SOME CORRELATES OF RURAL LEADERSHIP
AND SOCIAL POWER AMONG
INTER-COMMUNITY LEADERS

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
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SOME CORRELATES OF RURAL LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL POWER

AMONG INTER-COMMUNITY LEADERS

By

Wade H. Andrews

AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan
State University of Agriculture and Applied Science
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Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Year   1956

Approved   *Chas. P. Loomis*

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Ph.D Thesis

Abstract

SOME CORRELATES OF RURAL LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL POWER AMONG INTER-COMMUNITY LEADERS

This study is concerned primarily with the study of
inter-community county level rural leadership. More
specifically the purposes are to (1) analyze formal leader-
ship patterns at the county level; (2) to study the informal
networks of social relations in the inter-community social
system including interpersonal resources among the sample
respondents and those named as important influentials; (3)
to consider the inter-relations between formal leadership
and influence by studying the configuration of formal
positions and interpersonal resources that make up the power
and decision making structure of rural organizations of the
county.

The method used in this research included a participant
observer reconnaisance followed by the use of a schedule
in interviewing a random sample of county rural organiza-
tional officers. The third phase included interviewing
those named as the most important influentials.

The schedule included questions covering all organiza-
tion activity, patterns of acquaintance and interaction
including those worked with and those they get advice from,

the important action organizations, the channels through
which they affect decisions in important groups, key
legitimizing leaders, and patterns of interpersonal re-
sources with influentials. These elements were analyzed
both statistically and empirically by charts. Three pro-
fessional leaders were included among the influentials
named.

Holding offices was found to be an important character-
istic of those interviewed both at the county level and
in local groups. There was interlocking of authority roles
in county organizations and offices were an important
means for legitimizing leadership. There was a tendency
for more important policy-making roles to cluster around a
relatively few persons that were also top influentials.

The statistical analysis of relationships revealed
that county leaders are well acquainted in general but that
influentials were better acquainted and had a more exten-
sive acquaintance pattern than other leaders, also secondary
leaders tended to over rate their claims of acquaintance
with top influentials.

For the access elements, getting advice from and work-
ing with leaders, there was generally a high rate of
activity and no significant difference between influentials
and other leaders, however, the interaction of influentials

was higher between themselves than with the sample leaders.
Thus, access with important decision makers was more avail-
able to top influentials.

Interpersonal resources included friendship and
associational relationships, top influentials had a sig-
nificantly higher average number than did the sample re-
spondents. The networks of association between influentials
are shown on sociometric charts.

The county level leaders were not limited in associa-
tion by space, but some types of interaction was associated
with local areas while others were not. The networks of
resources furnish a potent means for spreading and gather-
ing information, opinions and policies. These systems show
an ongoing structure through which leadership can function
both inside and outside of the formal organizations.

Respondents named their channels of influence and key
leaders largely from among the top influentials, however,
this varied for some groups. Choices of non influentials
seemed to indicate less efficiency in affecting decisions.

Through offices and informal resources leaders were
able to affect decisions both directly and indirectly.
Since offices and resources were related a knowledge of the
organized social structure would give a leader important
insight into the decision making structure and process in
the county. Several case studies illustrate the function of

influential power, particularly in regard to the role of

the professional leader.

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It has not ceased to amaze the writer to see the number of persons who become involved in the process of a work such as this. Indeed, a study might well be made of the social system in the development of a thesis. In this case the system included professional colleagues who gave guidance, advice and instruction; institutions that furnished the machinery through which it could all happen; ones family that had to live with the writer, the problem and the sacrifices required; relatives who had faith and gave encouragement as well as tangible support and who never faltered nor allowed the writer to falter; friends who also understood and minimized their demands for time; and finally the cooperation of the people who supplied the data and typists that made it legible. The whole operation included people in many states from coast to coast. Such is the range of people to whom the writer wishes to extend sincere appreciation.

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Thesis: Some Correlates of Rural Leadership and Social
          Power Among Inter-community Leaders

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CHAPTER I
PROBLEM ORIENTATION

The purpose of this research is to study and analyze
rural leadership in both the formal organizational rela-
tions of rural leaders and the patterns of informal rela-
tionships of these leaders at the inter-community or county
level of participation. It is intended to discover the
patterns of relationships among rural leaders as well as
the structure of relationships of a personal nature that
exist among influential rural leaders.

It has been suggested that there is a need for more
data on the structure of relationships in social organiza-
tion. This is needed in order to understand more clearly
the causes and the processes involved in making decisions
in rural society. The lack of data makes further scientific
investigation and documentation imperative if the struc-
ture of informal influential relations and the function of
influence in ordinary day-to-day relations in rural society
is to be clearly understood.

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Charles P. Loomis and others have clarified the structure and function of informal group relationships in the clique or friendship group.[1] It therefore seems feasible to go on to examine the informal relationships that may play a part in leadership behavior in the wider intercommunity area. In addition to clarifying informal relations, several writers have discussed the problem of influence and power in leadership. The literature related to this field was reviewed and yielded a number of suggestive ideas and concepts.[2] A synthesis of these ideas assisted in the development of the following basic assumptions and concepts for this study.

In writing about innovative leadership, Dexter stated

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[1] Charles P. Loomis and J. Allen Beegle, Rural Social Systems, Prentice Hall, 1950, p.133.

[2] Three recent writers have done extensive reviews of the literature in this area. These are: Paul A. Miller, in his unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, A Comparative Analysis of the Decision making Process in Community Organization Toward Major Health Goals, Michigan State College, 1953; Donald A. Bouma, in his unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, An Analysis of the Social Power Position of the Real Estate Board in Grand Rapids, Michigan, Michigan State College, 1952; and Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, A Study of Decision Makers, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1953. The present use of materials represents a limited number of relevant materials from the literature which contributes to the orientation and the conceptual frame work of the problem.

There should be emphasis upon the fact that no new approach can stand on its own merits. The use of influence and pressure are just as important in getting inventions and reforms accepted as in anything else.[3]

Although this seems somewhat pessimistic in tone, it is believed that Dexter's conception of the interrelation between leadership and influence also applies to the process of leadership in rural community organization.

Such an assumption rests upon another, that of the universality of social power in human relations and in leadership activity. In explaining the nexus of social power, Merriam has said that "Power is first of all a phenomena of group cohesion and aggregation, a child of group necessity or utility, a function of the social relations of men."[4] And about its universality MacIver adds, "Social power inheres in all social relations and in all social organizations."[5]

In addition to its general nature the trend toward more complicated systems of organization in rural society has not diminished the development of social power as an

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[3]Lewis A. Dexter, "Some Strategic Considerations in Innovating Leadership," Chapter in A. W. Gouldner, Ed., Studies in Leadership. Harper & Bros.,N.Y.,1950.

[4]Charles E. Merriam, Political Power, Mcgraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1934, p.16.

[5]R. M. MacIver, The Web of Government, The Macmillan Co., 1947, p.90.

aspect of leadership. As Lee[6] says,

> Regardless of whether one may have wanted originally
> to becaome a power-seeker or not, the bigger the
> operations in which one becomes involved, the more
> important in one's perspectives become the quest for
> and manipulation of power.

Thus, it is assumed that social power is universally
involved in the relations of men in groups, that it is
inevitably present in the processes of leadership, that it
is found in rural associations and leadership as well as
any other, and that with the increasing tendency toward
group action it is more and more a part of the pattern of
rural leadership.

In determining the basis for social power, it is
imperative to include two aspects. First, that of its
derivation from the group, and the second, that of the
individuals' own characteristics. Although he did not
see the second as clearly as the first, MacIver explained
that social power includes both. It is dependent upon the
group, and as he also recognized pertains to characteristics
of the individual power center. MacIver states:

[6]A. M. Lee, "Power Seekers," Chapter in A. W. Gouldner,
op.cit., p.669.

"At first sight it might appear that power
is the ultimate policy-maker, that nothing but a
greater power can limit it. What is more power-
ful than power? But if we think in these terms. .
. we shall misapprehend the nature of social power.
Throughout we insist that social power is in the
last resort derivative not inherent in the groups
or individuals. The power a man has is the power
he disposes; it is not intrinsically his own. He
cannot command unless another obeys. He cannot
control unless the social organization invests him
with the apparatus to control. We are prone to
confuse power with the means, agencies or instru-
ments of power. But power resides in the social
disposition of these means, depends on the rights
and obligations developed in a society. Use and
wont, custom and law, tradition and indoctrination
- in short, the operative myth of authority - pre-
side over the scheme of power, though ability and
cunning, enterprize, aggressiveness, and other
qualities enable individuals and groups to take
advantage of and to seize opportunity within the
established system."[7]

For MacIver, social power or leadership is imputed to an

individual by the society according to the requisites of a

particular culture. The group legitimizes an individual's

"right" to leadership or power to the extent that he fits

their image of leadership.[8] But the individual leader who

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[7]R. M. MacIver, op.cit., pp.107-108.

[8]"Right" is used here in an informal sense as a recog-
nized prerogative allowed an individual by others,
not necessarily formalized by statute or office.
See the use of the term "rightfulness" in Paul A.
Miller, "The Process of Decision-Making Within the
Context of Community Organization", Rural Sociology,
Vol.17, No.2 (June, 1952), p.155 Also, p.10 of this work.

is motivated to control social phenomena may use purely personal characteristics to obtain this legitimized status. MacIver, almost as an afterthought, mentions such qualities as ability, cunning, enterprise, and aggressiveness. This use of personal characteristics applies to both the attainment of formal power positions and to the building up of informal social power or influence. In this way the individual may use his skills to develop the role which fits the image of the leader held by his culture and society.

The foregoing is not to imply a completely conscious, rational use of abilities to attain power, although that is possible, as may be seen in the following statement, "Power is both a means to the attainment of any end and an end in itself."[9] When it is an end in itself it is consciously pursued. But in the real world social power develops among people with varying degrees of consciousness of the means used and the goals to be attained.

The leader or power center, then, derives his position of preeminence in the society by either conscious or unconscious behavior which fulfills the imagery of leadership of other members of his society.[10] From this behavior

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[9]Frank D. Graham, Social Goals of Economic Institutions, Princeton Univ. Press, 1949, p.12.

[10]For similar use of the term "imagery" see Paul A. Miller, op.cit., p.160.

develops sets of relationships or resources that exist in

the dyadic patterns of human relations. It is assumed,

therefore, that legitimation of informal or influential

leadership behavior is based in large part on sufficient

interpersonal resources in the dyad which are at the dis-

posal of the leader and permit him to influence the behavior

of others with whom these resources are related.[11]

In relating influence and resources Miller states,

> The capacity of influence is primarily that collection
> of relevant resources and proficiencies which the
> maker of decisions brings to the community action pro-
> ject. The degree of possession of resources and pro-
> ficiencies must be deemed essential to the task at
> hand, or such possession may not provide the capacity
> of influence.[12]

The assumptions that have been developed to this

point can now be briefly stated;

1. Influence as a process of leadership is applicable
   to rural organizations as well as others.

2. Social power is a universal social phenomenon.

3. Social power is derived from the group.

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[11]The concept of interpersonal resources is discussed
on page 13 of this work.

[12]Paul A. Miller, Community Health Action, Michigan
State College Press, 1953, p.15.

4. Legitimation of informal or influential leadership is based on dyadic interpersonal resources of the leader with other individuals.

CONCEPTS CENTRAL TO THE PROBLEM

There are several key terms germane to this study which require definitions and clarification as to their use. These terms are described in the following paragraphs.

Social power appears in dual form as seen in this study. These forms are authority and influence. Both of these terms denote ability to control or produce an effect upon the behavior of others in a direction chosen by or approved by an individual leader. As Lee has said, "The control of social power is the ability to supply or to deprive something to someone."[13] Social power is the authority and influence which is found among members of a social system by which decisions are made and through which behavior is controlled in that system.

Authority is the vested right to act or make decisions which lies within the prerogative of an office in a formal social structure. It is therefore, formally legitimized in the sense that Max Weber described in relation to rational

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[13]A. M. Lee, op.cit., p.671.

> The fundamental source of authority in this type
> is the authority of the impersonal order itself.
> It extends to individuals only in so far as they
> occupy a specifically legitimized status under
> the rules, an 'office,'. . . .

MacIver defines it in a similar but somewhat less restricted
way. "By authority we mean the established <u>right</u> within
any social order, to determine policies, to pronounce judg-
ments on relevant issues, and to settle controversies. . ."[15]
But the authority of an office, although it has specific
rights, is also circumscribed by the limits of that office
and the authority ends with the fulfillment of its purpose.
This is not so with influence, the second form of social
power.

<u>Influence</u> is defined here as the ability to act and
affect the behavior of others through informal interpersonal
relations within the social system.[16] The ability to influ-
ence comes from having or developing close interpersonal
relations.

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[14]Max Weber, <u>The Theory of Social and Economic Organ-
ization</u> translation by Talcott Parsons, Oxford
University Press, N. Y., 1947, p.58.

[15]R. M. MacIver, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.83.

[16]R. K. Merton, "Patterns of Influence: A Study of
Interpersonal Influence and of Communications Be-
havior in a Local Community", Chapter in Paul F.
Lazerfeld and Frank Stanton Communications Research,
1948-49, Harper and Brothers, p.215.

The influential, as with the formal leader, must also be accredited with the image of influence by the members of his social group. To the extent that such imagery exists it makes his decisions or actions acceptable. Influence is not confined to any specific office or organization and may be used whenever or wherever an individual has the interpersonal resources that legitimize his actions.

Thus influence in this study is the result of direct dyadic relationships between individuals. As Merton has stated, "We are not here concerned with the indirect exercise of power through market, political, and other administrative behavior, with its effects upon large numbers of people."[17]

Differential forms of power have been recognized by other writers also. Influential or informal social power as well as authority, the formal role of power, were recognized by MacIver's definition, "By social power, we mean capacity to control the behavior of others directly by fiat or indirectly by manipulation of available means."[18]

Bierstedt recognized power "in three areas: (1) in formal organization, (2) in informal organization, and (3)

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[17] R. K. Merton, op.cit., p.184.

[18] R. M. MacIver, op.cit., p.87.

in the unorganized community." In explaining power in in-

formal organization he said,

> In any association the members do become acquainted
> with each other and begin to interest not only "ex-
> trinsically" and "categorically" in terms of the
> statuses (offices) they occupy, but also "intrin-
> sically" and "personally", in terms of the roles
> they play and the personalities they exhibit.

Again he said, "Power is even more important where it is

uninstitutionalized in the interstices between associations

and has its locus in the community itself."[19]

In addition interpersonal relations have been shown to

be of importance in several studies of power and leadership.

Twila Neely has said of political power, "The essential

factor in boss control is the personal friendship and

loyalty of individuals. . . ."[20] Helen Jennings, in her

study of a New York State girls industrial school, showed

that leadership could be identified with certain key persons.

She explained that "tele" was "The movement of feeling be-

tween individuals" and also said, "The sociometric technique

[19]Robert Bierstedt, An Analysis of Social Power,
American Sociological Review, Vol.15, No. 6, Dec.1950.
p.734-736 (parenthesis mine).

[20]Twila E. Neely, "The Sources of Political Power: A
Contribution to the Sociology of Leadership".
American Journal of Sociology, Vol.33, (1927-28),
p.769.

makes traceable the emergence, development, and decline of

psychological structures,. . . it reaches below exterior

relationships to the network of "tele" in which resides the

vehicle for interpersonal influences."[21] Rogers and Spence

coined the term "psychological networks" to specify similar

phenomena.[22]

Loomis,[23] Jennings,[24] Merton,[25] Stewart,[26] The

Curtis Publishing Company,[27] Miller,[28] and others have

shown furthermore that it is possible to identify the people

who are centers of influence. This means that the leaders

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[21]Helen Jennings, "Structure and Leadership - Development and Spheres of Influence", Sociometry, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1937), p.99.

[22]Maria Rogers and Ralph Spence, "Introduction to Volume IX, Sociometry", Sociometry, May-August, 1946, Vol. 9, No. 2-3, pp. 121-123.

[23]C. P. Loomis, Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America and Germany, Michigan State College Book Store, 1945.

[24]Helen Jennings, op.cit.

[25]R. K. Merton, op.cit., p.182.

[26]Frank A. Stewart, "A Sociometric Study of Influence in Southtown", Sociometry, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Feb.1947) pp.11-31.

[27]The Curtis Publishing Company, Saturday Evening Post Research, A Study of Key Customers, June 1945. (No author given), Philadelphia, Pa.

[28]Paul A. Miller, op.cit., pp.153-161.

who exert informal influence within the rural organizations
can be studied to determine both their patterns of informal
relations and their formal organizational activities, pro-
viding a picture of the structure of social power in the
rural intercommunity social system.

Interpersonal resources are defined as those attitudes,
sentiments or values held by one person which are useful
and available to another person, and that are based upon
interpersonal relations between individuals. They are
limited in this study to specific factors studied as they
appear later in this work. In a broader, more inclusive
sense this concept has been known variously as social
property,[29] social capital,[30] and relational possessions.[31]

· Talcott Parsons described similar phenomena as rela-
tional possessions and in a discussion of types of possessions

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[29]Social property is a term used by Paul A. Miller;
see, Paul A. Miller op.cit., p.455. It has a some-
what broader connotation than the present use.

[30]Social capital, also more general than the usage
here, is a term used by Dr. John Useem in unpublished
papers on social power read before American Socio-
logical Society, September 1950 at Denver, Colorado
and again at the Ohio Valley Sociological Society
meetings, April, 1951, at Bloomington, Indiana.

[31]T. Parsons, The Social System, The Free Press,
Glencoe, Ill., 1951. p.79.

and rewards, he said,

> ". . . a special significance attaches to one
> class of rewards, namely, the possession of
> contingent relations to other actors. Above
> all, because of the significance of the mutuality
> of attitudes involved in attachments and of
> loyalty and solidarity, to be in a position to
> "count on" the favorable attitudes of alter - of
> the appropriate type - may be regarded as the
> primary core of the reward system"[32]

As previously noted this concept has also been developed
by Useem in his theoretical concept of power and by Miller
in his study of decision-making processes.

