conceived and organized by business influentials. To some, the "first" stage of the project was marked by labor's acceptance of business' invitation to support the campaign. To others, even the particulars relating to labor's entrance into the program are unknown. Also largely ignored

by most informants was any reference to the difficulty en-
countered by both the union leaders and business leaders in
selling the project to the lower echelon and the rank-and-
file, a difficulty apparently traceable to a lack of know-
ledge as to the campaign's real objectives and labor's lack
of representation on the hospital boards. Both of these
factors were magnified when labor was presented with a
ready-made program. The most "obvious" fact to the labor
influentials, as revealed in their reports, was that labor
was "in" the project and contributed heavily to its success.
The role played by most informants with respect to the pro-
ject was an intra-labor role in which information about the
campaign was disseminated to the various locals. With the
exception of Wage, Local, and possibly one or two others,
none had direct contact with business influentials. For
this reason, the lack of knowledgeable reports is understand-
able.

The parking bond issue was reported in the following
ways:

Labor was contacted after the thing was all set up.
Macey, who was on the parking authority, called me (Ben-
ning) and said that they were proposing a 5 million
dollar bond sale to build ramps. It was put on the
ballot at the next election. We sent a letter to the
city council opposing the bond proposal. We advertised
our stand in our newspaper and the opposition publicized
their stand. The Uptown Businessmen's Association and
the Chamber of Commerce sent out letters stating that
the proposal would mean more business for the downtown
area. Labor felt that parking facilities should be paid
for from meter revenue. The Board of Realtors worked

with us and the proposal was defeated on the ballot.
Labor wouldn't have been effective without the realtors.

The city council had expensive surveys made and then
ignored them. Obligation bonds were put on the ballot.
Labor opposed the sale of bonds as did the Board of
Realtors and the proposal was defeated. After the
election, the mayor requested that a labor representative
be on the parking commission. Labor chose Hansen; he
was acceptable to the city council.

Labor was not contacted when the bond proposal was
suggested. We were opposed to it; parking should be a
joint responsibility of the public and businessmen. We
distributed a lot of union literature against the idea.
The Wheelsburg Labor News published articles against
the proposal.

With respect to this issue, labor was aware of its
late entry into the resolution process and the important
part played by the Board of Realtors. Labor's perceived
effectiveness in this instance was the advertising campaign
which apparently won public support at the polls. Clear-
cut reasons for labor's stand were also revealed, which were
not the same as those given by a business influential who
reported on this issue. He reported that the opposition
group was against higher taxes, whereas the labor informants
spoke of parking as being a joint responsibility that could
be paid for from meter revenue.

The pay roll issue was reported as follows:

Various city council members and industrial groups
are for a pay roll tax. It's an inequitable tax that
has more disadvantages than advantages for the commu-
nity. The final decision will be made by popular vote.
We're getting our views before the membership and
community organizations through the Wheelsburg Labor News.

Cobb introduced the notion of a pay roll tax in the city council for political reasons. Our staff studied the tax and decided to oppose it. We sent a letter to the city council advising it of our opposition. The mayor was confronted by our committee; he said he opposed it. It's a dead issue for now.

Labor learned of Cobb's proposal through the _City Journal_. The tax was discussed in labor council meetings and a resolution was passed against it. Cobb is working undercover, but the proposal will be defeated in the long run because labor has the votes.

The tax proposal will be defeated. It's unconstitutional and the people in Wheelsburg are intelligent enough to know this. We will get the facts to our membership through our paper and by distributing literature.

In this issue, labor is not certain as to its opposition, but it is quite sure that the pay roll tax will not pass a popular vote. Up to this point, labor and others had been successful in keeping the proposal off the ballot. Apparently, the council member is seen as a front for certain unknown business groups. Again, the reasons for labor's stand are quite vague with the tax being labeled "unconstitutional" and "inequitable." As expressed by one informant, there is some indication that the city government as a whole is considered to be labor's ally on this particular issue.

Two informants spoke of the bus subsidy issue:

The bus company wants a subsidy. Another company has offered to take it over. The voters will decide and labor will bring out the voters. Transportation affects the working people. The labor council went on record against any subsidy. Wage and Local are working on it.

Bus transportation is important to all workers. I
am only familiar with various discussions which have
taken place. The mayor has appointed a committee to
study the subsidy question. The problem has been dis-
cussed at our monthly council meetings. Labor is opposed
to the subsidy which the company wants.

Again, labor's position is made clear, but the in-
formants do not give precise reasons why the position is
taken. Whereas parking was considered a "joint" respon-
sibility of the public and businessmen, apparently the
"public" should not subsidize a "private" bus concern.
The brief reports given are based mainly on second-hand
information obtained from discussions at labor council
meetings. The informants were not able to crystallize
labor's official position on the matter. The dual reference
to transportation and its effects on the "working people"
obviously hint at labor's aversion to a possible hike in
bus fares or taxes which it sees as resulting from subsidi-
zation. Once again, labor expresses confidence in the "voters."

Conclusions

Labor's historical recollections generally tend to
confirm its various images of the community power structure.
In the issues related labor was perceived as influential in
their resolution, but less so than business. Labor manifested
social responsibility by being concerned with community-wide,
non-partisan issues. Its professed influence in various
community organizations did not reveal itself; what influence
it did wield seemed dependent upon political processes and/or

alliances initiated by other community agencies. As a
"trailer" in community participation that perceives itself
to be in agreement with business as to community objectives,
labor's professed desire for "cooperation" in issue-resolution
could only be manifest in the later stages of the decision-
making process. Its expressed need for aid in the attain-
ment of community goals through increased organizational
participation, coupled with its awareness of late entry into
issue-resolution, was strikingly confirmed in its historical
recapitulations. Because it perceived business' greater
stakes, interest, unity, and consequent power in community
involvement, labor directed its challenge to business
through political channels. Exhibiting only a crude aware-
ness, not only of the decision-making process itself, but
of the range of issues as well (when compared to business),
labor could hardly be expected to realize its power potential.

In short, labor's attempts at power-wielding in its
community involvement and its actions or techniques in
these attempts, seem directly related to its images of power,
issues, responses, and techniques which this involvement
entailed. For the present, labor's actions in the power
structure invariably involve it in issues where business has
the advantage. Business' pervasive influence in the network
of organizations comprising the power structure, wherein
many issues are resolved, affords labor little chance of
success. This fact is acknowledged by labor which perceives

business' power as resting upon greater stakes, unity, and interest in community participation. Despite labor's avowal that the power structure is not a "closed" system and its implicit expectation of favorable responses from business to labor's community actions, labor's manifest actions do not indicate an acceptance but rather an acquiesence to the situation. Despite labor's claim of influence and lack of opposition to increased organizational participation, in actual issues, labor's tactics were directed at wielding influence not in the power structure itself, but in the political arena, where it could compensate for its lack of community power. In short, the original impression gained from labor was that the power structure was not unalterable, but its tactics in issues were not directed so much at an alteration of the structure as they were at a counter-balancing of its effects.

As a respondent to the actions of other groups rather than the initiator of action, labor's tactics were necessarily different from those of business. Indeed, this fact illustrates the power differential between the two groups. Labor, unlike business, in no instance defined an issue or project. It made its views known but not always felt with respect to issues defined by other groups which sometimes had requested a statement of labor's position and sometimes had not. In any event, labor's frequently belated entrances often meant that a solid core of opposition had already formed. In this

regard, it is important to note that labor's historical
summaries dealt more specifically with valid issues, than
did the resumés of business. But again, these did not
generate intense conflicts, where genuine tests of strength
between labor and business could be used to measure the
power of the two groups. One could perhaps best character-
ize labor's role in the power structure as that of a watch-
dog, wherein the group would become involved in issues which
it considered important. Sometimes involvement was at its
own initiative; sometimes its participation was solicited.
When labor's participation was solicited, it was usually by
a potential ally. When labor "intruded" into an issue
uninvited, it usually meant that labor could expect some
opposition. One may speculate whether in its role as watch-
dog labor "missed" a number of the issues mentioned by the
business influentials, or whether they were considered
"unimportant" from labor's point of view. Judging from the
combined reports of the two groups, business did not miss
any issues, regardless of importance. On the other hand,
the conclusion that labor was selective in its community
involvement does not appear to be supported by the evidence,
since the issues mentioned were all of a community-wide
nature, with only the pay roll tax question being particularly
crucial to organized labor.

Only in the hospital project, did labor's participa-
tion entail anything more than propagandizing a position.

Here labor's economic support was needed and solicited.
This was the only issue in which labor took a "pro" position.
On the other five issues labor propagandized its "anti"
position, pointing almost to its role as a protest group.
On these five issues labor's economic resources did not
appear to be a telling factor in the ultimate decisions
made. In the hospital project, labor could "get tough" by
threatening to withdraw its support of the campaign. Labor's
reliance on verbal persuasion, at least according to its
own reports, had not been without success. Yet because
labor's power potential does not include direct contact
with most influential organizations, but is primarily
"economic" in nature, the effectiveness of such techniques
appears limited. Since labor is further removed from the
"inside" of the decision-making process than business,
it is most effective when it can make use of economic re-
sources. In Rossi's terms, business has control over
"prestigeful interaction" as well as economic resources.
Failing to find many opportunities to utilize its economic
strength and not having "status" and/or representation in
the organizations of the power structure, labor necessarily
turns to the political realm to compensate for these factors.
Of course, the opportunity for labor to validate its position
at the polls does not always present itself. As was seen
above, when it does, labor is not always victorious.

Labor Lethargy

It is somewhat perplexing to observe that despite labor's "correct" assessment and "positive" evaluation of the power structure and its avowed intention to increase its participation in this structure, that it is content to play the limited role which it does. Particularly striking is its lack of initiative in the whole process of issue-resolution. Essentially, labor is aware of its belated entrance into community decision making, yet its tactics are not geared to alter the situation, at least with respect to those issues that do not require a political mandate. However, in considering the other side of the picture, it should be recalled that labor placed more importance on political participation than community participation in terms of further-ing its set of primary economic objectives. Although identifying its goals with those of the community and busi-ness as well, it would appear that labor is more concerned with political power than community power at the present time. As a result business' community power remains largely unchallenged, or at best is challenged only indirectly through labor's emphasis on community issues of a "political" nature.

CHAPTER VII

VARIATIONS IN GROUP IMAGERY

Inter-Group and Intra-Group Variation

In this chapter an attempt will be made to compare the imagery of labor and business both in terms of internal and external variation. A number of control factors were run against the responses obtained from each group separately. In addition, numerous runs were made simply comparing the responses of the two groups to various questions. The first procedure was obviously aimed at determining the possible existence of internal variations when controlling for a number of selected characteristics. The latter procedure aimed at determining the possible existence of "significant" external or between-group variations.

In view of the essential convergence between the two groups as was revealed in the testing of the various hypotheses above, external variation itself can scarcely be considered a "problem." In only three areas did the author find the two groups differing in their respective perceptions. First, labor perceived community decision makers as requiring organizational approval while business saw them as acting on their own. Second, labor perceived itself as the more responsible group while business, by

implication likewise perceived itself as more responsible.
Finally, they disagreed on the question of unity, both per-
ceiving the other as more united. Thus the more pertinent
problem becomes the necessity of relating this limited inter-
group divergency to whatever intra-group divergency or vari-
ation that exists. Essentially the problem focuses on a
search for those factors which could be used to account
for the latter. Given the existence of this inter-group
divergency, and additional divergencies to be hypothesized,
the author first wishes to consider the question of internal
variation.

Variations in Responses as Bases for Hypotheses

The business influentials were split in their re-
sponses to six questions, a fact which facilitated analysis
of internal variation within the group. A high degree of
consensus characterized the distribution of responses to
most of the questions, which in itself represents an im-
portant finding, and likewise renders a consideration of
areas of "disagreement" extremely important. In order, the
questions eliciting disagreement were those pertaining to:
(1) the assessment of the importance of political participa-
tion for business, (2) a judgment as to the variability in
composition of community decision makers, (3) a listing of
influential organizations with either the inclusion or
exclusion of labor from the list, (4) a judgment as to the

comparative "unity" of labor and business, (5) perceived

"differences" between the two groups, and (6) a judgment

as to the "selectivity" of labor's policy of community in-

volvement. The author would formulate a series of hypotheses

around these six questions.

Rationale

Undoubtedly, some of the divergent responses to

these questions is attributable to the nature of the ques-

tions themselves, which are highly speculative and open to

diverse interpretations.[1] This observation perhaps is appli-

cable to other questions on the schedule, although to a

lesser degree. It was deemed important to make the questions

as "open-ended" as possible, permitting the respondent a

great deal of leeway in his answers. By this procedure, it

was felt that much could be learned about the possibly

varied frames of reference operating behind the "manifest"

imagery which was expressed. In view of the high degree of

homogeneity verbalized by the informants, it is not nec-

essarily incorrect to infer that essentially most questions

---

[1] Of course, chance alone could account for some of
the variation in reponses. It is particularly important when
a considerable number of tests of assocation are run, con-
trolling for certain factors, and arbitrarily selecting a
certain level of significance as indicating "significant"
relationships. In the present case, only eighteen "runs"
were made, using the .10 level.

were answered by the informants from the same frame of reference. This apparently was not the case with the six questions under consideration, different answers being given because different frames of reference were employed by the respondents.

The author realizes that his assumption may be incorrect. Thus a convergency of responses does not deny the possibility of the existence of different "reasons" for answering a particular question on the part of the interviewees; they may answer the same way, but for different reasons, or through different frames of reference. Conversely, a divergency of responses can result even though the "reasons" or the frames of reference are the same. For example, all business respondents may agree that business exercises greater social responsibility than labor, with some respondents equating responsibility with business contributions to the Community Chest, others thinking of responsibility in terms of the time spent by businessmen in various welfare organizations. Given disagreement on this question, theoretically it is possible for all respondents to be using the same criteria for assessing "responsibility," although it is more likely they are using different criteria. In the six questions under consideration, it may well be that different frames of reference are operating. One may speculate that this situation is a result, not only of the interpretive nature of the questions themselves, but also a

result of the influence of certain variables, which in effect "determine" the nature or quality of the respondent's frame of reference.

Several assumptions are made: First, we would argue that the more knowledgeable the informant is, the more "accurate" his perceptions should be. As a whole, the business respondents' perceptions of the power structure are assumed to be essentially "correct." Thus, the objective power situation finds business to be considerably more powerful than labor, and this fact is acknowledged by the business respondents. Second, it is assumed that the more knowledgeable informant "sees" or concedes more readily the objective power structure than the less knowledgeable informant. This implies that the less knowledgeable informant would tend to attribute greater influence to organized labor than it "really" has or has objectively demonstrated. There would be a concomitant tendency to perceive labor as a greater threat to business on the part of the less knowledgeable informant. Conversely, the more knowledgeable informant would not see in labor a great threat to business' power. A third assumption is that the more knowledgeable informant is more conversant with labor's community policy. Specifically, he should view labor's policy as selective or structured, while the less knowledgeable informant should view it as non-selective or unstructured.

Control Factors

The author would submit that the more knowledgeable informants include the "older" informants, the more "influential" respondents, and finally, those enjoying long or "high" tenure in their present occupational positions. As for "old" informants, they simply have had a longer time to observe, if not participate, in the power structure. In this instance, time alone should effect greater knowledgeableness. As for the "high" influentials, their greater participation in decision-making processes should make them more knowledgeable. Finally, those respondents with long positional tenure should be more knowledgeable also because of their greater chances for observation of and participation in the power structure.

Hypotheses

Employing these controls on the six questions in which the respondents evidenced disagreement the author would hypothesize that the older, the more influential, and the high tenure respondents would: (1) rank political participation as being of only average importance, (3) perceive labor as less united than business, (3) perceive labor as committing its resources on only specific community issues, (4) perceive no differences in the community objectives of labor and business, (5) perceive community decision makers as unchanging, and (6) omit labor from their listings of influential community organizations.

Relationships Among Control Variables

On the basis of age, the business informants were dichotomized into "old" and "young" categories with the former including all individuals born before 1900. Using "influence" as a control, the respondents were divided into "high" and "low" groups with the "high" group including all those business respondents who received six or more votes from their colleagues as one of the top ten "key" influentials in the community. Finally, using tenure of position as a control variable the business group was divided into "high" and "low categories with the former including all those respondents who had been in their present positions 15 or more years.

The above procedure resulted in the following numerical breaks considering each control variable: age, twenty "old", nineteen "young;" influence, twenty "high," nineteen "low;" tenure in position, sixteen "low" and twenty-three "high." As with all of the runs made by the investigator the Chi-Square test was utilized, with a relationship being considered "significant" if the probability of the chi-square was .10 or lower.[2]

---

[2]The procedure for determining Chi-Square followed that described by G. Udney Yule and M. G. Kendall, _An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics_ (13th edition, revised; London: Charles Griffin, 1948), pp. 413-433.

Each control was run against the other two in an
effort to determine their degree of association. Chi-Square
tests were converted into contingency coefficients to as-
certain the degree of correlation among the controls. A
decision was made to retain each control, if they were not
correlated above .80 (corrected coefficient contingency).[3]
Tables 48 through 50 reveal that no pair of controls reached
this level.

Table 48 indicates that high and low business in-
fluentials are almost evenly split between old and young
age groups. Only a small difference is indicated, in which
the imbalance finds slightly greater representation of young
influentials among the high influence groups.

An expected tendency, revealed in Table 49, indicates
a slight but positive relationship between age and tenure
in position. The older respondents tend to exhibit a
longer tenure in their positions than do the younger re-
spondents.

No significant association is shown in Table 50 be-
tween degree of influence and tenure in position. However,

---

[3]The formula used for computing c was $c = \sqrt{\dfrac{X^2}{N + X^2}}$.
The correction for c was $\bar{c} = \dfrac{c}{t_r t_c}$. Both formulas are
taken from Thom C. McCormick, <u>Elementary Social Statistics</u>
(New York: McGraw-Hill, 1941), pp. 206-207.

TABLE 48

DEGREE OF INFLUENCE OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS BY AGE (IN PER CENT)

Influence	Age		Total
	Old	Young	
High	45	58	52
Low	55	42	48
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	20	19	39

$$X^2 = .70 \quad p = .50-.30$$

TABLE 49

AGE OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS BY TENURE IN POSITION (IN PER CENT)

Age	Tenure in Position		Total
	High	Low	
Old	59	41	52
Young	41	59	48
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	22	17	39

$$X^2 = 1.2 \quad p = .30-.20$$

TABLE 50

DEGREE OF INFLUENCE OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS BY TENURE IN POSITION (IN PER CENT)

| Influence | Tenure in Position | | Total |
	High	Low	
High	45	59	52
Low	55	41	48
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	22	17	39

$$X^2 = .70 \qquad p = .50-.30$$

a slightly higher proportion of the low tenure group is ground among the high influentials. Apparently, high tenure does not guarantee one a high degree of reputed influence.

Age as a Control

Using age as a control, all but one of the hypotheses was rejected. As shown in Table 52, the younger business influentials tended to perceive labor as committing its resources on all important community issues, while the older influentials tended to perceive labor as choosing particular issues on which to commit its resources. This finding is open to a number of different interpretations. Assuming the older influentials to be more accurate in their perceptions, their responses to this question do not necessarily

TABLE 51

RANKING OF IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY AGE OF
COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Ranking	Age		Total
	Old	Young	
Most important	50	32	41
Other	50	68	49
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	20	19	39

$X^2 = 1.6$ $p = 30-.20$

Question: How would you rank the importance of political
participation?

TABLE 52

ASSESSMENT OF LABOR SELECTIVITY IN COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT BY
AGE OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Assessment	Age		Total
	Old	Young	
Labor non-selective	30	47	38
Labor selective	70	53	62
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	20	19	39

$X^2 = 3.8$ $p = <.05$

Question: Does organized labor in Wheelsburg carefully choose
what community issues it is ready to use its in-
fluence on, or does it commit its resources on any
problem important to the community?

TABLE 53

RANKING OF LABOR AS AN INFLUENTIAL ORGANIZATION BY AGE OF
COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

| Ranking | Age | | Total |
	Old	Young	
Labor influential	25	47	36
Labor not influential	75	53	64
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	20	19	39

$X^2 = 2.2$ $p = .20-.10$

Question: What organizations in Wheelsburg do you feel have
most weight in getting things done, or in prevent-
ing some things from getting done in Wheelsburg?

indicate an unfavorable view of labor. Thus, it is debatable
whether they are perceiving labor to be "selfish" in its
community involvement, while the younger influentials are
perceiving labor as being more "liberal" or non-selective
in its issue-involvement. It may be that the older influ-
entials perceive labor as having a definite policy toward
community involvement, while the younger influentials see
labor as lacking any community program. Again, neither age
group or perhaps both age groups are using the dimensions
suggested by the author in answering this question. Of
course, the author's own assumption that age is positively
correlated with knowledgeablesness is itself open to question.

Degree of Influence as a Control

Using influence as a control variable, two of the
six hypotheses were confirmed. These findings are presented
in Tables 54 through 57. The "high" influentials perceived
community decision makers as invariant, and management as
more united than labor. Contrary to expectations, this
group saw labor as committing its resources on all important
community issues. In each of these instances, the respondent's
degree of influence appeared to effect a more "realistic"
view of the power structure. On the other hand, degree of
influence effected no significant differences in the per-
ception of inter-group differences, the ranking of political
participation, and the ranking of labor as an influential
organization. The more active involvement of high influ-
entials within the inner circles of community decision
makers probably accounts for the stability and unity
attributed to them. Similarly, this could possibly account
for their less critical and unexpected assessment of labor's
policy of community involvement. Greater involvement in
community decision making processes could result in a greater
appreciation of labor's activity. With respect to the other
three questions, knowledgeablesness and cognition perhaps
give way to interpretive value-judgements, thus accounting
for the nil effect of degree of influence.

When compared with the findings using age as a control
variable, the question of interpretation becomes more complex.

TABLE 54

RANKING OF IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY INFLUENCE LEVEL OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Ranking	Influence High	Low	Total
Most important	35	47	41
Other	65	53	59
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of Cases	20	19	39

$$X^2 = .61 \qquad p = .50-.30$$

Question: How would you rank the importance of political participation?

TABLE 55

COMPARATIVE UNITY OF BUSINESS AND LABOR BY INFLUENCE LEVEL OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Unity	Influence High	Low	Total
Business equally or more united	60	32	47
Labor more united	40	68	53
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	20	19	39

$$X^2 = 3.2 \qquad p = < .10$$

Question: Do you feel that organized labor in Wheelsburg is more united or less united than management in what it wants for the community?

TABLE 56

ASSESSMENT OF LABOR SELECTIVITY IN COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT BY
INFLUENCE LEVEL OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Assessment	Influence High	Low	Total
Labor non-selective	80	32	57
Labor selective	20	68	43
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	20	19	39

$$X^2 = 9.2 \quad p = < .01$$

Question: Does organized labor in Wheelsburg carefully
choose what community issues it is ready to use
its influence on, or does it commit its resources
on any problem important to the community?

TABLE 57

PERCEPTION OF VARIABILITY AMONG COMMUNITY DECISION MAKERS BY
INFLUENCE LEVEL OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS
(IN PER CENT)

Variability	Influence High	Low	Total
No change	70	37	54
Change	30	63	46
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	20	19	39

$$X^2 = 4.2 \quad p = < .05$$

Question: In your judgment, do you feel that big community
decisions in Wheelsburg tend to be made by the
same small "crowd" of people working together,
or do these people change according to the issue
confronting the community?