Legitimation is the appearance of "rightfulness"
which allows a leader to act either for the group or for
another individual. Miller has also stated that the re-
sources of an influential person must be deemed essential,
that is, the members of the group must regard the resources
as essential to the situation and the individual must be
seen as having the power to act by those whose behavior is
being influenced. It must seem "right" or proper to them
that the influential may affect their behavior. Again
Miller states, "The appearance of "rightfulness" renders
the decision legitimate." Hence, legitimacy refers to the
rights of some persons to make decisions, and draw on

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[32]T. Parsons, op.cit., pp.78-79.

certain "capacities of rightfulness possessed by the decision-maker".[33] and [34] This type of "rightfulness" may be derived either from the formal right related to the authority of an office, or from a right through a set of informal interpersonal resources. When the relationships involved in legitimation are interpersonal in nature they would be described in terms of Parson's pattern variables as particularistic or related to specific actors rather than universalistic or generalized and impersonal.[35] and [36]

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[33]Paul A. Miller, op.cit., p.14.

[34]Donald A. Bouma, An Analysis of the Social Power Position of the Real Estate Board in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Michigan State College, 1952, has a comprehensive discussion of the genesis and use of the term legitimation. p.207.

[35]T. Parsons, op.cit., p.62.

[36]T. Parsons and E. Shils, Toward A General Theory of Action, Harvard University Press, 1951, p.79. Parsons describes the pattern variables as categories for the description of value-orientations. A given value orientation or some particular aspect of it may be interpreted as imposing a preference or as giving a primacy to one alternative or the other in a particular type of situation. The pattern variables therefore, delineate the alternative preferences, predispositions, or expectations. In all these forms the common element is the direction of selection (by the actor) in defined situations.

It is possible for the actor to consciously affect the situation within which he makes his selection since some interpersonal resources may be pre-structured on a rational basis for future reference.

REASONS FOR THE STUDY

Reasons for undertaking the study are made specific in the following:

1. The increasing recognition of the need for tested information on what causes community action.

2. The need to develop more data on the structural relationships in social organization. A large part of the data gathered from informants is social psychological in nature rather than social organizational. There has been a great deal of work done on attitudes and types of leadership behavior. There is a need for more balance by further study of social structure and relationships among leaders.

3. The requests of professional leaders in agricultural production programs and social movements for principles and practical information for getting more extensive cooperation with rural people,

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36 (continued) This would be a form of achieved status. The primacy of choice in setting up such resources would be affectively neutral or for disciplined use where importance is placed on their future usefulness. However, much of the developmental process may not be conscious cultivation but part of a long process of association where access to others occurs through participation in groups or through living in the same locality where relationships are diffuse and often ascribed to the actor. The structure of these resource relationships in a particular situational setting is of direct concern to this analysis.

4. The lack of scientific information and documentation about two extremely important factors in democratic society; first the function of influential persons in rural social organization, and second, the fabric that influence is made of in social action.

5. The necessity of training leaders to understand the importance of social power and to make them aware of its usefulness in preparing programs. As was noted previously, influence and pressure are equally important with other elements of leadership in the highly organized structures of present day society, and, as Dexter goes on to say, "This suggests that the apprentice innovator should learn not to come forth with proposals until he has undertaken an analysis of the situation and prepared a plan of campaign."[37]

PURPOSES OF THE STUDY

This study is concerned primarily with what constitutes influence in a specific setting and with its relationship to the authority patterns of office holders. Included is an analysis of the structure of the networks of relations between leaders, or as Parsons phrases it ". . . the structure

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[37]Lewis A. Dexter, op.cit.

of an actor's relations to social objects in order to
identify the points of reference. . ."[38] In addition,
Parsons has said,

> A social system is a system of processes of interaction
> between actors, it is the structure of the relations
> between the actors as involved in the interactive pro-
> cess which is essentially the structure of the social
> system. The system is essentially a network of such
> interactive relationships.[39]

The relationships that exist in the special cases of
persons holding intercommunity leadership positions and
those named as important influentials at this level are
considered in this work in order to show how they are fused
together in the overall network of organizational offices
and informal relations. These include some professional
leaders in rural organizations as well as other rural people.

The specific purposes of this study are as follows:

1. To analyze formal leadership patterns at the inter-
community or county level including the interlocking patterns
of formal leadership and participation.

2. To study the patterns of the informal networks of
social relations in the inter-community social system. This
will involve the analysis of selected informal inter-relations

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[38]T. Parsons, op.cit., p.59.

[39]Ibid., p.25.

of the respondents in the sample and those named as the important influentials, as well as to determine the structure of the interpersonal resources that exist for the important influentials.

3. To consider the inter-relations between formal leadership and influence by studying the structure of formal positions and interpersonal resources in order to understand how this configuration forms the power structure of rural organizations of the county or inter-community setting.

HYPOTHESES

The following hypotheses are presented as guides for the research and may be proved or disproved by the results. They pertain to the three areas indicated by the objectives of the study.

Hypotheses:

A. Formal Leadership and Organizations

1. County rural leaders have a pattern of active participation in formal leader roles through which they legitimize their leadership rather than remaining out of organized activities.

2. Leadership positions in rural organizations will be found to have a high degree of overlapping of individual

leaders: a relatively small number of persons will hold a large number of positions.

3. The more important positions are held by those holding more than one position, which tends to cluster the authority roles.

4. In relation to formal positions of leadership, those leaders having the greatest number of local organizational positions will have the least number of offices in groups which include people of an area larger than the county, and the reverse will be true of those with outside positions.

B. Influential Relations

1. Interpersonal resources of influentials will include a variety of factors which form patterns and networks of intimate personal and informal relationships.

2. There will be a positive association between influence level and number of interpersonal resources.

3. The degree of acquaintance with other leaders will be positively associated with the degree to which the leaders are recognized as being influential.

4. The interaction rate of important influentials based upon those worked with, those they talk things over with, and the number they spend an hour or more a month with, will be greater than for other county leaders.

5. Leaders recognized as top influentials will also be those named as channels of influence and will be those whom it is important to have in agreement with a proposal before a decision is made on a course of action.

6. Obligation patterns in county leadership are positively associated with the degree of influence of the leaders.

C. Formal Leadership Positions and Informal or Influential Relations

1. Leadership positions in rural organizations serve as a means to legitimize the power of the rural influentials as shown by the interlocking of the leadership positions and the degree to which influentials are also office holders. MacIver believes that power alone has no legitimacy: "Even the. . . tyrant gets nowhere unless he can clothe himself with authority."[40]

2. Interlocking leadership patterns in rural social organizations show that groups choose leaders because of their affiliation with certain other groups.

3. Important influentials will have well defined channels of influence into other key groups in the county, either through membership or through other individuals who

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[40]R. M. MacIver, op.cit., p.83.

belong and with whom they have a high level of interpersonal resources.

4. Organizational affiliation and activity is an accurate key to indicating influence in the county as shown by the sociometric choices of county leaders.

SCOPE

This study developed from a general interest in the process of action and decision making in the particular area of rural organizations with volunteer leadership. At the outset, it was intended to approach the general area of decision making in volunteer associations. Because of the extent of this general approach, however, it became necessary to trim the study to a more limited and manageable part of this process which could be investigated with the available personnel, budget and time.

It also became apparent at an early stage that little or no information was available on the elements that were basic to decision making. It was therefore finally determined to concentrate on the limited area included in the objectives of the study; namely, some of the phenomena related to informal influence and how they relate to voluntary leadership in inter-community rural organizations. This study has been designed as pilot work or as part of a

larger study of rural leadership phenomena and is exploratory
and intensive rather than extensive in nature.

In Ohio, the county is of major importance as a unit
for social organization in a majority of the affairs of
rural agencies. The Farm Bureau, the Grange, government
agencies such as the Production and Marketing Administra-
tion, Agricultural Extension, as well as cooperatives, youth
groups, women's groups, and production organizations all,
at least to some extent, recognize the county as a func-
tional territorial unit in their programs. For this reason
attention was given to leaders of inter-community or county
level interest and importance. The investigation pertained
to all people in offices of county-wide organizations that
dealt predominantly with the interests of farm people and
were non-political as well as had voluntary unpaid leader-
ship in important positions of policy making or direction.
This did not preclude the professional leaders involved in
these organizations nor did it eliminate federal and state
government agencies serving farm people, agencies that are
not involved in political functions in the county and that
had voluntary unpaid leadership.[41]

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[41]Not included were three persons hired on or near
July 1, 1952, in professional positions and not
acquainted in the county. Also, city representatives
on the Hospital and Rural Health Boards.

The organizations thus described included ninety-one individuals who were listed as holding official positions as of July 1, 1952. These were taken from the mailing list of rural organizations in the County Agricultural Extension Office. The organizations are:

1. The County Farm Bureau Federation Board

2. The County Farm Bureau Cooperative Board

3. The Lamb and Fleece Improvement Association

4. Production and Marketing Association

5. The Livestock League

6. The Swine Improvement Committee

7. The Producers' Livestock Cooperative Association

8. The Dairy Service Unit

9. The Egg Marketing Association

10. Farmers Home Administration

11. Production Credit Association

12. Soil Conservation District

13. The Hospital Board (rural representatives)

14. County Rural Health Council (rural members)

15. The County 4-H Club Executive Committee

16. Agricultural Extension Advisory Committee

17. County Council of Home Demonstration Clubs

18. County Rural Council

19. The Pomona and County Grange

METHODOLOGY

Certain choices were necessarily made by the investigator as to the scope, locale, and method to be used in the study.

Choosing the County

It was found that a number of criteria were characteristic of a large number of the important agricultural counties in Ohio. The criteria for the county decided upon was that it have a small city as its main center, a majority of rural population, from 25 to 35,000 population, and several active rural organizations of importance in county activities. Clinton County, Ohio, although not the only county so constituted, met these requirements and was also within a reasonable distance for travel.

In addition, this county was promising for two other reasons. First, the people of the county had conducted a health survey with almost complete enumeration so that it was felt that this would help in the general attitude toward research for those to be interviewed. Second, there was an organized rural forum and fact finding organization, referred to here as "the Rural Council," which held regular meetings dealing with rural community problems.

Phases of Field Work

The research method used for the overall project involved three general phases. The first phase included using a participant observer role in rural organization activities. This was accompanied by interviews directed toward a case study of the development of the county rural council. The observer role allowed the researcher to watch the rural community in action first hand and to better understand the organizational structure of the county, in preparation for the second phase.[42] In addition, it served to legitimize the researcher's role in the community for the second phase of the field work and to establish through direct contact excellent rapport with almost all of the persons subsequently interviewed.

With respect to the good rapport established, the co-operation of the agricultural extension personnel of the county made possible the researcher's acceptance into every rural agency and organization meeting that occurred during his stay in the county. Scrupulous observance of the role of listener was followed and no discussion of behavior or

[42]John B. Holland, The Utility of Social Anthropology As An Adjunct of a Social Survey, a paper read before the Michigan Academy of Sciences, 1951.

Margaret Mead, "More Comprehensive Field Method", American Anthropologist, Vol. 35, P. 1 (Jan.- Mar., 1933), and an unpublished paper by Nelson Foote, of University of Chicago.

activities in these meetings was done outside. This pattern of behavior raised no noticeable problems and discussion was not curtailed among those at the meetings even on highly confidential matters involving entry into new business ventures by a farmers' cooperative to delicate matters pertaining to removal of some persons from leadership positions.

The second phase, which deals with the data included in this work, was carried out by means of interviews, with a sample of the leaders of the county using a schedule.[43] This was one of the two central study phases directed at the investigation of leader relations.

The schedule was made up of both "open-ended" and "choice" questions. These questions were aimed at fulfilling the requirements set forth by the guiding hypotheses. The schedule was comprehensive in nature and required two and one half to four hours to administer. The length of time required for this type of interviewing necessitated a limitation on the number that could be interviewed in the available time.

It was necessary to make appointments for interviews and these had to be fitted into the work schedules of the farm people during the busy summer months. Therefore, in

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[43]See Appendix for schedule.

order to get a representative cross section of the leader-
ship, a sample of names was drawn from the list of ninety-
one leaders holding county-wide offices. This sample was
drawn by use of a table of random numbers.[44] Forty-one
interviews from the sample were completed.

In relation to the analysis based on the sample popu-
lation, it must be expressly noted that the number included
was not large and therefore generalizations drawn from this
procedure are only tentative. As previously stated, the
problem attacked was a pilot study designed to show the way
for work of a wider scope and coverage. The sample, however,
may be considered as representative of the group from which
it was drawn and included 45 per cent of the total of
ninety-one leaders.

The final phase of the field work included interviewing
all those who were named six or more times as "important
influentials" by the sample population. The regular
schedule was completed for the remainder, In addition, a
complete analysis of the interpersonal relationships be-
tween all of the top twenty-one influentials was recorded.
This data forms a second core of the study.

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[44]G. W. Snedecor, Statistical Methods, The Iowa State
College Press, Ames, Iowa, 1946, pp.9-13.

The cutting point at six or more votes for the important influentials is an arbitrary one based on the judgment of the investigator as to a safe minimum. It allows for a range of six to thirty choices among the top influentials so that some examination may be made of this group.

A problem of time in completing this phase must be noted. The completion of the last phase of the field work necessarily followed the sample interviews. The actual time between these phases was nearly two years. Although this is not desirable, it was not as serious as it at first appeared since the persons were already known, many had already been interviewed, and the patterns of relationships had proved to be very stable. The major affect of this time lag was in relation to two persons who would have been included in the group of important influentials. One of these died and the other moved out of the county during the interim between interviews, which limited the number to twenty-one. This unfortunate time lag in the following work was unavoidable because of the need for completing part of the sample analysis before the final phase of the field work could be done and because of the requirements of other duties upon the researcher. But because the work appeared crucial to the study, it was included regardless of the time problem.

In summary, data for two populations are dealt with: first, data from a sample of forty-one people taken from the ninety-one officers in countywide rural voluntary organizations; second, data from twenty-one persons named by the forty-one leaders as the most important influential rural persons. A detailed description of the method used in determining these top influentials will be presented in Chapter IV. Several of the respondents in the sample were also named among the top twenty-one. A third source of data was derived from extensive reconnaissance and observation.

Schedule Development

The schedule used in interviewing the sample population and the twenty-one top influentials was developed through several means. Questions were evolved from the objectives and hypotheses. These were discussed with other staff members and then ordered into a tentative schedule. This was pretested on several rural leaders in a different county than the one chosen for the research. Following this pretest, it was revised and tried out in a few interviews with leaders in the county to be studied. Following further revisions, the schedule was mimeographed and the interviews began. All phases of this work were carried out by the writer.

The schedule contained four major sections with sub sections as follows:

Part I
    General Information:
        Personal and background data of respondents

Part II
    Formal organizational affiliation, participation and leadership

Part III
    Farm and Home Data
        Level of living scale and farm information

Part IV
    Resource Relationships and Leadership Data
        A. Checklist of leaders - four factors
        B. Ten most important influentials
        C. Personal channels of influence in certain case groups
        D. Important groups
        E. Legitimizing individuals or key leaders
        F. Interpersonal resources items
        G. Reciprocal obligations

The interviews were carried out at the homes of the respondents with the exception of those few persons employed by non-farm rural agencies. Interviews with these persons were taken at their offices; they required two and one-half to four hours. One of the problems related to this type of interviewing was the intimate nature of the questions. This required extreme care in legitimizing the interviewer with each respondent as well as a careful approach to almost every question. This was a factor of great importance in limiting the extensiveness of the study.

Statistical Analysis

All people dealt with in this study were rural leaders.
Those chosen by the sample the most times as the most im-
portant influentials are considered as being a complete
unit. Since they are considered as being the top group of
leaders, findings of the sample will be validated by cross
checking with trends for the top twenty-one leaders.
Where important differences exist between two groups
statistical tests will be used to validate the differences
to determine whether they could have occurred by chance.
The level of probability will be indicated in connection
with the tests.

Correction for small sample errors will be used in all
tests. However, the size of the sample must be considered
as important in the conclusions.

The Chi square test is used wherever it is applicable
on the basis of its independence from the requirements of
a normal distribution.[44]

However, some "t" tests are used on averages and per-
centages although it must be recognized that there is
higher risk due to the normative question in relation to

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[44]Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Analysis, Rinehart and
    Co., Inc., N. Y., 1946, pp.243-245. Discusses
    methods for use of chi square in testing a priori
    hypotheses and testing percentages on an assumed
    hypotheses.

the size of the sample. It is felt that these may be con-
sidered as tentative but that they offer security sufficient
for analysis.[45]

Linear correlation is also used on some problems.[46]
These correlations are considered useful if they meet
probability standards at the five per cent level or less.
(P less than .05)

Where the term "significant" is used in relation to
statistical analysis it means that the probability standards
are met at the five per cent level or less.

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[45]F. E. Croxton and D. J. Cowden, Applied General
Statistics, Prentice-Hall, Inc., N. Y., P.322. Use
of "t" test between two unequal and small sized N's.

[46]A. L. Edwards, op.cit., p.91.

Figure I Clinton County, Ohio With Townships,
City and Villages

CHAPTER II

THE COUNTY RURAL SETTING AND THE CHARACTERISTICS
OF THE PEOPLE OF THE STUDY

The Geographical and Physical Setting

Clinton County is situated in the southwestern part of the state on the main traveled route between Cincinnati in the southwest corner of the state, and Columbus, which is near the center. It is separated by two counties on the west from the Ohio-Indiana border and by one county on the south from the Ohio River. It includes 417 square miles. A large part of the county is a relatively level and fertile plain. Areas along the several streams are hilly and broken. There are no large streams or waterways that run through the county, although one creek has been dammed to form a small lake and recreation area.

Because the county is in the glacial limestone area of the state, the soils of the county are largely productive and good quality silt loams. When placed on a ten point scale of 1 to 10 for highest to lowest productivity rating, the majority of the soils in Clinton County are in the 3 to 5 ratings with some of the number 1 classification.[1]

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[1]G. W. Conrey; A. H. Paschall, and E. M. Burrage, A Key to the Soils of Ohio, Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Special Circular No. 78, Wooster, Ohio, 1948.