Thus, it has been shown that the older respondents perceive labor as more selective in its community policy, while those of more influence view labor as non-selective. The apparent "discrepancy" poses a problem but since neither degree of influence nor age is consistently associated with "knowledgeableness" of the power structure, its "meaning" seems less significant than debatable. On the basis of these limited findings, it seems unwaranted to conclude that the older informant is less knowledgeable regarding labor than is the higly influential informant.

Tenure as a Control

When controlling for tenure in position, two of the six hypotheses were confirmed. Table 58 indicates that the high tenure respondents tended to rank political participation as being of only average importance. Similarly, Table 63 indicates that high tenure respondents tended to omit labor from their lists of influential community organizations. However, in one instance, as shown in Table 59, the rejection of the hypothesis served to indicate a relationship between tenure in position and perception of unity, but in the reverse of the direction hypothesized. Thus, those respondents with low tenure tended to perceive management as more united than did those respondents with high tenure.

As expected, those with high tenure tended to minimize labor's threat to business domination in the power structure.

TABLE 58

RANKING OF IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY TENURE
IN POSITION OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Ranking	Tenure High	Low	Total
Most important	27	59	41
Other	73	41	59
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	22	17	39

$X^2 = 3.9$ $p = < .05$

Question: How would you rank the importance of political
participation?

TABLE 59

COMPARATIVE UNITY OF BUSINESS AND LABOR BY TENURE OF POSITION
OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Unity	Tenure High	Low	Total
Business equally or more united	30	63	44
Labor more united	70	37	56
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of Cases	23	16	39

$X^2 = 3.9$ $p = < .05$

Question: Do you feel that organized labor in Wheelsburg
is more united or less united than management in
what it wants for the community?

TABLE 60

ASSESSMENT OF LABOR SELECTIVITY IN COMMUNITY INVOLMENT BY
TENURE IN POSITIONS OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS (IN PER
CENT)

Assessment	Tenure High	Low	Total
Labor non-selective	50	65	57
Labor selective	50	35	43
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	22	17	39

$x^2 = 1.1$ $p = .30-.20$

Question: Does organized labor in Wheelsburg carefully
choose what community issues it is ready to use
its influence on, or does it commit its resources
on any problem important to the community?

TABLE 61

PERCEPTION OF DIFFERENCES IN COMMUNITY OBJECTIVES BETWEEN
BUSINESS AND LABOR BY TENURE IN POSITION OF COMMUNITY IN-
FLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Differences	Tenure High	Low	Total
Differences	50	71	59
No differences	50	29	41
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	22	17	39

$x^2 = 1.7$ $p = .20-.10$

Question: What are the general differences, if any, in the
community objectives, of labor and business?

TABLE 62

PERCEPTION OF VARIABILITY AMONG COMMUNITY DECISION MAKERS BY
TENURE IN POSITION OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Variability	Tenure High	Low	Total
No change	46	71	57
Change	54	29	43
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	22	17	39

$X^2 = 2.4$ $p = .20-.10$

Question: In your judgment, do you feel that big community
decisions in Wheelsburg tend to be made by the
same small "crowd" of people working together, or
do these people change according to the issue
confronting the community?

TABLE 63

RANKING OF LABOR AS AN INFLUENTIAL ORGANIZATION BY TENURE IN
POSITION OF COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Ranking	Tenure High	Low	Total
Labor influential	18	65	38
Labor not influential	82	35	62
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	22	17	39

$X^2 = 8.9$ $p = <.01$

Question: What organizations in Wheelsburg do you feel have
most weight in getting things done, or in pre-
venting some things from getting done in Wheels-
burg?

Consequently, political participation was considered of
only average importance, since it really was not needed to
ward off this minimal threat. Also labor was not perceived
as an influential organization. However, unexpectedly,
those with high tenure perceived labor as more united than
business. Possibly, "unity" in this instance was equated
with organized labor's organizational structure with busi-
ness perceived as having no equivalent to the local labor
council. Another possible interpretation is that long tenure
in a particular position serves to acquaint the incumbent
with the many and diverse wants of other local businessmen,
thus resulting in the image of business "disunity" when
compared with organized labor.

Summary

Summarizing the internal variation of the business
group, some divergency in responses was found between differ-
ent age, influence, and tenure groups. Several of the
findings support the original assumptions; others do not.
Age accounted for the least variation, with older respondents
perceiving labor's community policy to be selective. Higher
influentials perceived community decision makers to be un-
changing, management to be more united than labor, and labor
to be non-selective in its community involvement. High
tenure respondents ranked political participation as being
of average importance, did not rank labor as an influential

organization, but did consider labor to be more united than business.

On two questions where two controls were operating, the respective distributions served to both confirm and to reject the hypotheses which were formulated. Thus with respect to the hypotheses relative to labor's policy of community involvement, both age and influence seemed to operate. However, while the hypothesis that the older informants would perceive labor as selective was accepted, the hypothesis that high influentials would perceive labor to be selective was rejected. Similarly, the hypothesis that the high tenure group would perceive business to be more united was rejected, while the hypothesis that the high influentials would perceive management to be more united was confirmed. On those questions where one control was operating, each of the hypotheses was sustained. As hypothesized, high influentials perceived community decision makers to be unchanging, and high tenure influentials ranked political participation of average importance, and did not rank labor as an influential organization. No control was operating on the question concerning inter-group differences. In sum, only five of the eighteen hypotheses were confirmed.

Labor's Internal Variation

The findings in the paragraphs to follow, relative to internal variations within the labor group, are taken

from the author's master's thesis. Three control factors were
introduced: influence, union, position, and representation
in community organizations. Quoting from the author's thesis:

> With each factor except position, the sample was dicho-
> tomized. Influence categories were determined by the
> number of votes each respondent received from his
> colleagues. Those receiving eight or more were classi-
> fied as having "high" influence, all others as "low,"
> resulting in seventeen and twenty-two in their respective
> categories. With respect to organizational repre-
> sentation, the respondents were classified simply as
> officially representing labor in any community organi-
> zation or not. Seventeen were representatives and twenty-
> two were not.
>   The sample was divided into three groups in terms
> of the union position held. International representatives,
> regional, legislative, and educational representatives
> were "high," as were labor representatives on the Com-
> munity Chest and the head of the city CIO labor council.
> All presidents of locals (with the exception of two who
> headed the largest locals in the city and were classi-
> fied as "high") were placed in the "median" category.
> Also included here was the editor of the Wheelsburg
> Labor News. All others, such as financial secretaries
> or business agents were classified as "low." This pro-
> cedure resulted in eighteen "high," thirteen "medium,"
> and eight "low."[4]

Hypotheses

Using these control factors, the author hypothesized
that the more influential, the high position holders, and
the representatives in community organizations would view

---

[4]Warren L. Sauer, "Labor's Image of its Place in
Community Power Structure: An Exploratory Study," (unpub-
lished M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology,
Michigan State University, 1958), pp. 85-86.

the community power structure as _less_ management-dominated than their counterparts.

> With regard to management domination of the community power structure, two questions elicited responses supporting all but one of the various hypotheses offered. Asked to compare the relative influence of management and labor, the respondents attributed greater power to the former. Similarly, when asked to name a group of community leaders to sponser a community project, the informants again perceived management superiority judged in terms of the preponderance of management names submitted. With respect to the specific hypotheses, less management power was perceived by organizational representatives and high influentials. In listing community leaders the high position holders included more labor names than did the median and low groups. This also was interpreted as the highs viewing the power structure as less management-dominated compared to those in lower union positions. However, the high position group also listed the name of John Newsworthy, newspaper publisher, more frequently than did the other two groups. This was interpreted as a view of high management-concentration of power on the part of the highs as compared to the median and low groups, a finding contrary to the original hypothesis.[5]

Tables 64, 65, 66, and 67, reproduced from the author's master's thesis, present the labor group's perception of power when controlling for influence, position, and organizational representation. As indicated above, with the one exception noted, less business power is perceived by those of high influence, of high position, and those representing labor in community organizations. The rationale behind the hypotheses that the informants in these categories would attribute less power to business than would the labor

---

[5]Ibid., pp. 95-96.

TABLE 64

POWER ATTRIBUTED TO MANAGEMENT BY LABOR ACCORDING TO ORGANI-
ZATIONAL REPRESENTATION (IN PER CENT)

	Representation		
Perception of Power	Yes	No	Total
Greater power of management	67	90	81
Labor equal or more power	33	10	19
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	15	21	36

$X^2 = 3.2$ $p = .10-.05$

Question: How would you compare the relative influence of
management and labor in community affairs in
Wheelsburg?

TABLE 65

POWER ATTRIBUTED TO MANAGEMENT BY LEVEL OF POSITION WITH THE
UNION (IN PER CENT)

	Position			
Perception of Power	High	Medium	Low	Total
Concentrated management power-- John Newsorthy group	78	39	63	62
Diffuse management power-- other business spokesmen	22	61	37	38
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	18	13	8	39

$X^2 = 4.9$ $p = .10-.05$

Question: If you were responsible for a major project, which
was before the community that required decision
by a group of leaders that nearly everyone would
accept, which ten would you include on this list?

TABLE 66

POWER ATTRIBUTED TO MANAGEMENT BY LEVEL OF POSITION WITHIN
THE UNION (IN PER CENT)

Perception of Power	High	Position Medium	Low	Total
(Management power)--No labor name given	17	69	37	39
(Labor power)--Labor name given	83	31	63	61
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	18	13	8	39

$X^2 = 8.8$ $p = .02-.01$

Question: If you were responsible for a major project which
was before the community that required decision
by a group of leaders that nearly everyone would
accept, which ten would you include on this list?

TABLE 67

POWER ATTRIBUTED TO MANAGEMENT BY HIGH AND LOW INFLUENCE GROUPS
OF LABOR (IN PER CENT)

Reply	Influence Level High	Low	Total
(Management power)--No labor name given	18	55	39
(Labor power)--Labor name given	82	45	61
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	17	22	39

$X^2 = 5.5$ $p = .02-.01$

Question: If you were responsible for a major project which
was before the community that required decision
by a group of leaders nearly everyone would accept,
which ten would you include on this list?

informants of low influence, low position, and not repre-
senting labor in community organizations was essentially
that the former would most likely include those individuals
who have contact with and knowledge of the business group.
With such greater contacts and knowledge with the business
group and with greater influence within the ranks of labor
itself, it was assumed that such individuals would tend to
see business as less powerful than those individuals further
"removed from the scene," so to speak.

This same rationale led to another set of hypotheses
in which it was stated that the high influentials, high
position-holders, and those representing labor in community
organizations would tend to see labor as being "within"
the power structure, while their respective counterparts
would view labor as being a tangential association. In
short, those in the former categories would tend to perceive
less cleavage between labor and business than would those in
the latter categories.

Cleavage was revealed in answer to two questions
asked of the respondents. One concerned organizations
or activities in which the respondent felt labor should
participate, but in which it was currently inactive.
The other concerned management-labor agreement as to
what were the important community issues. In both ques-
tions, perception of cleavage was significantly asso-
ciated with a particular control variable. The findings
indicate that more cleavage was perceived by the high
influential, the high position-holders, and the organi-
zational representatives, contrary to the various hypo-
theses formulated.[6]

---

[6]Ibid., p. 91.

The findings relative to labor's perception of cleavage, when using the various controls, are presented in Tables 68, 69, and 70. The author attempted to explain the rejection of his "cleavage" hypotheses as follows:

> It is quite possible that the reception given these groups in community organizations has resulted in their "realistic," albeit unfavorable, imagery. As new participants in community affairs, they have not been able to identify the interests of labor with those of other community groups, particularly when the other groups hold the balance of power and often times reject such an attempt by labor.[7]

The apparent paradox revealed in such findings, in which the high position-holder attributed less power to business, yet perceived more cleavage between labor and business was discussed:

> One possible explanation is that their experiences in community activities have been such that they have emphasized management-labor differences, while at the same time reinforcing their image of labor's own power potential. Evidently, labor has not yet successfully penetrated the power structure to the point where the differences between it and other groups are simply those of degree rather than of kind. It is understandable that the divergencies between labor and management would be spotlighted as the former attempts to become a "working member" within the power structure. These differences would be particularly impressed upon those union leaders representing labor in the power structure.
> The fact remains, however, that labor has enjoyed considerable success in at least entering the power structure, if its representation in various community organizations is any criterion by which to judge. Hence, a feeling of power could develop simply out of this fact. Whether labor's influentials feel that such participation is furthering labor's interests is another matter. As newcomers who have proven labor's power

---

[7]*Ibid.*, p. 95.

TABLE 68

PERCEPTION OF LABOR-MANAGEMENT CLEAVAGE ACCORDING TO INFLUENCE
LEVEL OF LABOR INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

| Perception | Influence Level | | Total |
	High	Low	
No cleavage	25	59	44
Cleavage	75	41	56
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	17	22	39

$$X^2 = 4.9 \qquad p = .05-.02$$

Question: Are there organizations or activities in the
Wheelsburg area in which you feel labor should
participate but does not?

TABLE 69

LABOR-MANAGEMENT CLEAVAGE PERCEIVED BY LABOR INFLUENTIALS AC-
CORDING TO ORGANIZATIONAL REPRESENTATION (IN PER CENT)

| Perception | Representation | | Total |
	Yes	No	
No cleavage	24	59	44
Cleavage	76	41	56
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	17	22	39

$$X^2 = 4.9 \qquad p = .05-.02$$

Question: Are there organizations or activities in the
Wheelsburg area in which you feel labor should
participate but does not?

TABLE 70

CLEAVAGE PERCEIVED BETWEEN LABOR AND MANAGEMENT BY POSITION
WITHIN THE UNION (IN PER CENT)

Perception	High	Position Medium	Low	Total
No cleavage	56	100	75	75
Cleavage	44	-	25	25
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	16	12	8	36

$X^2 = 7.0$ $p = .05-.02$

Question: Would community representatives of management
           generally agree that these are the most important
           issues?

by entering community organizations, the view may be
held that labor's goals might best be achieved outside
community ranks. This image could obtain even though
the influentials express a desire to enter still more
community organizations, for this obviously raises labor's
prestige in the community and is thus not without benefit.
     Lacking the skills of the upper echelon, the lower
labor influentials see less cleavage, contrary to the
hypothesis originally formulated. In brief, their lack
of knowledge, apparently makes them less aware of labor-
management differences. However, as was hypothesized,
this contributed to their imagery of management domina-
tion in the power structure.[8]

Comparison of Labor's and Business' Internal Variation

     A comparison of the respective internal variations

of the two groups should help to explain the minimal amount

---

[8]Ibid., pp. 100-101.

of external or inter-group variation which exists. Very briefly, it appears that the internal variation which is manifest, in large measure, tends to negate potential inter-group variation. While high position and influence within labor result in perceptions which minimize inter-group power differentials, but maximize inter-group policy differences, the reverse is apparently true within the business group. In the latter, the respondents of high influence and high tenure maximize the power differential and minimize the "policy" differences. Conversely and perhaps somewhat iron-ically, the "lows" of the business group tend to converge in their imagery with the "highs" of the labor group, while the lows of the labor group tend to converge with the highs of the business group. Thus the "lows" of the business in-fluentials like the "highs" of the labor influentials, tend to perceive less of a power differential between the two groups and more differences between the two groups in terms of their aims in community involvement. The "lows" of labor and the "highs" of business converge in their imagery, both perceiving a wide power differential, but seeing little policy difference.

The above observations are made more meaningful if the responses to specific questions are recalled. The busi-ness respondents of high influence emphasized business power by seeing business as more united than labor and by perceiv-ing community decision makers as basically an unchanging

group. At the same time labor, presumably like business,
was considered to be non-selective in its community involve-
ment. In the same vein the "low" labor respondents, when
asked to compare business and labor power invariably attrib-
uted greater power to the former. However, when asked about
possible disagreement between labor and business regarding
the importance of community issues, little divergence was
perceived by the "low" labor respondents. On the other
hand, "high" labor informants, compared labor's power favor-
ably with that of business, but perceived more disagreement
between the two groups regarding the importance of particu-
lar community issues. Likewise the "low" business informants
tended to attribute greater power to labor (than their "high"
business compatriots) by perceiving labor as more united
than business and by attributing less stability to community
decision makers. Correspondingly, the "low" business in-
formants tended to perceive inter-group policy cleavage,
with labor viewed as selective in its issue-involvement.

The perception of power equality but inter-group
cleavage by the high labor influentials, converging as it
does with the perceptions of the low business influentials,
raises some interesting questions concerning labor's status
and power-seeking techniques. It may be that labor leaders
in the higher echelon see labor as increasing its power by
concentrating on inter-group differences rather than inter-
group convergences in objectives. Organized labor acquired

economic power out of a conflict-situation, consequently
the high labor influentials may choose or elect to win status
and social power in the same manner. Competition with,
rather than emulation of business influentials may be con-
sidered the most feasible modus operandi. Whether social
power in this manner can be "usurped" is of course another
question. Again the question revolves around the trans-
formation of labor's economic strength into social power.
As has previously been suggested, the objective observer
both presently and in the past, must judge the Wheelsburg
power structure to be essentially conflict-free. Very few
issues have appeared and when they have, organized labor
and business have rarely been found in direct opposition to
each other. Given this situation, labor has been literally
forced by circumstances to emulate business tactics. Thus
it has been difficult to ascertain, just what power, if any,
organized labor has or does wield in the community. Most
issues in which labor has been involved have not afforded
the group the opportunity to make use of its economic potential.
For its part, labor generally has not tended to disrupt the
status quo by being an innovator and by itself defining
issues. Again, it has tended to "go along" with business.

In some respects, the situation is paradoxical. The
high labor influentials while verbally expressing cleavage
between labor and business, have in point of actual fact,
done nothing about pressing for a resolution of these perceived

"differences." Ironically enough, this apathy on their part may be due to the fact that they also perceive less of a power imbalance between the two groups. Given this perception, the differences perceived may not be considered "crucial," since the power imbalance itself is not considered crucial. Then too, one cannot over-generalize with respect to this perception of cleavage since it was rather limited in scope. Thus, high labor influentials also stressed the desirability of "cooperation" with business.

As for the low business influentials, their views tend to run in the same direction as those of the high labor influentials, but for a different set of reasons. Perhaps the main reason for the views of the former group is their distance from the inner circles of community decision making which result in a tedency to perceive labor as more powerful than it really is. The actual power of business is not fully appreciated. Correspondingly, labor's "threat" results in this group emphasizing the importance of political participation and perceiving labor's policy of issue involvement as being "selfish" or selective, when compared with that of business.

Finally, the convergence between the high business influentials and the low labor influentials must be interpreted. Again, an awareness of the high business influentials of what the objective power situation really is probably accounts for their "accurate" perceptions. Thus,

management power is emphasized concurrently with a minimization of inter-group cleavage. Consequently, this group holds labor's policy to be non-selective, as business' presumably is. The low labor influentials hold similar views, not because of their knowledge, but precisely because of their lack of knowledge. Little is known of business-labor relationships in the power structure, still less is known of the functioning of the power structure. In brief, the power structure is perceived in only the grossest and sketchiest terms. Consequently, a stereotyped image of rather complete business domination is held with the attendant image of labor-business identity of interests with respect to most community issues.

Inter-Group Variation

Consistent or extensive inter-group divergency would seemingly be precluded by the above findings. Certainly, this is also the conclusion to be drawn from the empirical findings relative to the substantive hypotheses concerning business and labor imagery. Of all the hypotheses drawn up, only in the so-called "attributive" hypotheses was inter-group divergency postulated and in this set of hypotheses only two were tentatively accepted. A third hypothesis revealed divergency, but in the reverse of the direction hypothesized. Thus the expectation that each group would see the other as more united but also view itself as more socially

responsible have been tentatively accepted. The hypothesis that labor would view community decision makers as acting autonomously while business would view them as requiring organizational approval was rejected, but did reveal inter-group imagery divergence. The Chi-Square test will be used to analyze these inter-group divergences, as it will also be used in analyzing the hypothesized inter-group divergences which follow in the succeeding paragraphs.

Other Hypotheses re Inter-Group Variation

Although to a degree, both groups "correctly" define the objective power structure, in the sense of acknowledging the power differential which exists in business' favor, the findings do indicate that this broad convergency does not serve to over-ride differences in "meaning" which the two groups attribute to the situation. Broadly speaking, the power differential is interpreted in different ways by labor and business. To business, the power differential is accounted for by business' greater responsibility, interests, and stakes in community involvement. To labor, business' greater power is accounted for by the group's greater interest, stakes, and also its greater unity and to some degree, its perceived alliance with the governmental structure. Given these some- what varying evaluations of the situation, the next question or problem is to relate these to the groups' past or future actions in terms of their stated objectives in community

participation. As economic power groups, both labor and
business, tend to minimize their economic motiviation or to
define the power structure in "non-economic" terms. In
terms of stated objectives, labor ranked community participa-
tion per se, a distant third behind its economic objectives.
Neither group tends to define or perceive the community as
an economic battleground. Both attest to the importance
of political participation. Despite these essentially con-
gruent perceptions, it would appear that labor as the less
powerful of the two, both economically and "socially," would
tend to have different priorities or areas of interest within
the general sphere of community activities. The differ-
ence may be in degree as well as kind.

Assessment of Welfare Participation

In brief, some further divergency in imagery can
be expected as a result of the power differential itself
and the diverse interpretations given to it and differences
in objectives between the two groups, particularly economic
objectives. With respect to the latter, it is obvious that
these should affect their respective actions in community
participation. Thus while community participation is econom-
ically profitable for both organized labor and business,
the "profit" motive is served by participation in different
types of organization. Accordingly, this should be reflected
in group imagery. It has already been established that

both groups consider participation in welfare organizations as more important than participation in any other type of community organization.

It is hypothesized that labor perceives participation in welfare organizations to be more important than does business. The minimal importance attached to community participation in general by organized labor is in part based upon its perceived unrelatedness to labor's primary economic objectives. Seemingly, participation in welfare organizations, would be perceived as being more directly related to these objectives. Compared with business, labor stands in greater need of welfare services. The apparently greater importance attached to community participation by business is perhaps because of the fact that much of this community participation is identified with participation in business organizations. Business, like labor, does not view community participation primarily as a vehicle for fostering specific economic objectives, however. The importance attached to participation in welfare organizations by business, unlike labor, is totally unrelated to the group's economic objectives and thus, should be of a somewhat lesser degree. The welfare concerns of business are more likely related to status reinforcement alone, while the welfare concerns of labor are both economically and "socially" beneficial, and hence are more "important." It is also in welfare organizations that labor can make excellent use of its economic power potential.

It was in the hospital expansion program that labor was able to wield sanctions and actually "influence" business.

In short, although neither group looks upon its community participation as being particularly profitable in an economic sense, the peculiar economic goals which each has should result in the placing of slightly different degrees of emphasis with respect to participation in welfare organizations. This segment of community organizations, presently controlled by business, perhaps bears the greatest potential for labor-business conflict. However, the "conflict" is over status rather than economic resources, which would tend to minimize its intensity.

Assessment of Political Participation

Since neither group has defined the existing power differential as due to business' monopoly or control over scarce "resources," political participation looms large in importance for both business and labor. Both groups have attributed importance to political participation. From business' point of view political activity is important for maintaining the differential. To date, it would appear that business could afford to be politically apathetic, because labor's challenges have been only intermittent and sporadic. With business perhaps expecting an increasing challenge by organized labor, political activity may be considered as one way of warding off this potential threat. Labor, on the

other hand, tends to account for business' power superiority,
on the basis of business' "unholy alliance" with city govern-
ment. For this reason, labor should consider political par-
ticipation as more immediately important to change the power
differential between itself and business. This is taken as a
formal hypothesis.