Historical Setting

The county was organized in 1810. Wilmington, the county seat, was founded on donated land and is located near the center of the county. It has become the urban center for county activities and is the only city. Wilmington had 7,387 people in 1950. There were two villages with over 1,000 population, Blanchester in the southwest corner with 2,100 and Sabina on the east with 1,696. Five other smaller villages of over 300 are dispersed over the county.

The early settlers in Clinton County came largely from the eastern Atlantic and southern states of North and South Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and Jew Jersey. Most of them, however, came either directly or indirectly from Virginia and the Carolinas.[2] The area included in the county was a part of the Virginia Military Survey. Grants of land were made to Revolutionary War veterans from Virginia. These grants were then either taken up or sold by the veterans or their descendants. Traces of southern culture are still apparent in the region.

Important northern migrations included a strong contingent of Quakers. The Friends Churches are numerous and strong in the county. Wilmington College, a Friends Church College, is located at Wilmington. It was established in 1870.

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[2]A. J. Brown, _History of Clinton County_, Indianapolis,1915.

The Population Setting

Clinton County's population increased at a moderate rate, from 22,574 in 1940, to 25,572 in 1950, a 13.3 per cent increase for the decade.[3] The excess of births over deaths for the decade was 1,812. The net increase through migration was 1,186, or 5.3% of the 1940 population. Of these migrants the greater part were urban; they accounted for 1,036 of the total. This growth was largely in the county seat city. The net rural growth by migration on the other hand, amounted to only 150 persons for the decade.

In addition to its stability of growth Clinton County ranked twenty-sixth in the 88 counties of the state in per cent of its population that was rural farm, thirty-second in per cent of rural non-farm, and sixty-third in per cent of the county population that was urban.[4] In 1950 rural farm people numbered 8,103 for the county,[5] which was 31.7 per cent of the total population. The proportion of urban was 28.9 per cent and rural non-farm was 39.4 per cent. As might be expected the largest single occupational group

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[3]W. H. Andrews, and Emily M. Westerkamm, Rural-Urban Population Change and Migration in Ohio, 1940-1950, Research Bulletin 737, Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station.

[4]W. H. Andrews and L. H. Snow, Comparative Population, Agricultural and Industrial Data For Ohio Counties, 1940-50, Mimeo. Bul. A.D. 248, Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station.

[5]U. S. Census of the Population, 1950, Bulletin P-B,35, . p.188.

was farmers and farm managers, who numbered 1,600 in 1950.
The farm population is characterized by being almost all
white; only 55 rural farm negro people were reported in
1950, whereas there were 641 negros reported in the county
as a whole.

As to the number of men per 100 women in the ages 20
to 24 inclusive, the sex ratio for the county was 102.5
in 1950, showing a slight surplus of males. This is 19th
in rank for all counties. For the rural farm population
the sex ratio for the age group was 131.7, which places
Clinton County 9th in the state. For the county as a
whole, in the older ages of 65 and over the sex ratio is
91.3, which is 59th in rank in the state. But for the farm
population, the sex ratio at this age level is 125.2 and
the county ranks in 50th place.[6]

Moving from the sex ratio to the distribution by age
groups we find thirty per cent of the rural farm population
was under 15 years of age at the last census, and whereas
27.2 per cent of the total county, 22.4 per cent of the
urban, and 28.2 per cent of the rural non-farm population
were in this age group. The most productive age group is
15 to 64 years of age: 64.2 per cent of the urban, 57.7
per cent of the rural non-farm, and 60 per cent of the rural

[6]W. H. Andrews and L. H. Snow, op.cit.

farm were in this group. For these 65 and over we find 13.4 per cent of the urban people, 14.1 per cent rural non-farm, and 9.9 per cent of the rural farm population were included. Thus the farm population of the county tends to have a larger proportion of children and smaller proportion of older people than the urban and rural non-farm.

In regard to educational standing, in 1950 the rural farm people twenty-five years of age and over had a median of 9.0 years of school completed. The median for the state was 8.8 for rural farm people. Clinton County thus ranked 19th. For all people in the county, however, the median was 9.2 while for the total state population the median was 9.9½. This placed Clinton forty-eighth among the eighty-eight counties.

The Agricultural Setting

Clinton County farms are productive, and agriculture is the major enterprise in the county. In 1950 only about 20 per cent of the farm people in the county worked one hundred or more days off the farm, which is relatively low for the state (sixty-ninth). This illustrates that farming is considered a full time job for most farmers.

The average value of farm products sold per farm was $6,538.00, which made Clinton the fourth ranked county in 1950. Nearly eighty-two per cent of the farms in the county were classified as commercial farms by the census; that is, they had sales of products amounting to $1,200.00 or more.

The major enterprise in the county is the production of hogs. For the year 1950 this accounted for 57 per cent of the gross income from sales of farm products in the county. Dairying followed with 12 per cent, wheat 9 per cent, corn 6 per cent, cattle 6 per cent, poultry 5 per cent and all others 5 per cent. With minor variations this is a typical year. Since almost all of the feed for the livestock is produced on the same farm, the largest grain crop is corn. Corn is fed to hogs, poultry and cattle. The extensive use of corn for feed, however, does not show it as a major cash crop.

Clinton County has only 17.1 per cent of its employed people engaged in manufacturing ranking 71st in the 88 counties.

As to income, 1.2 per cent of the families, both urban and rural, have an income of over $10,000.00 ranking fifty-third in the state and 48.8 per cent of the families, both urban and rural reported an income of less than $2,000.00 in 1950. On this the county ranked seventeenth.[7]

Farm people in Clinton County had a level of living index score of 161 for 1950 and ranked 24th among the 88 counties. The state average was 148 showing a relatively favorable living standard for Clinton County.[8]

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[7]Loc. cit.

[8]Loc. cit.

On an index of mechanization the county ranked sixty-
eight with a score of 84.[9]

As to urbanization the index score was 78 for 1950 and
68 for 1940. This showed a relatively small change in this
regard demonstrating the general stability of the county in
population change.

Clinton County ranked twelfth in the state on average
value of farm land and buildings with an average of $21,702.00
per farm.[10] The state average value was $14,575.00

Clinton County had a relatively high number of farmers
that were classified by the U. S. Census as tenants. They
were 32.5 per cent of the farm operators so classified rank-
ing this county in sixth place. The number of farm operators
classified as farm managers was very low, however, with only
5 being reported in the county at the 1950 census. Thus the
family farm pattern was strongly characteristic of farm oper-
ations in the county.

The Industrial Setting

In 1950 71.7 per cent of the employed persons in the
county worked in occupations other than agriculture. This

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[9]The data on the mechanization and urbanization index
    is from unpublished state reports prepared by W. H.
    Andrews and L. H. Snow.

[10]W. H. Andrews and L. H. Snow, op.cit.

is lower than the state average, which was ninety-two per cent. Clinton County ranked sixty-second among the counties of the state in this respect.

Seventeen per cent of the total employed in the county were engaged in manufacturing, placing it in the seventy-first rank position. But retail trade volume per capita was $1,018.11 with a rank of sixth in 1950.

In sum we find that the county is strongly influenced by the agricultural industry which is the largest single occupation. A relatively large part of the population is rural farm. Agriculture is relatively prosperous and relatively specialized both being related to the physical land base and locale of the area.

Farming is largely family oriented and farm incomes are neither very high nor very low for the majority of the farm operators.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

Two types of people with some overlapping in their numbers are dealt with in this work. These include (1) the sample of rural leaders, and (2) those named as important influentials most frequently by the sample.

A description of the sample population will reveal the characteristics of a cross section of the leaders of rural organizations in Clinton County.

THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Demographic Factors

Forty-one persons were drawn in the sample. The large majority (83%) were men. These people, both men and women, represent the essential backbone of much of the area's rural society. They have generally had their roots down in the county for a long period. They were people that had been firmly attached to the county by birth or long residence. Fifty per cent were born there and the average length of residence for all was 34.4 years. Only four persons in the sample had resided in the county less than ten years. Of these, two were women and two were professional leaders, hired by rural gencies. All of the women in the sample were born outside of the county and came to the county as young adults to make their homes. The men were predominantly native to the area, twenty born in and fourteen born outside of the county.

TABLE 1.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE: DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS*

	No.	
Sex:		
Per cent males.	34	82.9%
Age:		
Mean age.		45.9 yrs.
Place of Birth:		
Per cent born within county	21	48.8%
Length of Residence:		
Mean years lived in county.		34.4 yrs.
Primary Occupation of Family Head:		
Per cent farming.	32	78.0%
Secondary Occupation of Family Head:		
Per cent farming.	2	4.9%
Residence:		
Per cent farm.	33	80.5%
Marital Status:		
Married.	39	95.1%
Family Size:		
Mean no. of children.		2.41 chldn.
Mean no. of children at home.		1.43 chldn.
Education:		
Mean no. years completed, total		12.7 yrs.
Males.		12.4 yrs.
Females.		13.9 yrs.
Level of Living:		
Mean score		71.1 pts.

*For a discussion of the descriptive use of percentages of groups with fewer than 100 cases see Margaret J. Hagood and Daniel O. Price, Statistics for Sociologists, Revised Edition, p.74, footnote.

The age distribution of the leaders shows the model group was forty to forty-nine years of age. Only two persons in the sample were under thirty and the average age of the group was nearly forty-six years.

The people in the sample were largely farmers and farm homemakers, as might be expected. Nearly four fifths (32) of the family heads were primarily farmers. Two of the non-farmers had some farming activities and four others were in farm related occupations.

Fewer than might have been expected in the general population had a second non-farm occupation.[11] Only three farmers reported a secondary non-farm occupation.

Eighty per cent (33) of the sample reported a farm residence, two more were classified as rural non-farm and the seven remaining lived in the city or one of the villages.

Only two respondents were unmarried. None had been divorced or separated.

The average number of children per family was not high among these families (2.41). The relatively high average age and the small number of children at home tended to indicate

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[11]H. R. Moore and W. A. Wayt, "Where Are We Going In Part Time Farming?" Ohio Farm and Home Research, September-October, 1954 Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Wooster, Ohio. Upwards of 45 per cent of farmers in Ohio were engaged in non-farm work.

that the families were usually not in the early part of the family cycle.

These people, as a group, with an average of 12.7 years of school completed, were better educated than are most rural people in the county and state. Rural farm people in the county had a median of 9.9 years completed and for the state, 8.8.[12]

The level of living scores of the sample averaged 71.1 with a range from a low of twenty to the highest possible score of seventy-nine. The level of living can be considered as generally high among this group: 28 had scores of seventy or above and only 3 were below fifty.[13]

Agricultural Factors

The sample population were found to be well above average in the size of the farm operations they had. Their average was 249.6 acres while that for the county was 133.6 and

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[12]W. H. Andrews and L. H. Snow, op.cit., p.35.

[13]Howard R. Cottam, Methods of Measuring Level of Living, Social Participation and Adjustment of Ohio Farm People; Dept. of Rural Economics and Rural Sociology, Mimeographed Bulletin No. 139, Ohio State University, 1941, p.13. The scale developed by Mangus and Cottam, had a correlation of .93 with "Sewell's scale." The Mangus and Cottam scale was used because it had been standardized in Ohio where this research was done. The quartile range of scores on this scale standardized on rural farm people was below - 41 for the lower quartile and above 43 was the highest quartile. A score of "0" was considered the average including both mean and median.

the state 105. The range in size was from 66 to 780 acres. By no means all of the land was owned. There was an average of 143 acres owned and 106 rented, shared, or leased.

One fourth rented in some form all or nearly all of the land they farmed. The majority, however, owned a large part or all of their land.

One fourth of the respondents had some form of partnership in their farming business. All of these were with close relatives except one.

Main enterprises of these farmers paralleled those of the county with hogs ranking far out in front (54%) and dairying second (17%).

TABLE 2.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE: AGRICULTURAL FACTORS

Land Tenure: No.

    Mean no. of acres per farmer[*]. . . .   249.6 acres
    Mean no. of acres owned.   143   acres
    Mean no. rented or shared, etc.[**]. .   106   acres

    Per cent who rent or share:
        all or nearly all land. 10   25%
        part (2/3 or less). 5   12%
        none. 19   46%
    Per cent not farming 7   17%

Farm in Partnership:

    Per cent yes. 10   25%
    Per cent no 24   58%

Main Farm Enterprise of those farming:

    Hogs. 22   54%
    Dairy 7   17%
    Poultry 2   5%
    Corn. 1   2%
    Other 2   5%
    Not farming 7   17%

Tractors:

    Mean no. of tractors per farm . . . 34   2.23

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[*]For those whose primary occupation is farming.

[**]Includes all arrangements for using land other than that owned either individually or in partnership.

The average number of tractors per farm was 2.23 giving
a rough indication of a high degree of mechanization.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TOP LEADERS

Of the twenty-three persons named as the most important
influential rural people in the county by six or more people,
twenty-one were still available for interviews at the time of
the return to the county.[14] These twenty-one top leaders
were interviewed and are analyzed as a group.

Demographic Factors

Only one woman was named to this group. Her husband
was also named. The average age of all of them was 50.4
years. Approximately half were born in the county but the
average length of residence there was over thirty-nine years.

Professional leaders showed a distinct difference in
tenure from the other respondents. The group of top influ-
entials contained only three persons that had resided in the
county less than twenty years and all three were professional
workers in farm agencies that had been there from one to
seven years.

Eighty-one per cent of this limited group of twenty-one
were farmers. One who was not primarily a farmer reported a
secondary occupation of farming. Three were non-farm.

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[14]One of the top twenty-three had died while the other
one had moved out of the county.

TABLE 3,

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TOP LEADERS: DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Sex: No.
    Per cent males. 20   95%

Age:
    Mean age. . . . .   50.4 yrs.

Place of Birth:
    Per cent born within county 11   52%

Length of Residence:
    Mean years lived in county. . . . . .   39.2 yrs.

Primary Occupation of Family Head:
    Per cent farming. 17   81.0%

Secondary Occupation of Family Head:
    Per cent farming. 1   5%

Residence:
    Per cent farm. 17   81.0%

Marital Status:
    Per cent married 21   100.0%

Family Size:
    Mean no. of children per family. . .   2.3 child.
    Mean no. of children at home. . . . .   1.1 child.

Education:
    Mean years completed total. . . . . .   13.3 yrs.

Level of Living:
    Mean score. . . . .   77.0 pts.

Place of residence was divided up in a similar way with eighty-one per cent living on farms.

All were married and the average number of children was 2.3 per family with 1.1 at home.

This group was well educated with 13.3 years as the mean number of years completed. The level of living was very high with an average score of 77 out of a possible 79.

Agricultural Factors

The top leaders farmed an average of 307 acres. They owned an average of 202 and rented, shared or leased 101 acres.

A few (14%) rented all or nearly all of their farm land. The largest part (43%) owned all their land with about a fourth owning a substantial part.

One third farmed in some type of partnership. The main enterprise was hogs with corn, dairy, and wheat also included.

Tractors averaged 2.3 per farm among this group.

The top twenty-one leaders were largely land owners although they procured a substantial part of their acreage by renting in some form. Partnerships were common here also with a high degree of mechanization on the largely hog producing farms.

TABLE 4.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TOP LEADERS: AGRICULTURAL FACTORS

Land Tenure: No.

Mean number of acres per farmer*		306.8 acres
Mean number of acres owned. . .		201.7 acres
Mean number of acres rented or shared, etc.		101.5 acres

Per cent who rent or share:
    all or nearly all 3   14.3%
    part (2/3 or less). 5   23.8%
    none 9   42.9%
Per cent not farming. 4   19.0%

Farming in Partnership:

    Per cent yes. 7   33.3%
    Per cent no 10   47.6%

Main Farm Enterprise of Those Farming:

    Hogs. 12   57.1%
    Dairy 1   4.8%
    Corn. 3   14.3%
    Wheat 1   4.8%
    Not farming 4   19.0%

Tractors:

    Mean number of tractors per farm   2.3

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*   For those whose primary occupation was farming.
** Includes all arrangements for using land other than
    that owned either individually or in partnership.

CHAPTER III

FORMAL LEADERSHIP PATTERNS

One of the major purposes of this study, as stated in the introductory chapter, was to analyze the formal leadership patterns of county leaders as they functioned in the offices of rural county organizations. Formal leadership roles are the offices or positions held by individual actors. As defined previously, the office gives the actor authority to act within the limits of a particular role.

The pattern of voluntary organizational relationships is one of the chief characteristics of American life. As Barber points out in concurring with de Tocqueville, "the voluntary association is peculiarly characteristic of American Social Structure."[1] This is true for rural as well as urban life. In modern American rural social organizations moreover, a combination of voluntary and professional leadership has grown up, a combination which is interwoven into one pattern.

The organizations to which the respondents belonged and in which they held offices covered a wide range of interests and activities including religious, fraternal and educational as well as commodity groups, occupational

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[1] Bernard Barber, "Participation and Mass Apathy in Associations," in A. W. Gouldner (ed.) Studies in Leadership, Harper & Bros., New York, 1950 p.479-481.

interest groups and government sponsored associations.

But before turning to the incidence of leadership, we need to have a picture of certain related elements in the situation. An analysis of positions (i.e. offices) held by the sample leaders and the top influentials is an essential step in the direction of understanding the pattern of organizational authority and influence.

Of the most important influential rural people, only one did not hold any office of any kind at the time of the interview, but this person had held many offices in previous years. Thus, persons holding positions in rural organizations seemed to be most likely to be named as important influentials.

With the exception of three professional leaders, the positions in the county were filled either by election or appointment and were voluntary: they were held by persons who could legally refuse to accept and were not required to serve by an employer as part of their regular job. Aside from the professionals, all leaders served without pay with the exception of three persons on the county Production and Marketing Committee. Although these committeemen were elected to their positions, they were paid for the time they worked. One of these, the chairman, was a farmer, but he put in almost full time at the P.M.A. office. The three professional leaders who held full-time positions in agencies

serving farm people were not farmers. They included the
Agricultural Extension agent, the manager of a large farmers
cooperative, and the soil conservationist.