Issue Priority

Labor's slightly greater economic-political orienta-
tion toward the power structure should be reflected in the
relative emphases it places on certain community issues as
compared to business. Between the two, parking, transporta-
tion, downtown development, and metropolitan-planning or
annexation were listed as the most important issues facing
Wheelsburg today. Metropolitan planning and parking ranked
as the two top issues according to business. To labor, park-
ing and transportation were considered the most important
issues. Labor, is in effect trying to accomplish two things
through its community participation. First, it is, of course,
trying to increase its social status and power. Secondly, it
would win what economic benefits it can for its constituents.
To accomplish the first aim, it should place considerable
emphasis on issues in which it can make use of its economic
strength or its self-perceived political strength. The
second aim would seemingly require considerable emphasis on
issues which have particularly important economic consequences

for the rank-and-file. Both parking and public transportation qualify as important to labor on each count. Given the above loosely formulated labor aims, downtown development and annexation are considered of lesser importance. Business should place greater emphasis on different types of issues because of its different status and economic requirements. Granted business' current high status, the group faces the constant problem of reinforcing this status. It must constantly reaffirm the imagery of responsibility. In addition, its economic goals are different from those of organized labor. The consequences of particular issues are more important to the business organization than are the consequencees of other issues. Whereas labor is presumably concerned with the economic needs of the <u>individual</u>, business is more concerned with the economic needs of the <u>organization</u>. Accordingly, business considers annexation and parking of greater importance than downtown development and parking.

The four issues of metropolitan planning, transportation, parking, and downtown development represented issues on which the two groups evidenced most agreement as important community issues. The ranking for labor was parking, transportation, annexation, and downtown development. For business, the order was annexation, parking, downtown development, and transportation. Thus each of these issues is given a different ranking. Because of the different status and

economic needs of the two groups the author hypothesizes that:
(a) business considers annexation of greater importance than
does labor; (b) business considers downtown development of
greater importance than does labor; (c) labor considers park-
ing of greater importance than does business; (d) labor con-
siders transportation of greater importance than does busi-
ness.

The problem of annexation appears to be of more
pressing concern to business than to labor. The consequences
of its resolution are much more directly related to the in-
terests of various business organizations than to labor.
Labor's interest in this case seems to be more related to
its drive for status rather than economic gain and as a re-
sult the group should consider this issue as less important
than business. For essentially the same reasons, downtown
development should be considered more important by business
than by labor. The issue is important to business in an
economic sense and also, because it provides a status plat-
form through which business can "prove" its sense of community
responsibility. For labor, the issue is important, but again
only or primarily for the latter reason. Although parking
is important to both groups for status and economic reasons,
the issue would seemingly be more crucial for labor. While
business is perhaps viewed as the primary beneficiary of
improved downtown parking facilities, making the issue of
importance to business, the question of financing the project

is perhaps even considered of more importance by labor, since
it may view itself as having to bear the burden of financing
this "business" project. Also, the issue is a "political"
one, and provides labor with an opportunity to challenge
business' superior social power at the polls. Finally,
transportation as an issue is perhaps of greater importance
to labor because it has more direct economic consequences for
the rank-and-file union members and also because any permanent
solution seemingly requires a political mandate, again pro-
viding labor with an opportunity to make use of its organiza-
tional strength.

Assessment of Labor Power

Finally, it is hypothesized that organized labor
attributes greater power to itself than business attributes
to labor. While there is basic agreement between the two
that business wields greater influence in the community than
labor, there was discernible on labor's part a rather con-
sistent tendency to perceive the power differential as less
extensive than did business. This was particularly evident
when the two groups offered their list of influential commu-
nity organizations. Labor mentioned itself as an influential
organization much more frequently than business listed labor.
Basically, business is perceived as having greater influence
because it has greater unity, interest, and stakes in commu-
nity participation. Consequently, labor perceives the power

differential as being reduced if it increases its own unity and interest in community participation. Increased activity on its part is seen as leading to increased power. Perhaps the main reason for the present hypothesis is that labor tends on the whole to have a more limited or circumscribed view of the scope or range of the power structure in terms of the issues which it resolves. To begin with, labor's emphasis on its economic objectives led it to "de-emphasize" the importance of community participation. Being less power-ful in and less knowledgeable of the local social structure, it tended to view its community participation primarily in terms of those issues in which it had been active, and, by so doing, would inevitably attribute relatively more influ-ence to itself.

Business, on the other hand, with its greater local power, took a more comprehensive view of the issues which were resolved, listing some issues in which labor had played no part, either because of lack of interest or lack of awareness. It is not likely that the over-all result of this more knowledgeable and comprehensive perception would credit labor with as much influence as labor credits to itself by virtue of its correspondingly less knowledgeable and more restrictive perception. Thus business, while perhaps concur-ring with labor as to the latter's influence on particular issues, tends to see labor as completely inactive and non-influential on other issues.

Inter-group Variation: Social Responsibility

Table 71 offers support to the hypotheses that each
group would perceive itself as exercising greater social
responsibility vis-a-vis the other. In view of the nature of
the question asked, the evidence offered is purely inferen-
tial. It was assumed that a positive image of the decision
makers, if differing in degree of intensity between the two
groups, could be used, albeit indirectly, to compare the
groups' images of self-responsibility. Since both groups
obviously viewed the decision makers primarily as business-
men, this meant that the business influentials were, in effect,
viewing themselves. As can be seen in Table 71, they tended
to attribute a greater degree of responsibility to community
decision makers than did the labor influentials. Thus it
may well be that each tended to view itself as exercising more
responsibility than the other. Labor's less favorable per-
ception of the power elite is taken as evidence that it views
itself more favorably in comparison. Admittedly, the negative
character of such "evidence" precludes any but the most
tentative of conclusions. However, the comparative group
evaluations of community decision makers do indicate con-
siderable disparity between labor and business in their re-
spective assessments of community leaders. Labor is obviously
much more hesitant to attribute responsibility to them than
is business. Aside from the basis of this hesitancy or re-
luctance, this image can have important consequences for

TABLE 71

PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF COMMUNITY DECISION MAKERS BY LABOR AND COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Perception	Labor	Business	Total
Decision makers have social responsibility	46	79	63
Decision makers lack social responsibility	54	21	37
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	39	39	78

$$X^2 = 9.2 \qquad p = <.01$$

Question: Concerning the people who are primarily involved in making the big decisions in Wheelsburg, do you feel they have a broad sense of community responsibility, or are they more concerned with protecting or furthering their own particular interests?

future business-labor relationships in the locality. This perception is somewhat in conflict with labor's expressed desire to cooperate with business in the resolution of community issues. As labor seeks further penetration into the power structure, it appears to be ambivalent concerning the tactics it should employ. Labor would cooperate with business, yet is seemingly suspicious of business' motives. To date, labor's policy of ooperation has been only modestly successful in gaining social power. Whether labor will attempt to increase its own status in the future by "undermining"

the status of the other remains to be seen.

Unity

Table 72 offers further evidence to support the hypotheses that each group views the other as more united. Labor, however, is much more emphatic about business' unity than business is about its own unity. Apparently, business is less impressed with labor's manifest organizational unity than labor is with business' multi-organizational control of the power structure, control which gives the appearance of "unity." The greater unity attributed by each group to the other is particularly interesting in view of the fact that both perceive themselves to be in essential agreement regarding community objectives and community issues. Intra-group "disunity," whether real or fancied, could serve to inhibit inter-group cooperation. The latter could conceivably be made contingent upon getting one's own "house" in order. Also worthy of note is the link which labor makes between business' power and unity, whereas business although seeing labor as less powerful also sees the group as more united.

Decision Maker Autonomy

The hypotheses that business would view community decision makers as requiring organizational approval while labor would perceive them as acting autonomously is emphatically rejected by the data in Table 73. Exactly the reverse is indicated, with labor perceiving decision makers as

TABLE 72

PERCEPTION OF COMPARATIVE GROUP UNITY BY LABOR AND COMMUNITY
INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Perception	Business	Labor	Total
Management has greater unity	44	72	58
Labor has greater unity	56	28	42
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	39	39	78

$$X^2 = 5.5 \quad p = < .02$$

Question: Do you feel that organized labor in Wheelsburg is
more united or less united than business in their
goals of community participation?

TABLE 73

PERCEPTION OF DECISION MAKER AUTONOMY BY LABOR AND COMMUNITY
INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Perception	Business	Labor	Total
Organizational approval needed	31	74	53
Approval not needed	69	26	47
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	39	39	78

$$X^2 = 14.8 \quad p = < .01$$

Question: Is it your opinion that people who make the im-
portant community decisions in Wheelsburg can do
this pretty much on their own, or do they have to
get approval for their actions from the organi-
zations to which they belong?

requiring organizational approval. In this instance, labor is projecting the procedures which its own representatives must follow unto community influentials in general. On the other hand, the expected business denial that community decision makers worked independently of their organizations did not materialize. Decision makers are socially responsible precisely because of the fact that they are not viewed as "business" representatives, but as "community" representatives. They perhaps are viewed in a somewhat less favorable light by labor because they are viewed as "tools" of business organizations.

Welfare Organizations

That welfare organizations are considered slightly more important by labor than by business is supported by Table 74. As hypothesized, labor does evince a greater interest in participation in welfare agencies than does business. This has been one sector of community endeavor in which labor has successfully made its economic strength felt. It is also an area where labor has in one sense, more to gain than business. A combination of these factors tends to lend slightly greater importance to this area of community activities for labor than for business.

Political Participation

Greater labor emphasis on political participation is indicated in Table 75, thus supporting the hypothesis.

TABLE 74

IMPORTANCE OF PARTICIPATION IN WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS BY LABOR AND COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Assessment	Business	Labor	Total
Welfare participation mentioned	49	74	62
Welfare participation not mentioned	51	26	38
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	39	39	78

$$X^2 = 5.4 \qquad p = <.02$$

Question: Are there some organizations (or areas) of the community where you believe the participation of organized labor (business) is more important than other areas? What are they?

TABLE 75

IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION INDICATED BY LABOR AND COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Assessment	Business	Labor	Total
Political participation mentioned	18	57	37
Political participation not mentioned	82	43	63
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	39	39	78

$$X^2 = 12.4 \qquad p = <.01$$

Question: Are there some organizations (or areas) of the community where you believe the participation of organized labor (business) is more important than other areas? What are they?

Although of importance to both groups, labor tends to look to increased political activity as one way of reducing the present imbalance between itself and business. While business looks to political participation as one way of warding off labor's "challenge," it is considered of lesser importance by business since the group does not see labor as posing much of a challenge or threat at the present time.

Issues

  Three of the four hypotheses relating to differential group emphases on particular issues are supported by the data presented in Tables 76, 77, 78, and 79. Table 76 indicates that labor does attribute greater importance to transportation. Table 77 likewise demonstrates that labor places somewhat greater emphasis on parking. Table 78 shows, on the other hand, that business places greater emphasis on annexation than does labor. Table 79, however, indicates no difference with respect to downtown development. These findings do indicate some group divergency in emphasis with respect to different issues. For example, labor apparently was much more concerned with public transportation than was business. Such varying emphases as were indicated may provide clues as to the present power differential between the two groups and the future actions which may affect this differential. The greater or lesser emphasis placed on particular issues can affect the potential conflict which

TABLE 76

IMPORTANCE OF "TRANSPORTATION" AS A COMMUNITY ISSUE BY COM-
MUNITY AND LABOR INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Assessment	Business	Labor	Total
Transportation mentioned	10	47	28
Transportation not mentioned	90	53	72
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	39	39	78

$$x^2 = 11.7 \quad p = < .01$$

Question: What are some of the most important issues facing
Wheelsburg today?

TABLE 77

IMPORTANCE OF "PARKING" AS A COMMUNITY ISSUE BY COMMUNITY AND
LABOR INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Assessment	Business	Labor	Total
Parking mentioned	41	67	54
Parking not mentioned	59	33	46
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	39	39	78

$$x^2 = 5.0 \quad p = .05$$

Question: What are some of the most important issues fac-
ing Wheelsburg today?

TABLE 78

IMPORTANCE OF "ANNEXATION" AS A COMMUNITY ISSUE BY COMMUNITY
AND LABOR INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Assessment	Business	Labor	Total
Annexation mentioned	59	36	47
Annexation not mentioned	41	64	53
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	39	39	78

$$X^2 = 4.1 \qquad p = <.05$$

Question: What are some of the most important issues facing
Wheelsburg today?

TABLE 79

IMPORTANCE OF "DOWNTOWN DEVELOPMENT" AS A COMMUNITY ISSUE BY
COMMUNITY AND LABOR INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Assessment	Business	Labor	Total
Downtown development mentioned	31	21	26
Downtown development not mentioned	69	79	74
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	39	39	78

$$X^2 = 1.1 \qquad p = .30-.20$$

Question: What are some of the most important issues facing
Wheelsburg today?

common involvement may generate. Emphasis on different issues
would, of course, largely mitigate inter-group conflict as
would differential emphasis on the same issues. The differ-
ential emphases indicated above might, in part at least,
explain the lack of intense conflict between labor and busi-
ness on the local scene.

Labor Power

Finally, Table 80 provides support to the hypothesis
that labor perceives itself as more powerful than does busi-
ness. Labor tends to rank itself as an influential organi-
zation in the community more often than business does. While
conceding greater power to business, it is evident that la-
bor does not view the differential as significant as busi-
ness does. One receives the impression that another reason
labor is not really "pushing" for a greater voice in community
activities is simply because it is not very dissatisfied with
progresss it has made in the past. This feeling may be
due not so much to its own lack of resources, but to its
failure to make full use of them. Business, perhaps is
seen as "ruling by default."

Business on the other hand tends to attribute some-
what lesser influence to labor since it perceives labor to
be no more or less powerful than any of several separate
business organizations. Also labor's lack of involvement on
specific issues in which business participates may account

TABLE 80

POWER OF LABOR BY COMMUNITY AND LABOR INFLUENTIALS (IN PER CENT)

Assessment	Business	Labor	Total
Labor mentioned as an influential organization	38	72	55
Labor not mentioned as an influential organization	62	28	45
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of cases	39	39	78

$$X^2 = 8.8 \qquad p = < .01$$

Question: What organizations in Wheelsburg do you feel have most weight in getting things done, or in preventing some things from getting done in Wheelsburg?

for business' tendency to minimize labor's influence.

Conclusions

The analysis of inter-group variation has found the two groups varying slightly in their respective comparative assessments of such group characteristics as unity and social responsibility. Business perceived community decision makers as independent actors, while labor viewed them as organizational representatives. Labor was revealed as placing slightly more emphasis on political and welfare activities. The current issues of parking and transportation were likewise considered of greater importance by labor. Slightly greater

importance was attached to annexation by business. Finally, the two groups varied somewhat in their assessment of the inter-group power differential, with labor considering it to be of less magnitude than business.

The full implications of this external variation for both persistence and change in the existing power structure as they apply to future group actions are not readily discernible. This question will be considered more fully in the concluding chapter. The inter-group divergency is helpful in interpreting the past actions of the two groups as these are illustrative of changing patterns of relationships between business and labor in the community power structure. Up to now, organized labor's most "successful" area of penetration in the power structure has been in social welfare agencies like the Community Chest. It has enjoyed much less success in the political arena. Therefore, it is not surprising that the group's two main priorities would be in one area where they have enjoyed success and in another area where they would like to wield more influence. Its success in the former area is probably due to the full exploitation of its economic potential which it has used on occasion to wrest concessions from business with regard to policy-making decisions in agencies such as the Community Chest. Labor's self-perceived failure in the political realm it attributes to business' control of the local political structure, thereby enabling it to wield the greater influence in community

decision making. It would correct this situation by making use of its self-perceived political strength.

Business to date has weathered quite successfully the "challenge" of labor on both fronts. It has conceded a number of lower-level positions in various welfare organizations to labor personnel while retaining the top posts for its own representatives. While viewing itself as politically "apathetic," by its own admission business' candidates have been elected to the top city offices for years. This has inevitably led to business representatives also filling the numerous appointive positions. In other areas of the power structure, business' domination has been even more complete, with labor involvement totally lacking.

The relatively conflict-free relationships between the two groups is perhaps accounted for by a number of factors, but the above observations bring to light several outstanding ones. While the two groups have many common objectives in terms of community participation, they also have many objectives peculiar to their specific organizations. Given this situation plus organizational differences in internal structure, one could expect the groups to have different priorities in community participation as well as different techniques in their roles as community participants. As revealed above, certain issues are more important to one group than the other. In some instances, an issue may be of concern to only one group. Historically speaking, direct

labor-business opposition on any one issue, was virtually
non-existent. The difference in the range or scope of in-
terests between the two groups while obviously related to the
uniqueness of group objectives is also in some measure an
outgrowth of the difficulty which labor has in crystallizing
its position on various issues. The community representa-
tives of organized labor are at an inherent disadvantage be-
cause of the democratic procedures followed by their organi-
zation. Labor, in many instances, is forced into the role
of a "watchdog" or follower because its representatives can-
not offer a labor "position" without first consulting their
rank-and-file constituency. And often-times, unless the
issue is of a "bread-and-butter" nature, he can never formu-
late labor's position. Consequently, many issues are left
to business' resolution by default.

Labor's orientation toward increased political ac-
tivity seems to involve two alternative courses of action.
In the past, it has tried both. First, it has attempted,
without much success, to elect its own candidates to local
city offices. This is one sure way of guaranteeing increased
labor influence in community affairs. Secondly, it has
attempted to deliver the labor vote on issues which have been
submitted to the ballot for resolution. Its success in
the latter course is also open to question. In either case
labor's political unity has been found wanting. Yet the
political process seems to offer labor the best opportunity

for increasing its influence in the community power struc-
ture. Business, too, looks to increased political activity
to retain its present power position. That business is most
concerned with labor's threat in this area is not surprising,
despite labor's past failures. At present, labor must find
most of its allies at the polls. The government itself re-
mains an ally of business.

A reshuffling of the alliance with government join-
ing labor would most certainly effect the present power
differential between business and labor. Labor's penetration
into other areas or segments of the power structure business
can afford, as witness the welfare sector. Business is
still by far the more influential group in this area. It
can less afford to relinquish its control of local city
government, because of the consequences which it would have
for the group's economic and "social" objectives. The loss
of political influence would be much more costly to business.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS .

The Problem and Relevant Findings

This investigation established as its primary ob-
jective the study of inter-group imagery as it related to
group tactics in the community power structure. It is the
relationship between various groups' tactics that engender a
resultant power "structure." To more fully understand the
actions of business and labor locally, it was deemed impera-
tive to ascertain how these groups perceived the structure
as a whole, their respective positions in it, and the positions
of each other. Certainly the actions of a group in a situ-
ation are largely predicated upon its perception of that
situation. The "objective" power structure, while obviously
dependent upon the resources possessed by the various ele-
ments, is also contingent upon their perceptions of their own
and the others' power potential. Such perceptions can either
inhibit or foster the full use of this potential thereby
having an effect on the emerging structure. Groups occupy-
ing different power positions in the community power struc-
ture, such as labor and business, presumably would converge
and diverge at certain points in their perceptions of that

structure. Correspondingly, their actions or tactics would also converge and diverge at certain points. Behavior between groups would seemingly be based in part at least upon their images.

By objective means the investigator defined, as did the groups themselves, that business is more powerful than labor in the local community. The basis of the power disparity is variously interpreted by the two groups. Neither group sees the disparity as giving rise to a power struggle for the two groups would rather cooperate than contest.

The groups do cooperate when they come into contact, which apparently is rather infrequently. The historical analysis of past issues in Wheelsburg revealed only one instance in which it could be said that organized labor faced "organized business." In this case the issue was ultimately decided by the "public" at the polls with business' position being upheld by the electorate. Those issues reported by both groups revealed them to be invariably agreed in "principle" if not "methods." Other issues were mentioned by one group, but not the other. The same comments with respect to lack of conflict and diverse priorities could be applied to the groups' listing of current issues. With respect to the past or the present, the observer's judgement remains the same: business occupies the dominant position in the power structure. The reconstruction of the respective roles which both groups played in the resolution of past issues, while

admittedly a highly subjective undertaking, dependent as it
was upon the perceptions of the groups themselves and the
author's inferences from these perceptions, did indicate in
a gross sense a power balance in business' favor. In view
of this past action and present imagery a few tentative con-
clusions can be drawn concerning the relationships existing
between group imagery and group action and thus also, between
imagery as it affects the existing power structure.

Group Imagery and Action

These diverse group orientations crucial as they are,
in turn are related to inter-group interaction from which a
power structure emerges. It is much easier to describe the
objective power situation than to explain it. It has been
contended that the actual power which a group wields in the
community is, in some measure, traceable to group imagery.
This statement, in and of itself, is unprovable. However,
even the mere description of such a relationship is a truly
formidable undertaking since it at best can only be a sub-
jective interpretation. The search for the bases of power
and for evidence of "actual" power-wielding continues to
occupy the sociologist and will, in all likelihood, continue
to occupy him for some time to come. Group imagery of the
power situation however, affects the actual power and can
itself be a power resource or power liability, so to speak.
At the least, group imagery conditions group actions.

Rossi lists such bases of power as control over wealth, mass media, solidary group, values, and prestigeful interaction.[1] Again, Polsby in his concern for the study of "actual" power says that the power of an actor in a community situation is indicated by (and the author would add, _dependent upon_) his power bases, the techniques through which these bases are employed, the issues involved, and the responses of other actors.[2] Certainly, it is hoped, that to some degree, the present investigation has documented business' power along these different dimensions. In this regard, Rossi's criteria are easier to employ than Polsby's. The author's brief assessment of business' present position in the power structure revealed the group to indeed control prestigeful interaction, mass media, and solidary groups. While this was primarily a study of reputed power, the author feels that his historical consideration of past community issues did reveal business as wielding "actual" power, granted the many methodological short-comings of such a procedure, chief of which was the dependence upon the verbal reports of the power-wielders themselves.

---

[1]Peter H. Rossi, "The Study of Decision Making in the Local Community," mimeographed, August, 1957.

[2]Nelson W. Polsby, "The Sociology of Community Power: A Reassessment," _Social Forces_, 37 (March 1959), 232-236.

The aim of the author was to demonstrate that the manifest power of a group is dependent upon not only such "objective" factors as control of wealth, but also upon the subjective factor of group imagery. The existing power imbalance between business and labor is accounted for by both "types" of factors, since in one aspect, "control of wealth," labor would appear to have as much latent power as business. If one considers this to be the most important of the power bases, then the question again arises as to why the manifest power differential is as great as it is. To answer this question a recapitulation of group imagery is extremely helpful.

Although agreeing on community objectives, it was clear that business had more clearly specified these than had labor. Business' rather "liberal" involvement in a wide range of issues contrasted with labor's rather restricted involvement. Labor apparently perceived few reasons or few opportunities to wield or attempt to wield power. Community participation per se, was considered relatively unimportant in terms of its primary economic objectives. When labor did participate with business in the resolution of an issue it found itself in agreement with rather than opposition to business. Coupled with this diverse group imagery, which on the one hand facilitates group action and on the other inhibits it, is comparable diversity of imagery with regard to the bases of the power imbalance. The preoccupation of

the two groups with social responsibility serves to temper
the actions of both groups, but moreso for labor. Since
business is in a position to judge the responsibility of
labor's as well as its own actions and defines power in
terms of social responsibility, labor is at a further disad-
vantage as it attempts to reduce the power disparity. To
labor, business' greater power is a matter of the group's
greater interest. The lesser responsibility attributed to
business influentials by labor is not a view held by other
community groups, if one agrees that business has "control
over values." Again, such a situation serves to inhibit labor
actions which challenge business supremacy, thus leaving the
structural relationships between the two groups unimpaired.