DISTRIBUTION OF POSITIONS AMONG LEADERS

The respondents were asked to indicate what positions
they held in every conceivable organized association. The
many types of organizations mentioned by the respondents
included:

Churches and church groups	Cooperatives
Service clubs	Government agencies
Fraternal organizations	Breeder's associations
Veterans and patriotic organizations	Agricultural extension groups
Youth groups	Special commodity groups and committees
Civic groups	Agricultural society
Women's groups	P.T.A. and teachers organizations'
Literary and study groups	Informal clique groups
Farm organizations	Businessmen's organizations

Notably absent from the list were political groups.

The sample population of rural leaders reported a total
of the one hundred forty-seven offices which they held or
had held in past years in "county wide" organizations of
various kinds. This was an average of 3.6 offices per person

(Table 5). There was an average of nearly two positions (1.9) per person at the time of the interview and a slightly smaller average number (1.7) for previous years.[2] This evidence points to a tendency for more recent activity in county level leadership for the sample rather than to a sustained long term pattern of leadership.

TABLE 5

AVERAGE NUMBER OF LEADERSHIP POSITIONS HELD
BY THE SAMPLE POPULATION AT THE TIME
OF THE INTERVIEW AND FOR PREVIOUS
YEARS BY COUNTY WIDE POSITIONS
AND ALL POSITIONS HELD

Sample Population	Average Number of Positions		
	Present Average	Past Average	Total Average
County level positions	1.9	1.7	3.6
All positions	4.2	5.1	9.3

A further survey of the rate of activity in leader roles of the sample shows that 9.3 positions per person was the average for all positions reported at all locality levels,

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[2]Any office which was held at the time of the interview was recorded as being held at the "present" time. All offices were counted only once even though they had been held over several years. This tended to accentuate the numbers reported at the time of the interview.

including the local community, the county and those in groups broader than the county. This divided into 4.2 per person at the time of the study and 5.1 for previous years.

An examination of the sample group in relation to the top twenty-one most important influentials reveals certain differences between the two groups. The top influentials averaged 5.2 county level positions per person for both past years and for the present year (i.e., the year of the interviews). At the time of the interviews they held about two positions each (1.9), and for previous years the average was 3.3 for each leader. This evidence indicates that these people had a long history of activity in county level positions.

TABLE 6

AVERAGE NUMBER OF LEADERSHIP POSITIONS HELD
BY THE TWENTY-ONE MOST INFLUENTIAL LEADERS
AT THE TIME OF THE INTERVIEW AND
FOR PREVIOUS YEARS

Top Twenty-one Influentials	Average Number of Positions		
	Present Average	Past Average	Total Average
County Level Positions	1.9	3.3	5.2
All Positions	4.7	7.5	12.2

The average was 12.2 offices per person for all positions held at all locality levels. There were 4.7 offices

reported at the time of the interview and 7.5 for previous years. This group again demonstrated a high rate of activity in all phases of organization leadership over a long period.

In examining the sample and the top twenty-one leaders some significant differences appear. In offices at the county level for both past and present the sample had an average of 3.6 positions per person whereas the top influential leaders held 5.2. For all positions past and present the difference again was significant, 9.3 for the sample and 12.2 for the top influentials.

TABLE 7

AVERAGE NUMBER OF POSITIONS FOR THE SAMPLE POPULATION
AND THE TWENTY-ONE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENTIALS
INCLUDING PRESENT AND PAST OFFICES

Positions	Sample Population	Average Number of Offices			
		Top Influentials	t*	P	df
County Level	3.6	5.2	2.75	.02	60
All positions	9.3	12.2	2.12	.05	60

*F. E. Croxton and D. J. Cowdon, op.cit. Use of "t" between two unequal and small sized N's p.330.

The extent to which these people, particularly those named as important influentials, were involved in leadership positions, supports the proposition (Hypothesis A-1) that

"county rural leaders have a pattern of active participation
in formal leaders' roles through which they legitimize their
leadership rather than remaining out of organized activities."
Not only does the sample population give strong evidence of
this through the multiple number of positions reported, but
the hypothesis is supported still further by the significant-
ly higher number of positions held by the top influentials.
Other persons in the social system under study apparently
either require office-holding, or recognize and accept office
holding as a means of legitimation of influence. In addition
to the fact that the degree of influence was related to the
number of offices held two other dimensions were also impor-
tant. First, the top influentials had held significantly
more offices through time at all locality levels, and second,
the top leaders had more past positions. Service in offices
of the community over a period of years appeared to be a
factor in the development of influence.

Hunter's findings in an urban study contrast strongly
with the results found here. In discussing the office-hold-
ing patterns of top influentials in Regional City, he said,
"Some of the top leaders may hold board positions within
the associational groupings to lend prestige to the organi-
zation, but such members are more noted for their absence
than for their attendance at meetings of the respective
boards." And again he said, "Occasionally, a top leader will

take the presidency of one of the associations, but such position is usually unsought and avoided if possible - particularly by the older leaders."[3]

MULTIPLE OR OVERLAPPING LEADERSHIP PATTERNS

The data already discussed also points to a pattern which shows a concentration of leadership positions among the county level leaders. At the time of the interview there was an average of nearly two positions per person for the inter-community level offices. In order to reveal more about this picture of overlapping leadership the data was analyzed by ranking the sample respondents from the highest to lowest according to the number of offices held by each one. This ranked distribution was divided into quartiles

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF OFFICES HELD BY SAMPLE LEADERS BY RANKED QUARTILE DIVISIONS AND ACCORDING TO LOCALITY LEVEL AT THE TIME OF THE INTERVIEW

| Locality Level | Number of Offices by Quartiles | | | | | | | | X^2 | P | df |
	1st No.	Av.	2nd No.	Av.	3rd No.	Av.	4th No.	Av.			
County	36	3.6	21	2.1	12	1.2	9	.8	22.61	.01	3
Local	37	3.7	20	2.0	15	1.5	6	.5	26.11	.01	3
Supra-County	15	1.5	3	.3	0	.0	0	.0	18.0*	.01	1

* Chi square for supra-county level offices was calculated by combining the quartiles into halves. For method and rationale see footnote 4, page 61.

[3]Floyd Hunter, op.cit., pp.84-85.

and the number of offices falling into each quartile at the
three levels are shown in Table 8.[4] As the table shows,
offices are not distributed equally among the sample; rather,
certain individuals have a significantly higher number of
positions than others. For example, in examining the county
level offices for the sample there was an average of 3.6
offices per person in the first quartile and only .8 per
person in the fourth.[5] However, three

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[4]The method and rationale of the test of signifiaance
of Tables 8, 9, 10, and 11 are as follows. Purpose:
to determine whether or not a relatively small pro-
portion of the individuals hold a relatively large
proportion of the offices. Method: This requires a
statistical test in which the observed distribution
is compared with a hypothetical distribution. Since
the objective is to determine whether or not the ob-
served distribution is compared with a hypothetical
distribution. Since the objective is to determine
whether or not the observed distribution is charac-
terized by the phenomenon of differential multiple
office holding, it is necessary to compare the ob-
served distribution with a hypothetical expected
distribution of positions. The observed distribu-
tion was set up by ranking the individuals in terms
of the number of offices per person and dividing
this ranked distribution into quartiles. The ex-
pected distribution divided the offices equally among
the quartiles, thus, any difference large enough to
be significant would show a pattern of differential
office holding. The chi square technique was used
to test whether or not the difference between the ex-
pected and observed distribution was significant.
Discussion of this method is found in A. L. Edwards,
Statistical Analysis, N. Y., Rinehart & Co., 1946,
p.241-244, testing a 50:50 hypothesis, and testing
any a priori hypothesis.

[5]Two persons in the sample reported not holding any
positions at the county level at the time of the
interview. Since the sample was drawn from a list
of officers in county level organizations it should
be explained that most of these groups had annual
elections and that these occurred at various times

of the quartiles averaged more than one office per person.
A similar pattern of concentration of leadership positions
is found for the top influentials (see Table 9).

There was also a significant variation between leaders
on the number of local and supra-county offices held. Local
offices reported tended to be clustered around some leaders
more than others in the same way as at the county level.

TABLE 9

NUMBER OF OFFICES HELD BY THE TOP TWENTY-ONE INFLUENTIALS
BY RANKED QUARTILE DIVISIONS AND ACCORDING TO
LOCALITY GROUPS AT THE TIME
OF THE INTERVIEW

	Number of Offices by Quartiles						
Locality Level	1st No. Av.	2nd No. Av.	3rd No. Av.	4th No. Av.	X^2	P	df
County	18 3.6	10 2.0	7 1.4	4 .66	11.16	.02	3
Local	17 3.4	10 2.0	8 1.6	3 .5	10.64	.02	3
Supra-county	16 3.2	5 1.0	0 .0	0 .0	21.0*	.01	1

*X^2 for this category was calculated by combining the quar-
tiles into halves. For method and rationale of the test
used see footnote 4, page 60 of this chapter.

[5](continued) during the year according to the groups own
pattern. Thus, it was possible for some names to have
appeared on the list of officers at the time the list
was made up for this study only to find by the time
of the interview that they were not presently hold-
ing an office at this level. That only two persons
were found to be out of county level offices by this
turnover gives some indication of the stability of
this leader group.

Although supra-county offices were few in number and followed a generally similar pattern, they were all held by those in the two highest quartiles. In addition, it is noteworthy that the top influentials had a much higher average number of these offices. More will be said in the next section as to the holding of top leadership positions in county organization by important influentials.

It is clear, therefore, that the large majority of offices in each level are held by those with a multiple number of offices, which substantiates hypothesis A-2: "leadership positions in rural organizations will be found to have a high degree of overlapping of individual leaders; a relatively small number of persons will hold a large number of positions." Since organized groups are means for the legitimation of decisions, some individual leaders have access to and authority in several groups. This indicates a concentration of social power among a somewhat limited number of people.

Multiple Leadership Patterns Through Time[6]

Although at the time of the interview there was an average of about two county level offices per person for

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[6]The problem of memory recall undoubtedly affected these data even though the respondents were allowed considerable deliberation. Failure to recall would logically seem to affect those with a longer history of activity more than those that had been engaged in leadership behavior for a shorter period. The top

both the sample and the twenty-one top leaders, (Tables 5
and 6), the histories of office holding have revealed
important differences between the two groups as shown pre-
viously in the data of Tables 5 and 6. That is to say that
the significantly different averages between the sample pop-
ulation and the top leaders for all offices reported is
based on the difference between these groups in the number
of offices held in years prior to the interview.(Table 7)
The group of top leaders have not only had many offices,
but records of some of the groups that were available
showed them to have held many of them over a long period
of years. In some instances, where a specific office was
not held over a period of years, there was some tendency
to move from one office to another within one organization.
Figure II also illustrates that most of the top leaders
held offices in several groups. They moved from one organ-
ization to another, although this movement was often some-
what circular, i.e., some returned to a group in either a
similar or different position after a period of inactivity.[7]

6(continued)twenty-one leaders were both older and had
a longer history of activity than did the sample as
a whole. However, the differences in activities re-
ported were still significantly different between the
two groups (Table 7). Therefore, any errors are
actually on the conservative side.

[7]The length of time that a leader has held an office is
not shown in Figure II. If he was holding it at the
time of the interview, it was considered present.
Also, not shown was the number of different offices
or number of times the individual may have returned
to office after periods of being out of office.

Figure II also illustrates for the top influentials the multiple and interlocking aspects of leadership as well as the pattern of holding office in one organization and then another. Furthermore it shows a time dimension in the past and present offices held. For the groups in Figure II, 3 is the model number of the listed organizations in which each leader held or had held an office at the time of, or prior to, the interview. The second highest model group was 4. These distributions illustrate the general pattern of multiple offices for both present and past for each individual. All but four persons are shown to have held at least two different offices. The starred "X" marks in the columns of the chart indicate those organizations in which the individual held an office at the time of the interview. The unstarred marks indicate those organizations in which offices were not held at the time of the interview but had been held at some time previously. Because this illustrates the pattern of office holding through time, it is possible to follow each one of the top influentials through the nineteen organizations shown and to see the organizations in which he is an officer and those in which he had been one previously. At the time of the interview the top influentials held eleven of the highest offices in the nineteen organizations.

The fact that top leaders have shifted from position to position as well as having served for several years in an

organization has maintained a stable pattern of leaders in
the rural organizations of the county. In a similar vein
but in a different form Floyd Hunter found that at the
policy-making level for different projects and activities
in Regional City civic affairs, the personnel involved re-
mained much the same on various project committees. He
found that although there was a distinct difference between
the policy level groups and the action committees for com-
munity projects, the membership of each level was neverthe-
less stable.

Association of Top Influentials in Organizations

It will be noted that office holding in some organiza-
tions was of greater general importance than in others.
Certain rural groups tended to be identified with broad
issues and policies of a countywide nature. These groups
were observed to be important in legitimizing decisions
dealing with rural people. Figure II illustrates a cluster-
ing pattern of the important offices in important rural
organizations around established influential persons. In
the same way, it illustrates the interlocking patterns of
leadership, by showing the different organizations in which
any one individual holds an important position. Also Figure
II the top influentials were almost all identified officially
at one time or another with one or more of three groups, the
County Farm Bureau Federation, the County Rural Council, and
the Farm Bureau Co-op Board.

21 Top Lead.	Farm Bur. Fed.	Rural Coun-cil	Farm Bur. Coop.	Agr. Ext. Coun.	Prod. Mkt. Assn.	Lamb & Fleece Assn.	Prod. Lvstk. Coop.	Co. 4-H Com.	Co. Swine Com.	Prod. Cred. Assn.
**1				X*						
2	X*	X*	X							
3	X			X*	X*		X*			
4	X	X*	X							
5	X					X			X*	
6		X*			X					X*
**7	X*		X*							
8	X*		X*							
9	X*						X			
10	X	X		X	X					
11	X	X*			X		X			
12	X*	X								
13	X	X	X		X					
14			X*							
15		X		X*		X*		X		
16			X*							
17	X*			X		X		X		
**18										
19	X		X*	X*						
20	X	X	X*			X		X	X	
21	X*					X				X
Total	14	9	9	6	4	4	3	3	2	2

* Present positions held, i.e., at the time of the interview.

** Professional leaders.

FIGURE II Distribution of All Policy Type, County Wide Positions Among Nineteen Selected Rural Organizations For the twenty-one Most Important Influential Persons for Both Past and Present

21 Top Lead.	Soil Cons. Dist.	Hlth. Coun-cil	Agr. Soc-iety	Co. Grange	Dairy Serv. Unit	Egg Mkt. Assn.	FHA	Hosp. Brd.	Home Dem. Com.	Total No. of Groups
**1										1**
2							X		X*	6
3			X*							4
4										5
5							X*			3
6		X*								3
**7										1**
8										2
9	X*									3
10							X			5
11										3
12		X								3
13										4
14										1
15										4
16				X						2
17					X					5
**18	X*									1**
19						X				4
20										6
21										2
Total	2	2	1	1	1	1	3	0	1	68

* Present positions held, i.e., at the time of the interview.
** Professional leaders.

FIGURE II (Cont.) Distribution of All Policy Type, County Wide Positions Among Nineteen Selected Rural Organizations For the Twenty-one Most Important Influential Persons for Both Past and Present.

Only the professional leaders numbers 1,7, and 18 had
not held voluntary offices in one or more of these three
organizations. One of the professionals, no. 7, the co-op
manager, was officially or semi-officially connected with
two of these groups, while no. 1, the extension agent,
made it a point to maintain fairly close informal relation-
ships with all of them. No. 18, the soil conservationist,
also kept some contact with individual leaders in these
groups. Thus, through the time dimension there is evidence
of a clustering and interlocking of the decision-making
positions around limited number of persons. In addition,
the decision makers are identified with certain major organ-
izations.

AUTHORITY ROLES

Types of Positions

If the offices are not distributed equally and a con-
centration of positions occurs among a limited number, it
would be valuable in a study of the elements of decision-
making to check further into the meaning of this overlapping
to determine whether a pattern exists in the variation of
types of positions that are held by those that hold more
than one. All positions were accordingly classified into
three general types and labeled "A", "B", and "C".

Type A positions included such titles as president,
vice-president, secretary and treasurer or equivalent
positions, as well as the professional positions. These

positions were considered as having important leadership, policy, and decision-making functions for the particular organization involved.

Type B positions were classified as board or executive committee members or equivalent offices. These positions were considered important to the organization at the policy and decision-making level.

Type C positions were lesser ones that were usually appointive ones, such as temporary committee chairman or member, sunday school teacher, or equivalent positions. These positions lacked decision-making and policy-making power but performed services related to the objectives of the organization.

The three types of positions were recorded according to the level to which they belonged, either local, county or supra-county. Determining the categories and assigning the leadership positions to them was done on an empirical basis from the researcher's experience as an observer in the county. Where the author was not familiar with organizations and offices reported, other persons were consulted. All judgments were discussed with co-workers or people in the county in order to eliminate all possible error.

Clustering of Authority Roles

It can be demonstrated that there is a t endency for a clustering of the more important county level positions

around those that hold large numbers of positions. In order to discover the patterns related to important offices, only types A and B offices were used in Tables 10 and 11; type C offices, as defined, were not of the important decision and policy-making type.

<div align="center">

TABLE 10

NUMBER OF TYPE A AND B OFFICES HELD
BY THE SAMPLE LEADERS RANKED
BY NUMBER OF OFFICES REPORTED
AND DIVIDED INTO QUARTILES
ACCORDING TO LOCALITY GROUPS

</div>

Present[**]

Number of Offices by Quartiles

Locality Level	1st No.	Av.	2nd No.	Av.	3rd No.	Av.	4th No.	Av.	x^2	P	df
County	30	3.0	20	2.0	11	1.1	9	.82	15.83	.01	3
Local	26	2.6	14	1.4	6	.6	0	.0	32.95	.01	3
Supra-county	10	1.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	10.0[*]	.01	1

Past[***]

County	28	2.8	20	2.0	7	.7	0	.0	34.67	.01	3
Local	52	5.2	22	2.2	13	1.3	3	.27	59.60	.01	3
Supra-county	5	.5	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	N too small to test		

[*]x^2 for this category was calculated by combining the quartiles into halves. For method and rationale see footnote 4, page 60.

[**] "Present" means-at the time of the interview, "past" means offices held in years preceeding but not continuously up to the time of the interview.

Significant differences were found in Table 10 between
the quartile groups of officers interviewed in the sample.
For offices at the county level, both present and past, the
differences in the number of positions held between quartile
groups demonstrate conclusively that the important policy
and decision-making offices are held in greater numbers by
some leaders than by others. They thus tend to be clustered
around some individuals more than around others. The
averages shown in the table also show this. In the first
quartile, there was an average of three offices per person
for the present and 2.8 reported for previous years. This
number diminished in the fourth quartile to .8 in the pres-
ent and .0 for the past. The local level showed a similar
pattern of clustering. At the supra-county level this
clustering was also apparent, although there were only a
relatively small number of persons holding positions at this
level.

When attention is turned to Table 11 and the top influ-
entials, the general trend of the previous table is repeated
but with certain variations. Particularly in reporting
present positions it was found that the number of offices
reported was not significantly different at the five per
cent level. This more even distribution of offices between
the quartiles is indicative of the general overall activity
of this top group.

TABLE 11

NUMBER OF A AND B TYPE OFFICES HELD BY THE
TOP INFLUENTIALS RANKED BY NUMBER
OF OFFICES REPORTED AND DIVIDED
INTO QUARTILES ACCORDING
TO LOCALITY GROUPS

Present

Number of Offices by Quartiles

Locality Level	1st No.	Av.	2nd No.	Av.	3rd No.	Av.	4th No.	Av.	X^2	P	df
County	12	2.4	10	2.0	5	1.0	4	.66	5.77	.14	3
Local	11	2.2	10	2.0	5	1.0	0	.0	11.85	.01	3
Supra-county	16	3.2	5	1.0	0	.0	0	.0	21.0*	.01	1

Past

Locality Level	1st No.	Av.	2nd No.	Av.	3rd No.	Av.	4th No.	Av.	X^2	P	df
County	28	5.6	19	3.8	8	1.6	3	.5	26.0	.01	3
Local	24	4.8	16	3.2	10	2.0	5	.83	14.6	.01	3
Supra-county	11	2.2	3	.6	0	.0	0	.0	14.0*	.01	1

*X^2 for this category was calculated by combining the quartiles into halves. For method and rationale see footnote 4, page 61.

However, at both the local and supra-county levels and for past years, there are significant differences between the upper quartile groups with a high average number of offices and lower quartile groups. These facts give evidence of the clustering of important offices even among top influentials, which supports hypothesis A-3: "the more

important positions are held by those holding more than one position, which tends to cluster the authority roles."

INWARD AND OUTWARD ORIENTATION OF LEADERSHIP

Inward and outward orientation in formal leadership positions were considered in the pattern of organizational power relations because agencies outside of the social system focused on are nevertheless important elements within the system. Such supra-county agencies have an important bearing on the programs of county and local groups. This analysis was to discover whether participation in the supra-county leadership roles was related by a distinctive pattern of activity to the pattern of local and county leadership. It was assumed that outside affiliations were related to the introduction of outside policy and directives into the county social structure.

Other writers have found a functional distinction between inward and outward oriented leaders. For example, Merton in his study of Patterns of Influence discovered what he called "cosmopolitan" and "local" types of community leaders in a local community. The cosmopolitan leaders tended to hold positions and be interested in activities outside of the local community while the local type had relatively little interest in what occurred beyond the immediate locality area.[8] Hunter, in his study of social

[8] R. K. Merton, op.cit., p.192.

power, found a similar pattern in a larger city.[9] Although no direct comparison of inter-community leaders vs. local leaders is possible in this study, a less direct comparison of orientation may be attempted to give some indication of the inward or local vs. outward or supra-county interest and orientation of the county level leaders.

Opportunities for holding supra-county level offices are more limited than for either local or inter-community offices. The relevant hypothesis (A-4) is that those leaders hvaing the greatest number of local organizational positions will have the least number of offices in groups which include people of an area larger than the county. A comparison was accordingly made of those people in the sample with supra-county offices against those with none. Table 12 shows a significant difference between two groups in the average number of all offices held. Those office holders with one or more outside offices reported an over-all average of 12.5, while those with no outside offices reported an average of 7.5 offices. As to local offices, the same table shows that those with outside leadership roles did not hold fewer local offices (an average of 6.1 offices for those with outside offices to 4.5 for those with no outside office).

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[9] Floyd Hunter, "Community Power Structure", University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, p.100.

TABLE 12

AVERAGE NUMBER OF LOCAL OFFICES AND OFFICES
OF ALL LEVELS FOR THOSE IN THE SAMPLE
POPULATION BY THOSE WITH AND THOSE
WITHOUT SUPRA-COUNTY OFFICES

Number of Supra-county Offices	Average No. Local Offices	Average No. All Offices
One or more	6.1	12.5
None	4.5	7.5

Local offices t = 1.29, not sig., df=39, All offices
t = 3.59, P less than .01, df = 39. For method see Croxton
& Cowden, op.cit., p.330.

However, this difference was not great enough to be
significant at the .05 level. It must be noted that the
difference, although not significant, is in the reverse
direction from that of the hypothesis. Hypothesis A-4
states: "in relation to formal positions of leadership,
those leaders having the greatest number of local organiza-
tional positions will have the least number of offices in
groups which include people of an area larger than the
county and the reverse will be true of those with outside
positions." Since no significant differences in support
of the hypothesis were found, it is considered as having
been refuted. It was found, however, that there was sig-
nificantly greater participation at all levels by those
taking part in supra-county activities. Although the

leaders who have supra-county offices have a higher number of offices at all three levels of participation, which invalidates the hypothesis, a proportionate difference is worth noting. Table 13 shows the proportion of all offices held by those with and those without outside offices. Here it is seen that for leaders with outside positions, 48.4 per cent of all their offices were local. For those without supra-county offices the local offices make up 60.8 per cent of the total.

TABLE 13

PER CENT OF ALL POSITIONS HELD THAT ARE LOCAL
BY THOSE WITH AND THOSE WITHOUT
SUPRA-COUNTY POSITIONS
FOR THE SAMPLE

Number of Supra-county offices	Per cent local	t*	P	df
One or more	48.4	2.45	.05	382
None	60.8			

*Quinn McNamar, Psychological Statistics, J. Wiley and Sons, N. Y., 1949, Difference Between Independent Proportions, p.75.

This finding tends to indicate that supra-county leaders give proportionately more attention to county level activities than to local ones. Similarly, there appeared to be some

tendency for greater emphasis on local activities by those without supra-county positions. These results appear to require further investigation in order to understand the importance of inward and outward orientation of activity in characterizing leaders.

SUMMARY

County rural leadership in general was legitimized by means of office-holding activity in the formal organizations. This was in strong contrast to the findings of Hunter's study in an urban setting. In addition, top influentials over time exhibited an even greater total number of formal organizational leader roles than the sample.

Holding more than one office was characteristic of inter-community leaders, but the offices were not equally distributed among them. Some were far more active than others, which resulted in a considerable overlapping of offices on some individuals. Similar patterns of over-lapping for county, local, and supra-county level positions were shown to exist for both the sample and for the top influentials. Such overlapping of power roles among rela- tively few individuals in several organizations indicated an √ unequal distribution and interlocking of social power re- sources.

The involvement of the same leaders in many offices and over a long period of time has tended to stabilize

leadership among the top influentials.

In examining the important policy and decision-making offices that were reported by the sample and the top influentials, an overlapping or clustering pattern of offices held by some individuals was again noted. In this way, the important offices were a part of an interlocking pattern between organizations. The important influentials had a more even distribution of county level offices among the group than did the sample leaders.

No distinctive pattern of inward or outward orientation of leadership activity was found among the sample leaders. Those holding supra-county positions, however, showed greater participation in formal leader roles at each of the three levels, local, county wide, and supra-county than those who held no supra-county positions. In other words, leaders who held no supra-county positions did not hold more local offices than those with supra-county positions. This evidence was contrary to that postulated by the hypothesis. Supra-county offices holders, however, did have a higher proportion of all their offices at the county level than did those without supra-county positions.

CHAPTER IV

PATTERNS OF INTERPERSONAL RESOURCES

The introduction pointed out that the exploration of
the patterns of personal dyadic relations between leaders
at the intercommunity level was of primary interest to
this work. It was noted that more specific data relating
to the structure of relationships among rural leaders was
felt necessary by those working in the field and that this
area of personal interaction between the decision making
leaders has not been adequately investigated. To help fill
this gap, the present study includes an analysis of several
elements contained in the networks that make up the structure
of personal interaction of rural leaders in the intercommunity
social system of a county.

It is assumed that both the public and private informal
relations of people affect their behavior. As Maria Rogers
has said, "...there is infinitely more to social life than
meets the eye and sociology will begin to make progress
precisely to the degree that sociologists concern themselves
with the internal structures of situations and project
theories based on the results of such inquiries."[1] Networks
of interaction between leaders have already been shown

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[1]Maria Rogers, "The Human Group: A Critical Review with
    Suggestions For Some Alternate Hypotheses", Sociometry
    Vol. XLV, 1951, p.23.

elsewhere to be important in affecting the behavior of those who control the organized means of initiating and legitimizing action in the community setting.[2] Thus, if interpersonal relations exist between county level leaders, they will also be the means for influencing behavior. In this regard this study has documented the existing relationships and shows the patterns they form in the groups studied.

The resources with which this study was concerned included a number of selected factors related to frequent and primary interaction. These factors are called "interpersonal resources" and are defined in chapter one. These resources are part of the social situation in which the leader finds himself at the point of making a decision. This is not, however, a discussion of the decisions made and the action taken, but one of what makes up the situation in which decisions are made. For this reason, the analysis deals with the informal structure of interaction. Elements in the networks of informal relationships studied were specific and functional in the sense that they were real situations or events involving individuals as reported by the respondents and did not deal with such diffuse factors as prestige or respect.

Resources Studied

The interpersonal resources studied were a series of selected factors that were chosen in order to discover the

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[2]See Chapter I, pp. 7, 11, 12 for related references.

content of personal interaction between rural leaders. In some respects, this was putting the structure of leader relations under a microscope, and, like a microscope, the, field of vision was selective.

Data on the resources was collected in two ways. First by asking each respondent to fill in a questionnaire pertaining to the ninety-one leaders listed as office holders in rural voluntary groups. This list was the same one from which the sample for this study was drawn. The questionnaire asked the respondent for information on four factors. These were: (1) to indicate the degree of his acquaintance of the respondent with the ninety-one persons on a five-point acquaintance scale, (2) to check those persons he worked with in county activities, (3) to check those he talked things over with or got advice from on county activities, and (4) to check those he spent one or more hours per month with regularly in county activities. The last three items will be referred to in general as "access" factors.[3]

Second, each respondent was asked by the interviewer about the incidence of a series of specific relationships with those they named as important influentials, and included two general classifications of items as follows:

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[3]cf., p95 of this chapter for an explanation of "access" as a concept.

(1) relations and activities connoting close ties and
friendship, and (2) certain associational relations not
necessarily connoting close ties or friendship. The specific
items will be taken up when they are analyzed later in
this chapter.

The Important Influentials

Before turning to the relationships themselves consider-
ation should be given to how the key influentials were
determined. For the purpose of discerning patterns of
relationships among those considered important influentials,
each person in the sample population was asked to indicate
by name who he thought were the top ten most influential
rural people of county-wide importance. This was done by
asking the following question: "Overall in the county, who
are the most important influential rural people: If you
were to choose the top ten, who would you include? Rural
people would include farm people and people in rural agencies
or rural organizations whose work is with farm people in
the county." The above question given to the forty-one
persons in the sample, yielded a total of eighty names with
a range of from one to thirty choices each. Of the eighty
names, forty-three received two or more choices, twenty-three
received six or more. Those with six or more are considered
here as the important or top influentials.

The choices were largely men. Only one of the top
twenty-eight was a woman, while eight of those with two or

more choices were women. Of the top twenty-three four were
professional leaders in the sense that they were hired full
time by various agencies or organizations for executive or
technical positions. These included the county school
superintendent, the agricultural extension agent, the dis-
trict soil conservationist, and a county farm co-operative
manager. In addition to these four, one person was in
agricultural business but did only a small amount of farm-
ing, and one more was a farmer working a large part of his
time in a governmental agricultural agency. The rest of
this group had no other occupation but farming.

Both farm and non-farm people were also represented
in the group having fewer than six choices, although those
chosen were largely farm people. The few who were not were
apparently perceived and identified as being rural people
by the respondents. All were affiliated in some way with
rural organizations, even though several of them were town
or city residents.

For purposes of validation, the top influentials chosen
by the sample were checked against the choices made by the
top influentials themselves. The choices of the sample
agreed very closely with the list named by the top group
itself. The group of top-rated influentials included only
four people not named by the sample in the first twenty-one.
However, the four left out were next in order of number of

choices by this group also. There was a high linear corre-
lation (r = .85) between the lists of choices of the two
groups. Three of the four names added to the top group by
the important influentials themselves were women, and one of
those not included by the top twenty-one was the soil conser-
vationist who was in the professional category. These
changes all occurred in the lowest part of the ranking.
Minor shifts in order by number of choices occurred among
the others.

Levels of Influence

The first consideration in analyzing patterns of re-
sources was to discover the existance of a variety of inter -
personal resources and the characteristic patterns they
formed. Of particular interest was the way the resources
related to interaction at different levels of influence.
The different levels referred to are first, those named as
important influentials, and second, the sample or other of-
fice holders not listed among the top influentials. In
addition it is imperative that the reader be alerted to the
different populations discussed in this work. First, there
are the ninety-one persons holding offices in the county's
rural organizations. Second, a sample of forty-one was drawn
from the larger group of ninety-one officers and the forty-
one were interviewed. This group of forty-one is referred
to as the sample population, the sample leaders, or simply

as the sample. Third, those persons named by the sample six or more times as most important influentials were interviewed and are referred to as the important influentials, top influentials, or the twenty-one influentials.

LEVEL OF ACQUAINTANCE

As a means of gauging the extent of interaction among county leaders, a questionnaire was used which included four specific elements. The first and most general of these was a five-point scale for measuring the level of acquaintance. All persons interviewed were asked to place one of five letters, A through E, by each of the ninety-one names that appeared on the list of leaders. These were coded as follows:

A - means you know him or her very intimately as you would know a member of your family.

B - means you know him very well, you are good or close friends or you work with him a great deal in organizations and are friendly and well acquainted.

C - means you know him to talk to him when you meet or see each other, but not on a visiting or personal basis.

D - means you have met him but have no more than a speaking acquaintance.

E - means he is unknown to you or a stranger.

For the sample population, there was a total of 3,688 responses out of a possible 3,731. Forty-three were not marked. This small number of errors were randomly distributed

and were not considered as having affected the results. For the top twenty-one influentials there was a total of 1910 responses out of a possible 1911. Only one was not marked by the respondents.

As shown in Table 14, the persons interviewed, although covering an entire county, were remarkably well acquainted. The sample leaders reported only twenty-eight per cent of the total number of responses in the E, or unacquainted, category. Seventy-one per cent were reported as having at least some degree of acquaintance. Fifty-one per cent of the total fell in the important B and C categories which are the main functional categories for interaction. In addition, five per cent were reported in the A category of very close acquaintance.

TABLE 14

DEGREE OF ACQUAINTANCE OF THE RESPONDENTS
WITH THE NINETY-ONE LEADERS
OF NINETEEN RURAL
ORGANIZATIONS

Respondents	Level of Acquaintance						No Response	Total
	A	B	C	D	E			
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No.	%
Sample Population	205 5	780 21	1,122 30	545 15	1036 28	43 1	3,731	100
Top Influentials	89 5	599 31	708 37	289 15	226 12	1 0	1,911	100

X^2 = 218.28, P less than .01, df = 4, X^2 test based on marginal totals, A. L. Edwards, op.cit., p.246, X2 applied to two samples.

The top twenty-one influentials reported acquaintance
with an even greater proportion of the office holders than
did the sample population. The influentials reported only
twelve per cent in the unacquainted category. Along with
the reduction in the unacquainted category, there was a
correspondingly large increase in the important B and C
divisions. No change, however, occurred in A and D. The
fact that the proportions in the category of closest
acquaintance, were stable between the two groups tends to
indicate that it is more important for influential rural
leaders to have a large number of middle range acquaintances
than for them to have an increasing number of very close
relationships.

Overall, the important influentials had more extensive
acquaintance patterns than did the sample of office-holding
leaders. This result tended to substantiate hypothesis B-3,
which states that "the degree of acquaintance with other
leaders will be positively associated with the degree to
which the leaders are recognized as being influential."

In order to determine somewhat more precisely the rela-
tive intensiveness of acquaintance, an "acquaintance scale"
was developed by giving each category of acquaintance a
numerical value. These values ranged from category A, which
was given five points, to E, which received a score of one

point.[4]

A total cumulative acquaintance score for each respondent was derived by adding the total number of scale points the individual reported with each of the ninety-one leaders. For the sample leaders, the total acquaintance scores ranged from 144 to 344. The mean score was 238.7. The top influentials ranged from 217 to 343 with a mean score of 279.2. The difference of 40.5 points was significantly higher for the top influentials (t = 3.72, P less than .01, df = 60). These differences show that the top influentials generally reported being better acquainted with all of the leaders than did the sample group, again lending support to hypothesis B-3.

Another approach for validating the above findings was made by dividing all those interviewed into two groups with no overlapping of persons between them. Of the forty-one persons drawn in the sample, twelve were named by the sample six or more times as most important influentials. Therefore, twelve individuals were in both the group of top influentials as well as the sample. In order to determine the way this overlapping effected the previous results and to show more

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[4]This is a rough scale with limitations in its precision. However, this study was not primarily aimed at developing extensive scaling instruments, and the technique used was found to meet the basic needs of this investigation.

clearly that differences might exist between top influentials and other leaders, some comparisons were made by separating out of the top influentials from the sample, leaving twenty-nine officer leaders to compare with the top twenty-one influentials.