Labor's docile actions and deference to business on
most community issues is also conditioned by the group's per-
ception of a business-government alliance. Judging from the
findings of this investigation this perception is not erron-
eous. While both groups attest to the importance of polit-
ical participation, labor is more dependent on political
action than is business, since the latter could invariably
count on governmental support on most issues. Because of
labor's failure to elect its candidates to office, political
action to the group meant attempts to influence the elec-
torate on issues which were decided at the polls. On those
issues not decided on the ballot, labor's entrance into
the decision-making process came invariably at a late stage
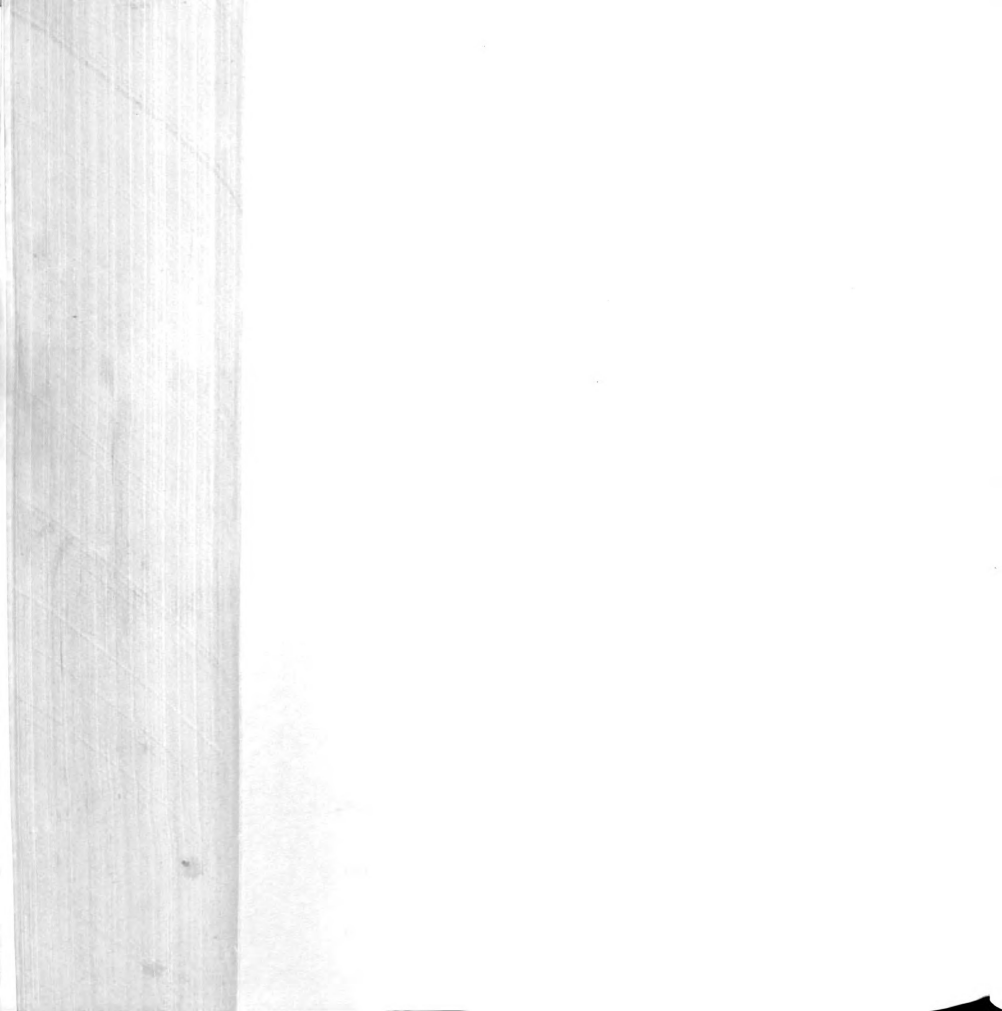
and was relatively unobstrusive, whereby it in reality
validated a decision already made. Granted that many such
issues may have been of little concern to labor, the group's
general apathy is perhaps indicative of its imagery of the
existing power structure which holds labor involvement in
"non-labor" issues as affording few opportunities for the
group to wield influence in view of the influence which
business is perceived to have with the city government.

In other words, attempts at power-wielding are con-
ditioned to a large degree by a group's perception of the ex-
pected responses of other groups. While business expects
favorable responses from the local government, labor does
not. Furthermore, on most issues business expects and usual-
ly gets a favorable response from labor. While labor mani-
festly claims agreement with business on most community issues
and objectives, the "follower" role which it plays in issues
leads one to believe that the group is dubious of the responses
of business and other groups if labor were to attempt to
initiate issues. Again imagery, acting as an inhibitor of
group action, can serve to affect the manifest power structure
which is observed.

Finally, a group's actions in the power structure
are conditioned by its perceptions of the mechanics of issue-
resolution. Labor influentials perceive their own lack of
autonomy in community decision making and project the same
lack of autonomy on business influentials. Whether or not

business influentials require organizational approval is unimportant, since in the decision-making process they do act autonomously in the sense of being able to speak for the organizations which they represent. Usually, the labor influentials do not enjoy this same privilege. Labor action and influence is thus inhibited.

Business' Power

Business representatives dominated the list of community influentials and the latter occupied potential power positions. The occupancy by business representatives of the top posts in "community" organizations (as well as their own organizations) was established. The dearth of labor representatives in various "community" organizations was likewise established. Finally, business' "actual" power, as revealed by the reconstruction of past issue-resolutions, found the group to be wielding predominant influence.

In the Weberian sense, business has class, status, and party power. Social or community power often requires one, two, or all three of these basic elements. Repeatedly, it has been argued that organized labor's lack of status, serves to circumscribe the group's power-wielding. It is of little explanatory value to point to labor's lack of status as accounting for the group's dearth of community or social power. In Wheelsburg, one can point to business' "reputation" or reputed power as evidence of its "status," but where does

one go from this point? Thus one might further say that business' status is responsible for the group's representatives occupying the potential power positions, but again what does this tell us? These "facts" obviously account for business' "actual" power as witnessed by the observer in Wheelsburg, but they are descriptive, rather than explanatory in nature.

In the present study, the status disparity between labor and business was more or less taken for granted. The effect which this disparity would have on a group's social power potential, as manifested in the occupancy of socially powerful positions in the power structure was an important focus of this investigation. Not surprisingly, the status differential in business' favor was reflected in the group's considerable social power potential, judging from the positional analysis which was made. Approximately half of the labor influentials occupied no positions in community organizations. This gave rise to the question raised at several earlier points, as to the relationship between a group's economic power and its social power.

The Basis of Status: Stable Economic Power

To help answer this question, Weber's observation regarding status honor as being a matter of usurpation was utilized. Weber also suggests that the development of status by a particular group depends upon a stratified social order
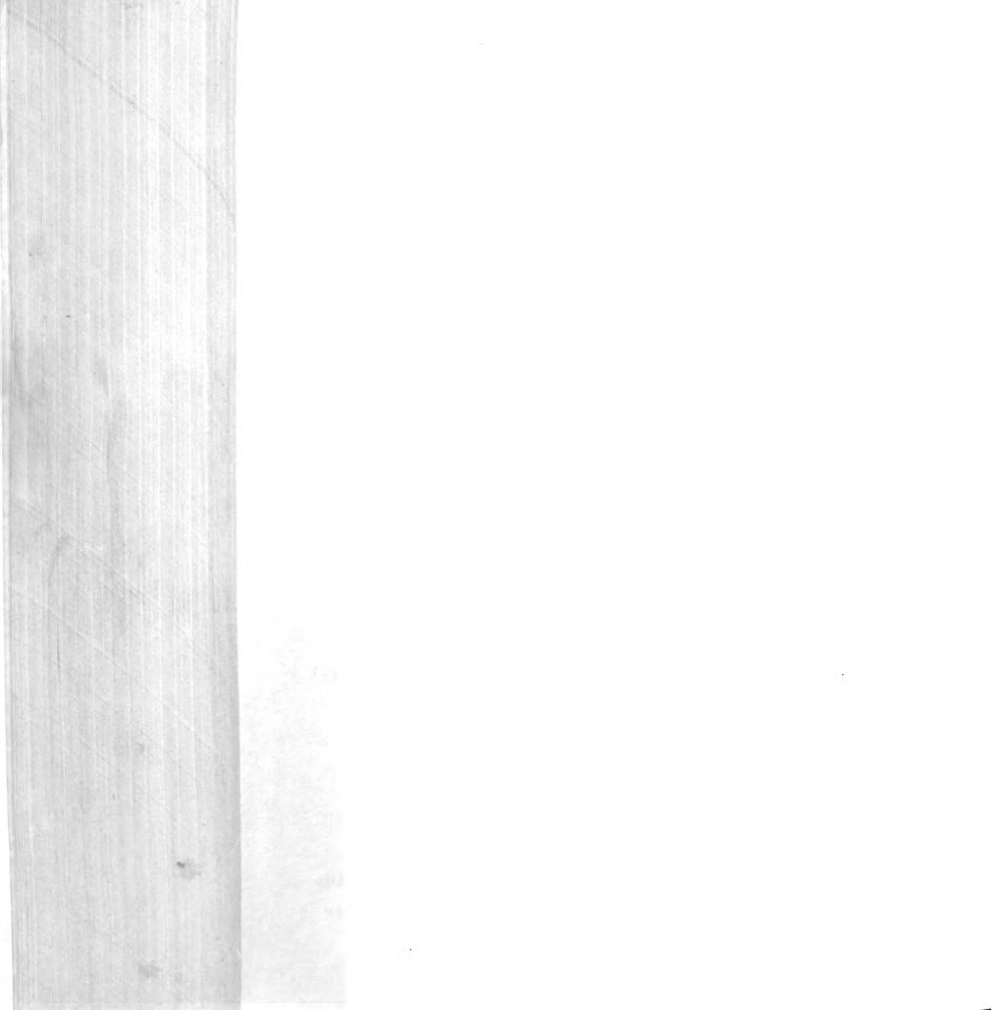
given "stability" by an apparently permanent distribution
of economic power. Given this prerequisite of stability,
assuming that a group does have economic power, Weber attaches
another condition to the development of status honor. The
group must agree to develop its own life style and not merely
imitate or emulate the style of life of another group. With
these two conditions in mind, an examination of labor's posi-
tion in the community and the group's drive for status be-
comes more intelligible or meaningful. Interpreted in this
framework, particularly crucial are the group's actions and
its images of its own and business' actions as well. The
same mode of analysis is equally applicable to business.
If status itself is a partial derivative of economic power,
what clues are given in the group's perceptions relative to
the question of status development? In brief, what does
status "mean" to business and labor and how do these meanings
condition or affect their actions and thus the power which they
wield and the "structure" which results? Granted the economic
power of both groups, why is business a group with status
honor and social power in the community while labor is not?

As a case study of the evolving power relationships
between labor and business, the Wheelsburg situation provides
a specific illustration of a more general set of conditions
that obtain between the two groups beyond any particular local
setting. Very briefly, neither of Weber's "prerequisites"
for the development of status are fully met in the case of

organized labor. Given the oft-times conflicting economic claims of the two groups, one could hardly expect a "stable" distribution of economic power. This of course acts to the detriment of labor, because in an historical sense, business had stable economic power before labor. It consequently did develop its own life style, through "agreed-upon communal action." To be sure, the present "unstable" distribution of economic power is of concern to both groups, but since business has historically enjoyed greater and more stable economic power than labor with a resulting accrual of status, the problem in some respects would appear more crucial for labor, assuming that such stability is a prerequisite for status acquisition. Labor could hardly be expected to concentrate on the development of its own life style, while being preoccupied with the balance of economic power between itself and business. By its own admission, labor attributes less importance to community participation than to the pursuance of its economic objectives. Granted that economic objectives are also paramount to business, the somewhat greater importance which it appears to attach to community participation is perhaps due to the very fact that its status in the community (itself based upon permanent economic power) can be utilized to further its economic objectives. Similarly, current business influence with local government makes "political participation" with its attendant economic advantages important to the group, but even moreso to labor,

which would use it to further re-distribute economic power.