It was found that the mean total acquaintance score for the remaining twenty-nine officer leaders was 228.1 as compared to the top influentials' 279.2.[5]

A further check of functional acquaintance was made between the top influentials and the twenty-nine secondary leaders of the sample. This was done by computing an average of the individual acquaintance scores between the individual respondents and the other members of their own group. The secondary leaders reported an average individual acquaintance score with each other of 2.25. The top influentials reported a score of 3.80 with each other (t-12.0, P less than .01, df = 46). In comparing the top influentials with the secondary leaders, the trends of higher acquaintance scores continued to be positively associated with those named as important influentials. This pattern of extensive acquaintance among influential leaders is partial evidence in support of the proposition that interpersonal

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[5]For purposes of clarity this group of twenty-nine officers that are a part of the original sample will be referred to as the "twenty-nine secondary leaders" or simply "secondary leaders."

resources of influentials will include a variety of factors

which form patterns and networks of intimate personal and

informal relationships. (Hyp. B-1.)

Reciprocity of Acquaintance Resources

Since the data on the degree of acquaintance was made

on a five-point scale, it was possible to see to what ex-

tent the respondents agreed about their level of acquaintance

with each other and to compare the two groups, the top in-

fluentials and the twenty-nine secondary leaders, on this

basis.[6] An examination of the patterns of reciprocal

designations of degree of acquaintance was made in Tables 15

and 16. It should be made clear that the data in these

tables are limited to the designations made between indi-

viduals in and between two groups of respondents. By this

means the variations in the degree of acquaintance can be

shown. The proportionate differences that occur between

respondents establish a means for verifying the differential

reliability of their knowledge of degree of acquaintance by

different influence groups.

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[6]The data on relations between the respondents and the
ninety-one leaders on the questionnaire does not in-
clude two of the group of top influentials because
these two were not named at the time of the study as
office holders. Therefore, analysis of the recipro-
cal relations on the four items in the questionnaire
can deal with only nineteen top influentials.

As may be seen in Table 15, there was generally close agreement between the top influentials in rating each other on acquaintance. Only 2.4 per cent were two or more scale points apart on the acquaintance scale. But when the ratings of the top influentials were compared with those of the secondary leaders a substantially higher proportion of disagreement on the degree of acquaintance was revealed; 14.5 per cent were two or more scale points apart. When the secondary leaders were rated with each other, a relatively high proportion (13.7%) were also two or more scale points apart on the level of acquaintance. Thus, if it is assumed that two or more scale points is an indication of low reliability, it can be concluded that the larger majority of the designations were reliable, but that the evidence shows that the top influentials were considerably more accurate between themselves than were the secondary leaders. This finding is peripheral to hypothesis B-3, which relates degree of acquaintance to level of influence, but it indicates the greater accuracy and knowledge by the top influentials.

The specific variations in the degrees of acquaintance by scale points for the data in Table 15 is shown in the more complete breakdown in Table 16. Whereas in Table 15 only the agreement or variation in agreement was shown, Table 16 shows where on the scale the agreement or disagreement

TABLE 15

DEGREES OF VARIATION IN DESIGNATING ACQUAINTANCE
ON THE FIVE-POINT SCALE BETWEEN THE TOP INFLUENTIALS
WITH EACH OTHER, BETWEEN TOP INFLUENTIALS AND
SECONDARY LEADERS AND THE SECONDARY LEADERS
WITH EACH OTHER

Respondents	Degree of Difference							
	Mutual		One		Two or More		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Top influentials with each other	91	53.2	76	44.4	4	2.4	171	100
Between Top Influentials and secondary leaders	213	38.7	258	46.8	80	14.5	551	100
Secondary leaders with each other	229	56.3	122	30.0	56	13.7	407	100

X^2 = 50.88, P. less than .01, df = 6, X^2 was determined from marginal totals, A. L. Edwards, op.cit., p.245.

occurs for each group. By this means one can see the dif-
ference between groups on levels of acquaintance.

The top influentials, first of all, definitely show high
levels of acquaintance within their own group. In the
mutual rating category none are reported as unacquainted
and only one was given as acquainted at the D or "speaking
only" level. Similarly high figures also appeared in the
upper levels for one degree of variation category.

Next, in the acquaintance pattern between top influen-
tials and secondary leaders, the largest number were also
found to be in the higher levels of acquaintance, but

substantial numbers are in the lower levels as well, which contrasts sharply with the pattern for top influentials. This contrast is even more marked between the secondary leaders themselves, where over half (137) of the mutual ratings were in the unacquainted category. Such evidence supports that previously shown in the results of the overall discussion of acquaintance scores; namely, that "the degree of acquaintance with other leaders will be positively associated with the degree to which the leaders are recognized as being influential" (Hyp. B-3).

Although not directly relevant to the hypothesis dealt with here, it is of interest to note a consistent serendipital element that appeared in the non-mutual rating of acquaintance between the top influentials and the secondary leaders of the sample. There seemed to be a consistent tendency for secondary leaders to rate their level of acquaintance with top influentials higher than were the reciprocal ratings by the top influentials themselves. The secondary leaders in the sample made 253 ratings that were higher than the reciprocal ratings which they received from the top influentials. On the other hand, the top influentials made only 85 ratings of secondary leaders that were higher than those they received from the secondary leaders. Only 25 per cent of the total of the high ratings were made by the top influentials, whereas 75 per cent were made by the

secondary leaders. Putting it in another way, there was an
average of 8.7 higher ratings made by each of the twenty-nine
secondary leaders and only 4.5 for each top influential.[7]
This difference attests to a tendency on the part of the
secondary leaders to identify upward; in other words, to
overrate their acquaintance, with the top influentials.

Access Factors In Interaction

In order for one person to be able to influence the be-
havior of another, there must be some means of contact be-
tween the two. Participation in activities affords a direct
means for primary contacts. Miller describes such oppor-
tunities for contact as "access" and defines the term as
meaning that "the participant has opportunities to be a
part of, or be able to contact, important individuals and
groups... ."[8] Although leaders have contacts of this type
at all levels, this study is focused upon three access
elements that the respondents reported between themselves
and the list of ninety-one officers of organizations in
only county wide organizations.

After each name on the list the respondents were asked
to check each of three items that applied to them.

1. Those that they worked with in county activities.

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[7]For the significance of difference between these aver-
ages t = 3.54, P less than .01, df = 46.

[8]P. A. Miller, op.cit., p.16.

TABLE 16

NUMBER OF RATINGS AND DEGREES OF VARIATION BETWEEN RESPONDENTS ON A FIVE-POINT SCALE OF LEVEL OF ACQUAINTANCE FOR TOP INFLUENTIAL LEADERS WITH EACH OTHER, TOP INFLUENTIALS WITH SECONDARY LEADERS, AND SECONDARY LEADERS WITH EACH OTHER

Types of Respondents	Degrees of Difference by Scale Points																Grand Total
	Mutual Ratings						One Degree Variation					Two or More Degrees Variation					
	A	B	C	D	E	Total	A-B	B-C	C-D	D-E	Total	A-C	A-B -D	A-B -E	C-E	Total	
Between top influentials	8	55	27	1	0	91	24	49	3	0	76	3	1	0	0	4	171
Between top influentials and secondary leaders	5	74	86	18	30	213	29	131	52	46	258	21	23	13	23	80	551
Between secondary leaders	6	29	41	16	137	229	17	36	22	47	122	13	5	7	31	56	407

This meant being on committees with, or an officer
with, not merely attending the same meetings.

2. Those that they talk things over with or get advice
   from on county activities.

3. Those that they spend one or more hours with per
   month in county activities. This was explained as
   people they worked with regularly.

The sample leaders reported that each of them worked
with an average of 24.5 people out of the 91 county leaders.
In addition, this same group reported that they talked
things over with or got advice from an average of 12.6 per-
sons on county activities. As to the regularity of inter-
action, the sample reported spending one or more hours per
month regularly with an average of 11.8 persons in county
activities. The top twenty-one influentials, on the other
hand, averaged 29.5 persons worked with, and 16.8 persons
with whom they discussed county activities. On the average
they spent an hour or more per month with 11.8 persons, the
same as for the sample. This parallels the previous
similarity where it was found that the two groups held
positions in the same average number of organizations at
the time of the interviews. Although the interaction repor-
ted was somewhat higher for the top influentials on two
of the three factors, the differences were not large enough
to be statistically significant at the five-per cent level.

Turning to Table 17, a comparison is made between the
top influentials and the secondary leaders on the three
access relationships. Here it is shown that the top influ-
entials nominated each other a greater average number of

times on all three factors than occurred either between the
two groups of leaders or within the group of secondary
leaders. For the influentials these averages were 9.6, 6.6,
and 4.2 for each item respectively. Thus, even though the
average number of access opportunities as was shown above,
were not significantly different between each group yet in
nominating individuals top influentials tended to name other
top influentials to a higher degree than they named other
leaders, and the secondary leaders also named top leaders
more than they do themselves on these relationships. This
result was shown by the three averages 7.0, 3.8, and 4.1
between them and the top influentials, as against 5.1, 2.5,
and 3.1 between themselves, for the same items respectively.
It was found, then that top influentials interact among
themselves at higher average rates than they do with second-
ary leaders and also than the secondary leaders do with each
other. This result seems to indicate that in the decision
making process the most meaningful contacts, that is, con-
tacts with decision makers, are made by the top influentials
even though the total number of contacts may not have been
more numberous for one group than the other.

In looking at the reported action between groups some
important differences appear. On the first access factor,
"worked with," the average number reported between the
groups were very similar, being 8.0 for the top leaders and

7.0 for the secondary. However, the average number of mutual nominations are higher at 5.2 for the top influentials than for the secondary leaders who have only 3.8. That is, the closeness of the top leaders on these associations was substantiated by mutual recognition by the other party at a higher average rate than was the case with the secondary leaders. The latter had higher rates of non-mutual claims of interaction. This was true also on the other factors both "talked over or got advice from" and "spent one or more hours per month with." This result seems to indicate that the top influentials have more accurate knowledge of access relationships than do the secondary leaders.

Although mutual nominations manifest an awareness and an accurate knowledge of access by the respondents, some aspects of the non-mutual nominations also afford insight into the way these groups relate to each other. In the item "talked over or got advice from," the non-mutual nominations are consistently larger than the mutual ones for all groups. These non-mutual nominations show that there is a pattern of seeking advice from people other than those that reciprocate with the respondent.[9] This pattern was clear for both the top influentials as well as the secondary leaders, but with

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[9]A corollary to this finding will be discussed in
    Chapter V in relation to Figure IX.

the former the differences between the average number of

mutual and non-mutual nominations were smaller being 3.4

and 3.9 respectively. This tendency appeared to indicate

some selectivity among the respondents in the pattern of

seeking advice; that is, they did not necessarily seek

advice from each other reciprocally but had certain ones

with whom they communicated in this way. Also, in relations

between the top influentials and the secondary leaders,

where the secondary leaders were reporting the choices,

there was evidence which indicated that they went to a

large number (97) of the higher influentials, but the

higher influentials themselves reported consultation with

only a relatively few (38) of the secondary leaders.

A related point in all three parts of Table 17 is the

large number of non-mutual or nonreciprocal nominations

made by the secondary leaders for the top influentials.

This consistent lack of reciprocity, also found in the

level of acquaintance data, seems to be a further indication

of a tendency for secondary leaders to reach upward in

association status.

It further appears that the perception of relationships

among and between groups was least accurate in the relations

between the top influentials and the secondary leaders.

This was indicated by the large number of non-mutual nomina-

tions. Both where the top influentials named each other and

where the secondary leaders named themselves, there was a higher degree of stability in the perception of relationships as measured by the relative number of mutual nominations. This consistent pattern of fewer non-mutual nominations within the two groups than between them on each of the three access factors is also brought out in Table 17.

Hypothesis B-4 stated that "the interaction rate of important influentials, based upon those worked with, those they talk things over with, and the number they spend an hour or more per month with, will be greater than for the county leaders." Although in two of the factors there were some differences between the top influentials and the sample the differences were not large enough to support the hypothesis at the five per cent level. Further study is required however, to determine what effect higher average rates of interaction by the top influentials among their own group will have on decision making.

PATTERNS OF FRIENDSHIP AND ASSOCIATIONAL RESOURCES

The introductory chapter pointed out that interpersonal resources among leaders were basic elements of influential social power. In order to understand the make up of these resources in the rural intercommunity setting, a detailed study was made of the structure of several primary, personal relationships. Moreover, as was noted earlier in this

TABLE 17

MUTUAL AND NON-MUTUAL NOMINATIONS FOR INTERACTION
BETWEEN PERSONS ON THREE ACCESS FACTORS
FOR TWENTY-ONE TOP INFLUENTIALS AND
TWENTY-NINE SECONDARY LEADERS
IN COUNTY LEVEL ACTIVITIES

Nominations

I WORKED WITH

Group Reporting Nominations	Mutual		Non-Mutual		Total	
	No.	Avg.	No.	Avg.	No.	Avg.
Top influentials naming each other	146	7.0	56	2.7	202	9.6
Top naming secondary leaders	109	5.2	59	2.8	168	8.0
Secondary naming top influentials	109	3.8	93	3.2	202	7.0
Secondary leaders naming each other	100	3.4	49	1.7	149	5.1

$X^2 = 211.68$, P less than .01, df = 6.*

II TALKED OVER OR GOT ADVICE FROM

Groups Reporting Nominations	Mutual		Non-Mutual		Total	
	No.	Avg.	No.	Avg.	No.	Avg.
Top influentials naming each other	64	3.0	75	3.6	139	6.6
Top naming secondary leaders	12	.6	38	1.8	50	2.4
Secondary naming top influentials	12	.4	97	3.3	109	3.8
Secondary leaders naming each other	25	.9	48	1.7	73	2.5

$X^2 = 207.18$, P less than .01, df = 6.*

(Table continued)

TABLE 17

(continued)

III SPENT AN HOUR OR MORE PER MONTH WITH						
Groups Reporting Nominations	Mutual		Non-Mutual		Total	
	No.	Avg.	No.	Avg.	No.	Avg.
Top influentials naming each other	62	3.0	27	1.3	89	4.2
Top naming secondary leaders	33	1.6	20	1.0	53	2.5
Secondary naming top influentials	33	1.1	87	3.0	120	4.1
Secondary leaders naming each other	53	1.8	38	1.3	91	3.1

$X^2 = 127.84$, P less than .01, df = 6.*

*X^2 was determined from the marginal totals of the number of mutual and non-mutual nominations in each table, A. L. Edwards, op.cit., p.245.

chapter (see "Resources Studied") certain selected relationships received major attention as the focus of the investigation moved from acquaintance and access factors to an analysis of other interpersonal resources among county rural leaders. The interpersonal resources were not limited to just county level activities, as were those dealing with acquaintance and access, but they applied to all interaction among those concerned. The structure of these interpersonal resources was explored to provide data on the extent, variety and intimacy of relations between leaders at the inter-community level. This data contributes to the second major purpose of the project, which was to study the patterns of informal networks of social relations among the sample and

important influentials in the intercommunity, or county-wide, social system.

The interpersonal resources that were explored may be divided into two categories: (1) relations and activities connoting close ties and friendship, and (2) other primary associations, not necessarily indicating close ties and friendship.

Under friendship relations the respondent was asked the following about his relationship to the influentials named:

1. Kinship relations with the influentials named.

2. Was the level of their acquaintance "know him" well or "close friend."

3. Were their wives friends.

4. Did the respondent visit in the influential's home.

5. Did they belong to the same friendship group.

6. Did the respondent attend the same house parties or home socials as the influential.

7. Did the respondent talk over personal problems with the influential named.

8. Had the respondent ever done a good turn or favor for the influential.

The second category, that of associational relations, was composed of the following:

1. Activity in the same church.

2. Neighbors.

3. Have had business dealings.

4. The wives participated in the same groups.

Kinship included only acknowledged family relationship considered by the respondents to be a factor in close ties, acquaintance and interaction. Because kinship was considered in this way only, it was put in the category of friendship relations. The latter were assumed to have elements that promoted close or intimate relations, solidarity, feelings of regard, favor and community of interest.

Associational relations are contacts that do not necessarily indicate development of friendship or close personal ties, but afford substantial opportunity for acquaintance, interaction and communication.

Two points should be stressed about these general typologies. First, they are crude categories, and their elements are not all mutually exclusive. They differ in content or behavior which characterizes the patterns of interaction and sentiments of the people studied and differentiate on the basis of quality of association. Second, the items within the categories are concrete relationships.

In turning to an analysis of these categories it was found that the sample population and the top influentials could be compared only in a limited way on friendship and associational resources. Each of the respondents was asked to make ten choices as to who they thought the most influential rural people were. Then they were asked to state which of the resource elements listed above existed between

them and the persons they chose. As might be expected, not all of the persons chosen were found to be among the group of twenty-one top influentials. In fact, for the sample each respondent named an average of 7.4 persons who were among the top twenty-one influentials. For the top twenty-one influentials themselves the average was 8.0. The two groups thus showed almost equal ability to recognize and choose the top influentials with no significant difference between them.[10] The incidence of interpersonal resources, however, was significantly different.

In order to compare the sample and the top twenty-one influentials, the resources were totaled and a mean calculated for each group. As shown in Table 18 an average of 12.9 friendship resources existed between the sample respondents and top influentials they named; the top influentials, on the other hand, reported 17.6. A similar pattern existed for the associational resources, where averages of 4.4 for the sample and 7.2 for the top influentials were found.

The fact that the top influentials had significantly higher averages for each of the two types of resources helps support hypothesis B-2, which states that "there will be a positive association between influence level and the number of interpersonal resources."

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[10] $t = 1.44$, df = 61. In order to be significant at the .05 per cent level it would require a t of 2.00.

TABLE 18

AVERAGE NUMBER OF FRIENDSHIP AND ASSOCIATIONAL RESOURCES
FOR THE SAMPLE POPULATION AND
FOR THE TOP TWENTY-ONE
INFLUENTIALS

	Averages				
	Sample	Top 21	t^*	P	df
Friendship Resources	12.85	17.57	2.68	.01	61
Associational Resources	4.41	7.24	2.70	.01	61

*Croxton and Cowden, op.cit., p.330.

SUMMARY

The informal relations of the leaders studied formed patterns that were generally related to differences in influence. The top influentials had more extensive acquaintance patterns than did the sample. They were also better acquainted, as shown by their higher average acquaintance scores. In assessing the degree of acquaintance with others the important influentials again demonstrated a pattern of considerably greater accuracy and knowledge than did the secondary leaders, who also showed a marked tendency to overrate their acquaintance with the top influentials.

But there was little difference between top influentials and the sample on the average number of leaders with whom they had access opportunities or contacts. In

indicating access opportunities, however, the important in-
fluentials tended to name other top leaders at higher
average rates than they named secondary leaders, which
would make their contacts more meaningful in the decision
making process. The two groups differed again with respect
to mutuality of the nominations for the access factors.
Top influentials had the highest average number of mutual
nominations per person. The fact that these were with
other top influentials in their own group indicates more
accurate knowledge of access relationships among them than
for the secondary leaders.

The high rates of non-mutual nominations for both
groups on the item "talked over or got advice from" shows
that there is a pattern for seeking advice from people
other than those that reciprocate with the respondent.

Secondary leaders tended to claim access relationships
with top influentials more often than the reverse in a
similar way as they did with acquaintance level noted above.
The greatest difference of this kind occurred on the advice
factor.

The hypothesis that the interaction rates of important
influentials based on the three access factors would be
greater than for other county leaders was not supported in
general. However, higher averages in nominations among
top influentials and the greater impact this would have on
decision making suggest that further study may be necessary

to clarify this proposition.

The sample and the top influentials had almost equal ability to choose influentials that were among the top twenty-one listed. The incidence of friendship and associational resources with the top leaders, however, were significantly higher for top influentials than for the sample.

CHAPTER V

NETWORKS OF RESOURCES AMONG THE IMPORTANT INFLUENTIALS

One of the major purposes of this work from the out-
set has been to investigate the network-like structure of
interpersonal resources among the important influentials.
This objective is based on the assumption, already dis-
cussed, that networks of informal relations affect behavior,
and that the behavior of influentials affect the structure
of the decision-making process.[1] Moreover, Kaufmann, et
al, emphasize the importance of delineating the networks
of informal interest and friendship relations by saying,
"Of special significance in community research are those
networks which bridge or interrelate the important organi-
zations and functional areas of the local society." They
also say, "A dynamic approach to community must focus on
(1) given participants or actors and (2) the interactions
of the relational system which relate them to one another."[2]
It is assumed by the writer that these ideas are important
not only to the local community, but also to the study of
influence relations at any level of interaction.

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[1]See Chapter IV, p.1, also Chapter I, pp.7,12, and 13.

[2]Harold F. Kaufman, W. A. Sutton, Jr., F. D. Alexander,
and A. D. Edwards, "Toward a Delineation of Community
Research," Social Science Studies, Community Series
No. 4, Mississippi State College, pp.6 & 11.

Chapter IV (4) analyzed several friendship and asso-
ciational relationships that are components in the networks
by comparing the sample respondents and the most important
influentials. The influentials were found to have a sig-
nificantly higher average number of both friendship and
associational resources with other top influentials than
did the sample leaders. These resources were statistically
related to the degree of influence of each group, but the
pattern of the resources between individual influentials
remained to be shown. For this reason a complete analysis
of the networks of each of the relations between the twenty-
one top influentials was made. This analysis was made in
the form of sociometric charts showing the individual
leaders and what they reported in relation to all other
top influentials. In addition, the charts are arranged to
show the relative geographic distribution of the leaders
around the county. The distance between the individuals
on the extreme left and the extreme right of the charts is
about twenty miles. It is also about the same distance
between the top and bottom persons.

Some adjustment was made in the distribution of the
closely clustered groups in the charts in order to show the
lines more distinctly. This is particularly true of the
four persons in the center of the charts (1, 7, 18, 19)
who lived in the central city. Besides relatively good

roads there was a county-wide dial telephone service which for the most part was without tolls for cross-county communication. Although it was often very difficult to get calls through, this system did make communication around the county relatively easy.

The sociometric charts to be discussed involve the elements of a case study of the interpersonal resources of the twenty-one top influential people. They show how intricately interrelated the top influentials are even though they are scattered over the county and are involved in the social systems of many different localities.

In turning attention to the larger system and applying Parsons' concept, the county, like other levels of social organization, can be identified as a social system.[3] Many organizations and agencies operate on county lines. These agencies seem to be particularly important to farm people, who recognize and organize many activities on a county basis. The farmers' relations with government in Ohio, as in many states, is mainly at the county level. Federal and state agencies as well as some farm organizations and many farm commodity groups are also county centered.

Factors for Analysis in the Resource Charts

The network patterns of four elements that are shown in the charts will be discussed here. These include (1) the number and mutuality of nominations, (2) the pattern of sub-groups, (3) the relation of the spatial or geographic

[3]T. Parsons, op.cit., p.59 See p.18 of this study.

distribution to the pattern of nominations, and (4) the professional leaders in the patterns of resources. Professional leaders were not originally to be treated independently. The hypothesis did not distinguish them, but the appearance of three professionals in the case group gave the researcher an opportunity to observe how such leaders are related to the volunteer leaders' network of interpersonal resources. The professional leaders included were the county agricultural extension agent, the county co-op manager, and the district soil conservationist. The treatment of each of these factors will vary in emphasis and importance with different charts. The aim is to show the extent of the network of each resource among the case group.

The data represented in the charts varies in some respects from the usual sociogram. First of all, the charts depict concrete elements in an on-going situation and are not a series of hypothetical spontaneous choices. Second, the questions were not given in the form of a questionnaire, but each one was asked by the interviewer. Third, the questions were descriptive of a situation and had no particular relationship to immediate action, as has been recommended by Moreno, but they were related to actual experience.[4] In addition, the present sociograms both required the identity of the respondent and were made in face-to-face interviews.

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[4]J. L. Moreno, Who Shall Survive. Beacon House, N. Y. 1934, pp.14-15 also, J. G. Franz, "Survey of Sociometric Techniques, With an Annotated Bibliography, Sociometry Vol.2, No. 4, 1939, p.77.

In this way they also vary from the "near sociometric" technique.[5]

Proctor and Loomis state a basic assumption in the use of the sociogram in graphic analysis: "Each pattern or combination of choices or rejections between any two people is treated as though it has the same meaning." They say further, "In line with this assumption, we eliminate consideration of the differing reasons which certain persons may give for different choices."[6]

Further working assumptions for this technique are stated by Proctor and Loomis when they explain what they call the "coordinating definitions for graphical analysis." These are:

1. "If individual i chooses individual j, then i is relatively closer (in a dimensional space) to j than other individuals whom i might have chosen but did not.

2. If i rejects j then i is relatively far away from j.

3. If i chooses j and j chooses i, i is closer to j than he would be if the choice were either just i to j or j to i."[7]

These assumptions also apply in this form to the following work.

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[5]C. P. Loomis, Studies in Applied and Theoretical Social Science Michigan State College Press, East Lansing, 1950, p.15.

[6]C. H. Proctor and C. P. Loomis, "Analysis of Sociometric Data" Chapter 17 in M. Jahoda, M. Deutsch, and S. W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations, Part II, Dryden Press, N. Y., 1951, p.567.

[7]Ibid., p.563.

But some difficulties became apparent in the type of
analysis. First, accuracy of reporting and recall is de-
pendent upon the individual's memory as well as desire to
answer. These could not be controlled although the inter-
viewer gave every opportunity be repeating the questions
as well as clarifying them as needed. Second, there was
some evidence of reluctance on the part of three respondents
to answer questions about one or the other of two items,
friendship group associations (i.e. cliques) and good turns.
Each one expressed a negative value or sentiment about one
or both of these questions. Other than this, however, the
networks shown in the charts represent good cooperation on
the part of all the respondents. In general, therefore,
the networks depicted are felt to be reliable.

The numbers in the circles on the charts represent the
twenty-one top influentials in rank order by number of
choices recieved as important influentials. Ties in number
of choices were ranked alphabetically. The rank order
number and number of choices received as a top influential
by the sample are as follows:

Rank Order		Number of Choices					
1	-	30	6	-	18	11	-	12
2	-	30	7	-	17	12	-	10
3	-	25	8	-	15	13	-	10
4	-	24	9	-	14	14	-	10
5	-	22	10	-	12	15	-	10

Rank   Number of Choices
Order

16 - 9   18 - 7   20 - 6

17 - 8   19 - 7   21 - 6

FRIENDSHIP RESOURCES

The first group of resources consists of eight factors that were considered as connoting close ties and friendship and which are referred to as friendship resources.

The Kinship Network

The first of these resources, kinship, is shown in Figure III. As defined to the respondents, kinship involved acknowledged family relations that contributed to close ties, acquaintance and interaction. On this basis eighteen kinship relations were claimed; sixteen were mutual nominations and two were only one-way responses. These two either did not agree on their kinship as being a factor in their interaction or did not remember it.

Four sub-groups were related by kinship, two pairs and two groups of three. These were (8, 12, and 13) of which 8 and 12 are husband and wife and are in one household; (4, 6, 15); (3, 9) and (9, 11). In addition, 9 claimed kinship with 6, which would connect parts of three of the groups together.

Spatially, the kinship ties were related to two areas of the county. The most significant pattern centered on those leaders in the Northwest area where the largest part
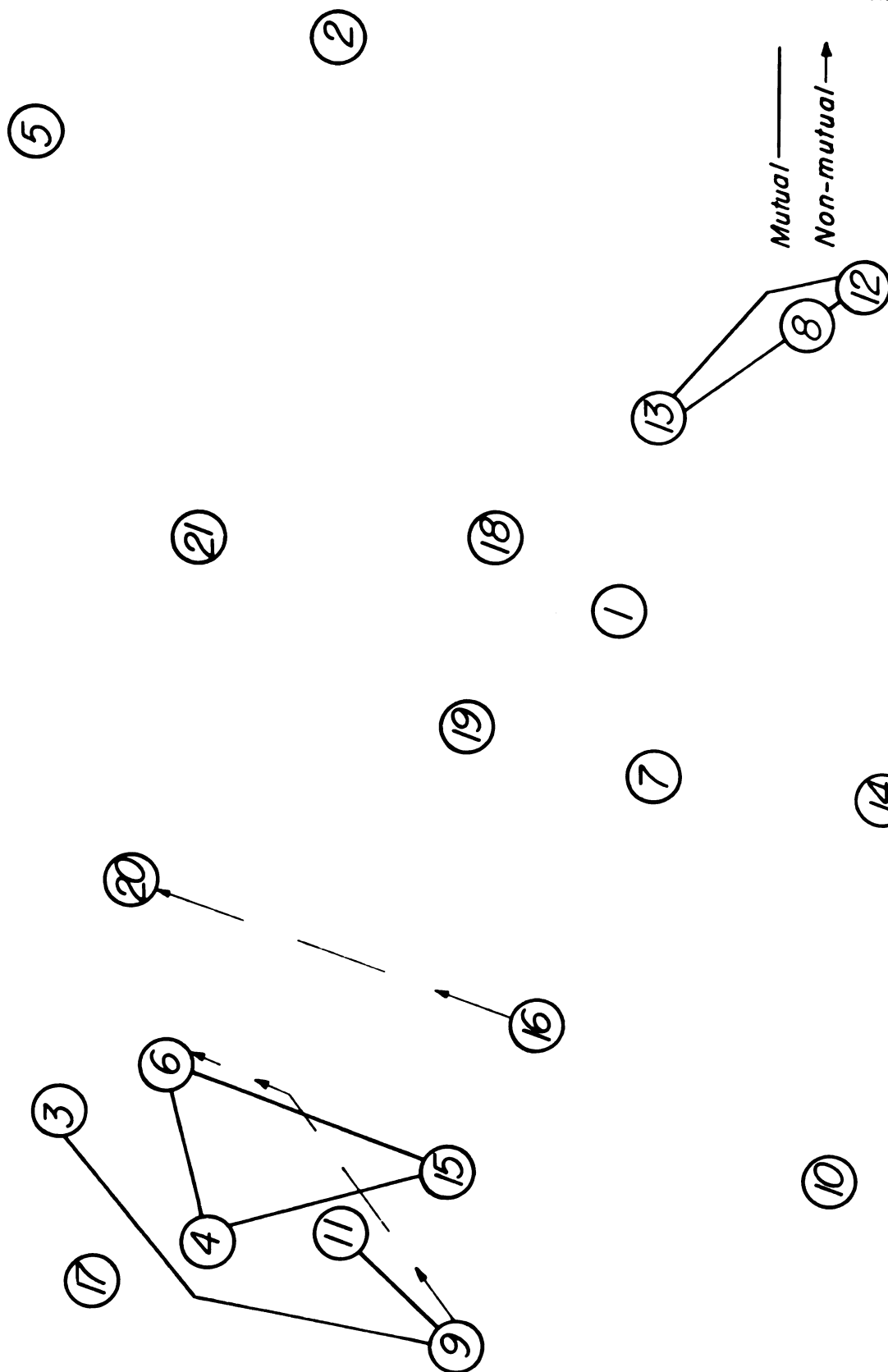
Fig. III Network of kinship relations

Mutual ———
Non-mutual ——→

of the nominations occurred.

The professional leaders were found to have no kinship ties among the leaders of the county.

Kinship was by no means a general pattern among the top influentials, although in one area of the county it appeared to be a significant element in the acquaintance-interaction pattern.

Acquaintance Network

Figure IV illustrates the conception of the respondents as to their degree of acquaintance. Of a possible 441 responses, there were 342 mutual responses and 26 one-way responses at the levels of "know him well or close friend", making an almost universal pattern of high level acquaintance for the group.

No distinctive sub-group patterns or geographic patterns are distinguishable because of the large number of mutual responses. The influentials appear to be almost one completely interconnected system on this factor.

Professional leaders likewise were well acquainted with the influentials. Number 18, the soil conservationist, had somewhat fewer mutual nominations than did the extension agent (1) and the co-op manager (7).

The outstanding thing shown in this chart is the general agreement on the high level of acquaintance for these leaders regardless of spatial distribution.
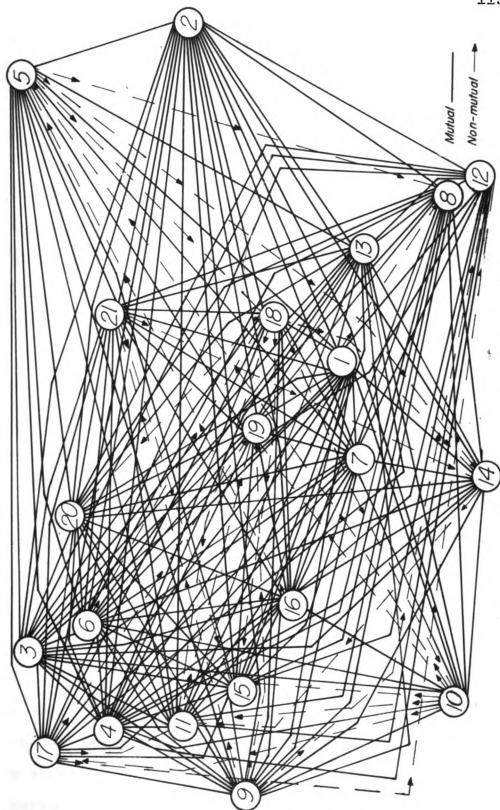
Fig. IV   Well acquainted or close friend

Mutual ——→
Non-mutual ·····→

Friendship Network of Wives

Another factor of friendship which was explored was
that of the friendship of the spouses of the influentials.
The respondent was asked in relation to each of the top
twenty-one, "Are your wives good friends?" This question
was found to have 88 mutual responses and 55 non-mutual ones
as shown in Figure V. It must be noted that the wives'
friendship is being reported by the husband with one excep-
tion (12), and that as a resource for influence the friend-
ship of the spouses would probably be useful only as the
person reporting perceived it.

Two sub-groups in this network appeared to have a con-
sistent pattern of reciprocal nominations. These groups
included the following individuals in the chart, (2, 4, 6,
8, 9, 12) and (12, 15, 16, 20). Geographically the first
of these groups was wide spread. Several individuals (4,
6, 9, 11, 15) did, however, have a general locality orien-
tation, in the Northwest section of the county.

For the professional leaders, the extension agent (1)
reported mutual relations on this factor with three others
(15, 17 and 5). Since there is a connection between 15
and 17, there may be a sub-group pattern of informal inter-
action between the agent (1) with 15 and 17. The co-op
manager showed only one reciprocal nomination on this factor
but received several one-way nominations. The conservationist,
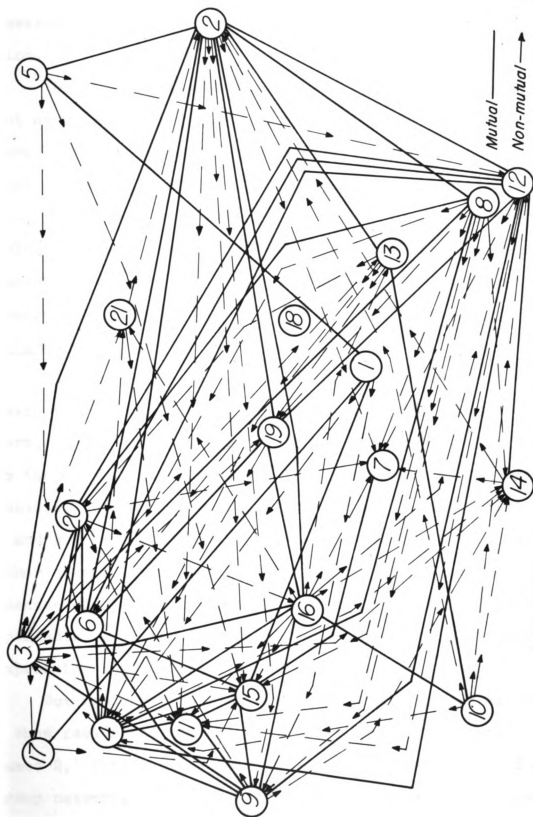
Fig. V Network of wives that are good friends

Mutual ———
Non-mutual ——→

however, had no responses to this question in either direction.