Labor's imagery reflects the paradoxical situation which the group faces. Tactics appropriate in the economic realm, which have acquired power for organized labor are obviously not feasible in the wider realm of community affairs, or at least have not proved feasible to date. Ironically, to wield power labor finds itself in a situation in community affairs having to use these very same "inappropriate" or "militant" tactics. Organized labor won its present position in Wheelsburg and continues to maintain this position primarily on the basis of its economic strength. It is much more dependent upon economic strength than is business, which, enjoying "status," can afford to underplay its economic resources. Labor cannot wield power on the basis of prestige or status if it has none. Accordingly, two courses of action seemed to have been pursued simultaneously by labor, at least in Wheelsburg.

Labor's Pursuance of Status Hindered by its More Direct Economic Concerns

In view of the findings of the present investigation, labor has had only limited success. Thus, on the community front, labor has on occasion reverted to its militant economic ways and at other times attempted to emulate the "velvet glove" tactics of its business counterpart. Since it sees itself pursuing "common" community objectives with business, judging from manifest expressions it would prefer to follow the

latter course. By and large "issues" in Wheelsburg have not
demanded the "maled fist" approach on the part of labor,
simply because on most issues the positions of labor and
business either converge or labor is simply not concerned
with the issue. On occasion, however, labor has taken a
different position and has then attempted to wield power "on
its own merits." In these instances, it has been forced to
revert to a direct reliance on its economic strength, as in
the hospital issue when it threatened to boycott the cam-
paign, or has been forced to do battle at the polls, as in
the parking bond issue. At this point, labor's actions in
community involvement became somewhat self-defeating in terms
of status-acquisition. As a group desirous of status, labor's
primary emphasis on its economic objectives leads to involv-
ment on "bread-and-butter" issues which often call forth
actions readily labeled as "partisan" with the result that
the group's status is impaired rather than enhanced.

That business can afford to underplay its economic
goals in community participation or at least places them more
subtly under the guise of community welfare is of inestimable
advantage in terms of generating an image of social responsi-
bility. The business influentials do not have a group of
constituents to whom they must show the "tangible" results
of their community participation. In many cases, community
participation per se is considered "good business." The bene-
fits of such participation although possibly less obvious

for the business organization are no less important. The
labor influentials, on the other hand, must answer directly
to their own organizations. Accordingly, their actions in
community participation must be directly geared to the pur-
suance of economic objectives in most instances, wherein
their notion of social responsibility becomes a partisan en-
deavor in the eyes of other community groups. The identifi-
cation of group interests with those of the community is a
concern of both business and labor, but moreso for labor.
The easier identification which business can make is attribu-
table to the "lesser" needs of its own constituency, which
enable business influentials to be "communally" oriented.

Status Concern and Power-wielding

The intense desire of both groups that their actions
be adjudged as socially responsible can, of course, have a
powerful effect on the mode or character of community decis-
ion making. Given concern with different types of issues on
the part of labor and business, the actions of the two groups
can be geared to a "clearance" or an "acceptance" by other
community groups. In the case of the actions of particular
business units, this means essentially gaining the support of
other business units. Labor's task of winning such accept-
ance from business or community influentials, for obvious
reasons, is usually much more formidable. Business' task of
winning public support for its actions is facilitated by

the fact that business influentials <u>are</u> community influentials.
The labor influentials' sphere of influence is largely circum-
scribed within the labor organizations themselves. The inter-
group concern for social responsibility would seemingly temper
their respective actions in community issue-resolution. Their
expressed desire to cooperate with each other is perhaps an
outgrowth of this concern, but due to the power which it
possesses, business has much less need of this cooperation
than has labor.

It is obvious that the "clearance" procedure operat-
ing in the Wheelsburg power structure accounts for the groups'
differential interpretations of the existing power disparity
between labor and business. Not unexpectedly, business ac-
knowledged it had greater power than labor. But again, to
business this greater power was merely evidence of its
greater sense of responsibility, its greater interest, and
its greater stake in community affairs. Business saw itself
as less united than labor, however. To the observer these
represent reasons why business <u>should</u> have power or more
power, not <u>why</u> it actually does have power. The equating
of responsibility through intra-group clearance with power
represents, in essence, a form of self-legitimation of the
group's actual power-wielding. With this orientation, labor
is perceived as lacking power because it lacks social respon-
sibility and it lacks social responsibility because it is
removed, for the most part, from the inner circle of

business influentials.

The situation represents a self-fulfilling prophecy. Labor concurs with business as to the latter group's greater interest and stake in community affairs, but takes less kindly to its exclusion from the main body of community decision makers by viewing this group as less socially responsible than labor itself. Labor's somewhat ambivalent orientation towards community participation at this point is readily apparent. Having rated community participation lowest on its priority list, by implication it would increase its "interest" in such participation and thereby reduce the power differential between itself and business. At the same time, however, it is not clear just what direction this greater interest should take, since labor also perceives itself to have less stake in community affairs. Since many of the issues resolved in the community are apparently of little concern to labor, a showing of greater interest might mean a desire to initiate issues on its own or to enter at an earlier stage those issues which are defined by the community influentials and are seen as crucial to labor's interests. The rather moderate tone expressed by the labor influentials, which gave little evidence of extreme dissatisfaction with the existing power arrangement, leads to the conclusion that labor would be content if it could move up its sequence of involvement in issues originated by the community influentials.

Limitations

As a study of community power, the findings of the present investigation are subject to important qualifications. Several community variables associated with Wheelsburg preclude the extension of the present conclusions, relative to business-labor imagery, to those local settings in which these same variables are not approximated. Thus, size, industrial and labor composition, and the local strategies of business and labor in community participation represent important variables to be controlled, if the present findings are to be properly assessed through needed comparative studies in the future. Moreover, the methodological procedures utilized demand further caution in interpreting the data. Primary reliance was placed on the subjective reports of selected business and labor representatives. As a result, no claim is made that the full power of either group has been determined, or that all elements in the power structure have been isolated.

Only a few of the many dimensions of power have been investigated. The precise relationship between group imagery and power awaits more intensive analysis. Similarly, the complex question of the bases of power awaits further study. Focusing on reputed power, this study did so at the expense of a detailed concern with actual power. While this investigation has provided some insight into labor and business orientations on a local level, the effect of such orientations in terms of future group actions must be determined by subsequent research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agger, Robert E. "Power Attributions in the Local Community," _Social Forces_, 34 (May, 1956).

Beck, Duane. _An Historical Study of Organized Labor's Participation in Community Chest and Council Activities in Wheelsburg, Midwest._ Unpublished Project Report, Department of Social Work, Michigan State University, 1955.

Belknap, George and Ralph Smuckler. "Political Power Relations in a Mid-West City," _Public Opinion Quarterly_, 20 (Spring, 1956).

Bell, Daniel. "Labor's New Man of Power," _Fortune_, June, 1953.

Chalmers, W. E., M. K. Chandler, L. L. McQuitty, R. Stagner, D. E. Wray, and D. M. Derber. _Labor-Management Relations in Illini City_. Champaign, Illinois: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1954.

Chamberlain, Edward H., et. al. _Labor Unions and Public Policy_. Washington: American Enterprise Association, 1958.

Commons, John R. and Associates. _History of Labor in the United States_. Vols. I and II. New York: MacMillan Company, 1926.

Cook, Alice. "Labor's Search for its Place in the Community: The Role of a Professional Community Consultant," _The Journal of Educational Sociology_, 29 (December, 1955).

D'Antonio, William V. "National Images of Business and Political Elites in Two Border Cities." Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, 1958.

Durkheim, Emile. _The Division of Labor in Society_. Trans. by G. Simpson. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949.

Form, William H. "Organized Labor's Place in the Community Power Structure," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 12 (July, 1959).

Form, William H. and Delbert C. Miller. Industry and the Community. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960.

Form, William H. and Warren L. Sauer. "Community Influentials in a Middle-Sized City: A Case Study," Bulletin, Institute of Community Development and Labor and Industrial Relations Center, Michigan State University, 1960.

Ginzberg, Eli. The Labor Leader: An Exploratory Study. New York: MacMillan Company, 1948.

Hart, C. W. M. "Industrial Relations Research and Social Theory," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 15 (February, 1949).

Henry, David. "One Hundred Years of Labor in Politics," in The House of Labor: Internal Operations of American Unions. Edited by J. B. S. Hardman and Maurice Neufeld. New York: Prentice-Hall Company, 1951.

Hunter, Floyd. Community Power Structure. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1952.

Imberman, A. A. "Labor Leaders and Society," Harvard Business Review, 28 (January, 1950).

Lynd, Robert S. and Helen M. Middletown in Transition. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1937.

McCormick, Thomas C. Elementary Social Statistics. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1941.

McKee, James. "Status and Power in the Industrial Community," American Journal of Sociology, 58 (January, 1953).

_____. "Organized Labor and Community Decision Making: A Study in the Sociology of Power." Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, 1953.

Miller, Delbert C. "Industry and Community Power Structure: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," American Sociological Review, 23 (February, 1958).

_____. "The Seattle Business Leader," Pacific Northwest Business, 15 (February, 1956).

Mills, C. Wright. "Labor Leaders and the Power Elite," in Industrial Conflict. Edited by Arthur Kornhauser, Robert Dubin, and Arthur M. Ross. New York: Mc-Graw-Hill Book Company, 1954.

_____. The New Men of Power. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1948.

_____. The Power Elite. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.

Moore, W. Industrial Relations and the Social Order. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1947.

Olmsted, Donald W. "Organizational Leadership and Social Structure in a Small City," American Sociological Review, 19 (June, 1954).

Pellegrin, Roland J. and Charles H. Coates. "Absentee-Owned Corporations and Community Power Strcture," American Journal of Sociology, 61 (March, 1956).

Perlis, Leo. "Unions and Community Services, the CIO Community Services Program," in The House of Labor: Internal Operations of American Unions. Edited by J. B. S. Hardman and Maurice Neufeld. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951.

Perlman, Selig and Philip Taft. Labor Movements, Vol. IV, 1896-1932. New York: MacMillan Company, 1935.

Peterson, Florence. American Labor Unions: What They Are and How They Work. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945.

Phelps, Orme W. "Community Recognition of Union Leaders," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 7 (April, 1954).

Polsby, Nelson W. "The Sociology of Community Power: A Reassessment," Social Forces, 37 (March, 1959).

Ross, Aileen D. "Philanthropic Activity and the Business Career," Social Forces, 33 (March, 1954).

Rossi, Peter H. "Community Decision Making," Administrative Science Quarterly, 1 (March, 1957).

_____. "The Study of Decision Making in the Local Community," mimeographed, August, 1957.

Sauer, Warren L. "Labor's Image of its Place in Community Power Structure: An Exploratory Study." Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, 1958.

Schulze, Robert O. "The Role of Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," American Sociological Review, 23 (February, 1958).

Schulze, Robert O. and Leonard Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," The American Journal of Sociology, 62 (November, 1957).

Speier, Hans. "Honor, and the Social Structure," Social Research, 2 (February, 1935).

Tagliacozzo, Daisy. "Trade Union Government, Its Nature and Its Problems: A Bibliographical Review, 1944-1945," American Journal of Sociology, 61 (May, 1956).

Walker, Charles R. Steeltown. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.

Warner, W. L., et. al. Democracy in Jonesville. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949.

Weber, Max. "Class, Status, and Power," From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. Trans. and Eds. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford Press, 1946.

Whitehead, Thomas. Leadership in a Free Society. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.

Wray, Donald E. "The Community and Labor-Management Relations," in Labor-Management Relations in Illini City. Champaign: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1953.

Yule, G. Udney and M. G. Kendall. An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics. Thirteenth edition, revised. London: Charles Griffin, 1948.