The wives' friendship relations are also wide-spread, but assumed somewhat more limited and clearly defined patterns than the husbands, particularly in mutual nominations. Professional leaders vary somewhat on their response to this resource but in general tend to report fewer such relations than some of the other influentials. For this reason communication through this resource would be less available to them.

Clique Networks

Because the clique associations by and large did not reach the county level in any coherent and integrated pattern, Figure VI shows relatively few claims for belonging to the same friendship groups that get together for companionship. Occasional associations between leaders, such as 3 and 20, were apparently only parts of a group that included other persons. The whole picture, however, is not complete because of the lack of response by 2, 11 and 12. These respondents indicated reluctance to recognize this pattern expressing strong negative values about such groups.

But two sub-groups do show some consistency. Six and 8 show reciprocal nominations with 4, and all of these named 2. This would appear to be a fairly well defined subgroup network, which would include 12 as well. This group

123
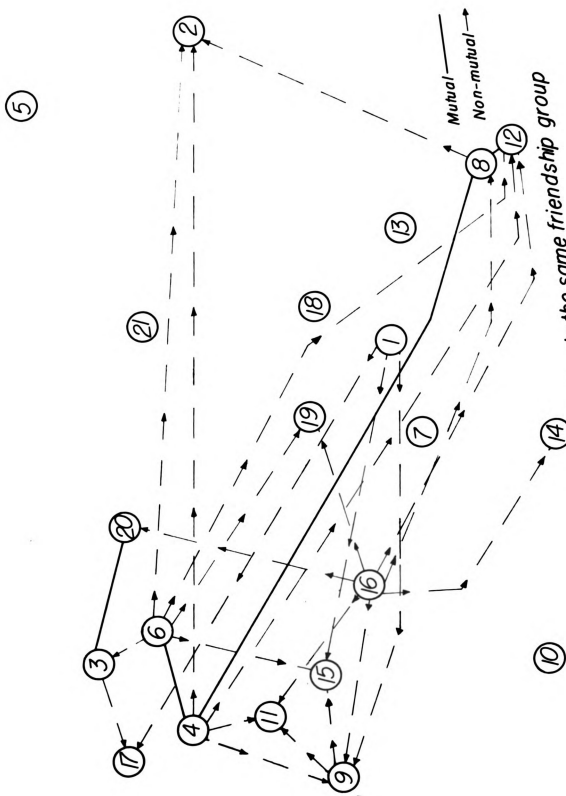
Fig. VI Network of belonging to the same friendship group

Mutual ——
Non-mutual ——→

extended across the county. Another series of one-way choices between 4, 9, and 11 gives some indication of clique behavior, with 6 and 15 also associated with them. This group appeared to have a definite geographical focus, but lack of reciprocal recognition of clique behavior prevents a precise delineation of a clique pattern.

Of the professional leaders, only 1 indicated any ties of a clique type. Neither 7 nor 18 entered the network at any point.

In summary pattern close to clique behavior is shown in two sub-groups, but no definite network existed at this level. The lack of clear evidence of clique structure seems to indicate that the phenomena is not particularly characteristic of county-wide interaction. Such networks of intimate interaction would likely be more identifiable in local areas.

Home Visiting Networks

The respondents were asked whether or not they visited in the homes of the other top influentials. Figure VII shows that home visits were not the rule between all of the leaders since only 63 were reported. For the visiting that was reported it was found that it did not occur in an even distribution, in some cases few or no visits were reported, whereas in the case of others several were reported.

For these that did report visiting there was a consistent network which tended to involve certain individuals,

Mutual ——
Non-mutual ——→
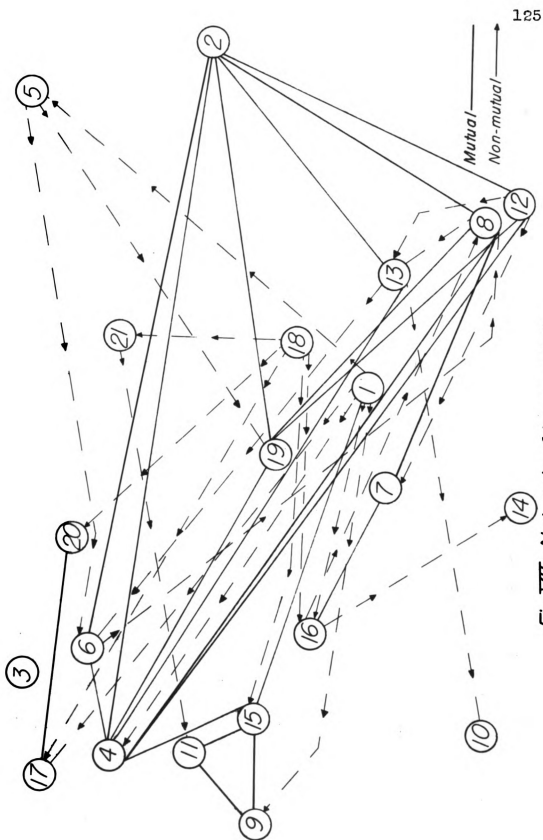
Fig. VII Network of home visits

including primarily (2, 4, 6, 8, 12, 13 and 19). This begins to have the appearance of a core group and relationships do appear between most of its members on several other of the elements as well as this one. The group is spread over the county. Another group, (9, 11 and 15) who are spatially close together, have a consistent, reciprocal pattern. A third visiting group of consequence consists of 7, 8 and 16. The members of this group are all officers on the county co-op board and therefore have similar interests.

Number 7, the co-op manager, confines his visiting among these leaders to the two top officers of his organization. The extension agent and the conservationist reported several home visits but did not appear to be part of a sub-group network. Their visits were probably related to their professional activities.

To summarize, it may be said that some visiting networks were clearly shown, but they were limited to only a part of the top leaders, however, such interaction is meaningful because visiting in the intimate home setting facilitates communication between influentials. The use of home visits by professionals as a means of communication is shown by the fact that they reported many but received relatively few.

Network of Home Socials

Figure VIII shows that only a small number of responses were made to the question about attendance at the same house parties or home socials. The major activity reported was between 4, 8, and 12. This group again reported activity with 2 in the same cross-county pattern as before. No other definite sub-group patterns existed.

Among the professional leaders only the extension agent (1) reported activity of this nature, and this was limited.

In general there was little activity of the home social type between leaders. The few house parties that were reported were among the same persons that showed interaction on the other elements.

Networks of Talking Over Personal Problems

Every respondent except 13 and 21 in Figure IX reported talking over close personal problems with one or more of the other influentials. This in itself is somewhat remarkable because this factor is generally expected to be limited to very close acquaintances. In addition, the chart indicates another striking point: comparatively few nominations were reciprocal, which means that sources of advice are by no means mutual. But the pattern also shows that there is a tendency for a circular flow of communications; that is, communication goes from person to person and ultimately involves many parts of the group.

As participants in the networks some individuals received numerous nominations, while others had very few.

None of the professional leaders were among those that were named several times. However, the co-op manager (7) was closely attuned to the officers of his board, 8 and 16. The extension agent had a reciprocal contact with 15, who in turn had several nominations. In addition, the agent sought advice from 19, the chairman of his advisory committee, but the agent and the conservationist were rarely sought after for advice on personal problems.

The distribution of these relationships was not limited to a particular geographic locality but there was a wide distribution over the county.

One interesting set of contacts are related to number 3, who was the county P.M.A. chairman. This office has some political overtones, although it is a non-partisan, elective position. The P.M.A. chairman (3) contacts 2, 10 and 13 for advice. Both 10 and 13 have previously been associated with this same position and were also at one time in county politics in different parties. Both are older semi-retired farmers and no longer active in leadership positions in the county. The incumbent, however, continues to talk over problems with his predecessors.

The flow of communication concerning personal problems showed a distinctive pattern, one that was generally
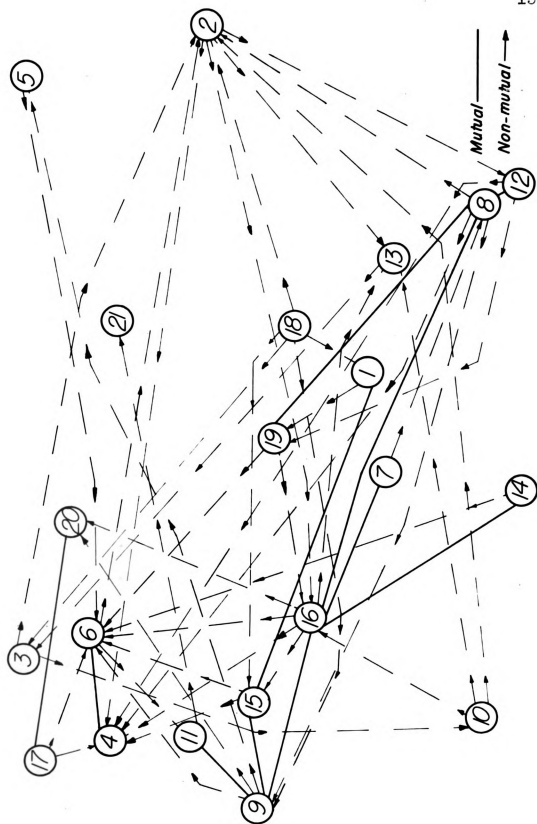
Fig.IX Network of talking over personal problems with others

Mutual ———
Non-mutual ——→

distributed and largely limited to non-mutual contacts.
Certain persons appeared as centers of this flow but there
was a tendency for one-way circulation patterns; 2, for
example, talks to 8, 8 to 4, 4 to 6 and 6 to 2. Contrary
to what might be expected professional leaders were not
among the most active elements of this pattern. This lack
of contact might be a limiting factor in the effectiveness
of the professionals in channelling information for the
legitimation of decisions.

Networks of Good Turns

In order to gain some understanding of the obligation
patterns among the top influentials, they were asked about
the people they had done good turns or favors for, favors
that the recipient knew about. It was explained that
these good turns might consist of helping out in a "pinch",
putting in a good word or recommendation for, supporting
or assisting at a desired time in some public activity,
helping out a son or daughter as a favor, or other personal
service beyond any required or official duty. Figure X
shows that such favors were widely distributed. One person
(12) did not answer the question. But, although all of the
top twenty-one were involved in this network, the large
majority of the responses were not mutual; only 28 of the
total of 96 designations were made between pairs of persons.

These responses, moreover, tended to cluster around
some individuals.

Mutual ——————
Non-mutual ——————
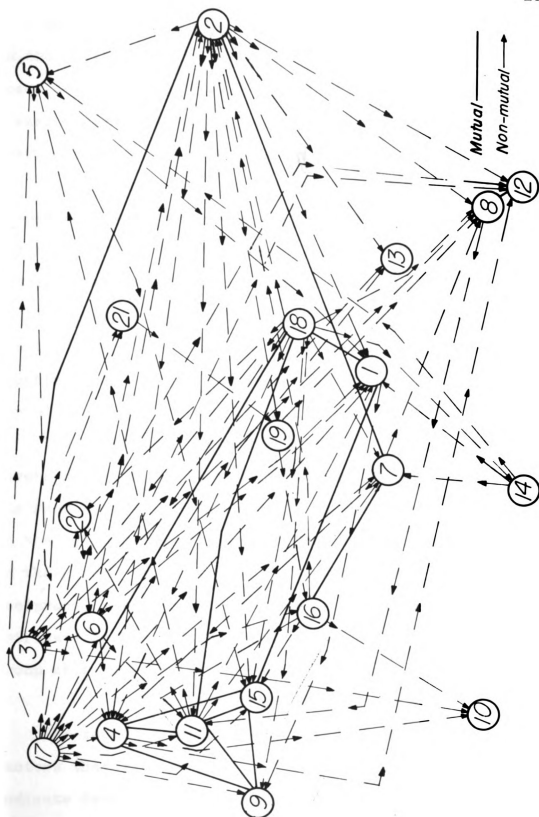
Fig. X Network of favors or good turns

The only clearly reciprocal sub-group pattern occurs in the Northwest locality group (4, 11, 9 and 15). Other resources occurred across the county as well as in local areas. Those persons showing a higher incidence in other resources tended to reflect a greater number on this one.

The professional leaders might seem to be in a position to report a relatively large number of good turns, but the pattern actually varied among them. Two professionals, 1 and 7, received good turns from several people whereas they indicated doing only an average number for others. For the third (18), however, the opposite was reported. He reported doing many more favors than others reported doing for him.

The study thus shows that the network of personal favors was widely distributed and largely non-reciprocal. The fact that all of the persons in the chart were included in the network demonstrates an underlying cohesive element in the group. Although the pattern was not universally reciprocal between all persons there was none the less an intricate system of ties which relates the members of this group at a very intimate level.

ASSOCIATIONAL RESOURCES

The second group of resources discussed included four factors that were defined as "relations that necessarily indicate development of close personal ties, but afford

substantial opportunity for acquaintance, interaction and communication."

Church Activity Network

In regard to association on the basis of church affiliation, the respondents were asked to indicate those persons with whom they were active in the same church groups. Figure XI shows that the number of church associations among the top influentials is limited. There were only 22 mutual and 12 non-mutual nominations. The mutual nominations and sub-group patterns of church activity followed denominational lines as well as locality lines. Numbers 4, 6, and 15, who are farm people belonged to the same rural Methodist church. Two others, 7 and 19, belonged to an urban branch of the same denomination in the central city. Numbers 11 and 21, farm people, belonged to the Presbyterian church in the central city.

Numbers 3, 20, 16, 13, 8 and 12 all belonged to the Friends Church, which had several local rural churches as well as a large urban church in the county. Nearly all of the cross-county church activities were between members of the Friends denomination. The Friends church as a centralized organization which brings lay leaders of all their local churches together in an intercommunity organization. This is the only denomination reported, however, in which this pattern of relationships occurred. Numbers 8 and 12, who were members of this denomination seemed to have
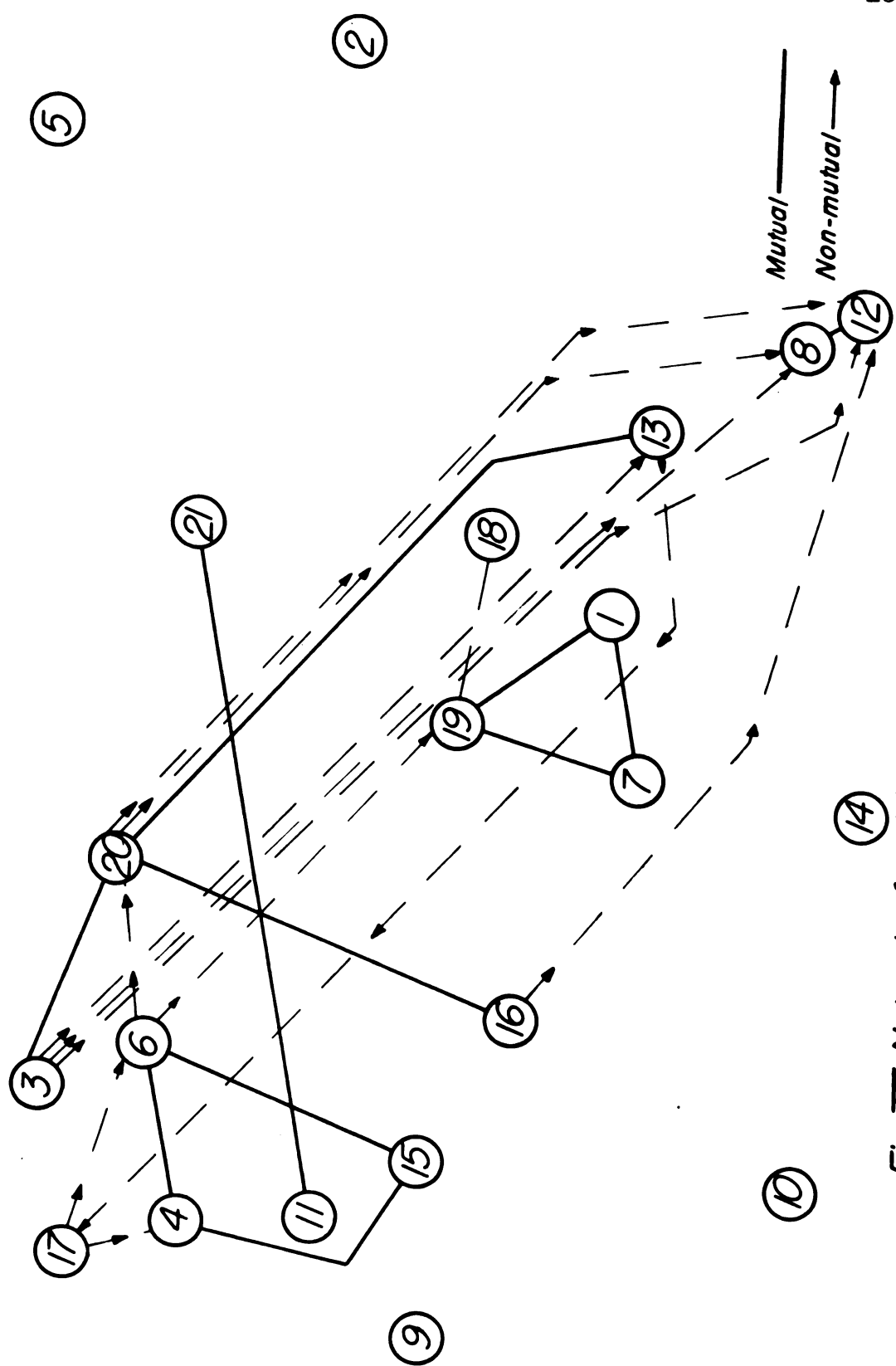
Fig. XI Network of activity in the same church groups

interpreted the question differently from the other respondents in as much as these two had reported church positions at the intercommunity level on a previous question related to organizational affiliations and positions held.

Geographic location not only helps account for the local church group networks, but also for the lack of interaction between leaders who belonged to different churches. Lack of interaction as shown in the chart indicated that church participation was generally local and was not a means of interaction and communication at the county level. For this reason the churches, with the exception of one denomination, could play only a small role in the overall intercommunity network.

Two of the professional leaders were associated by belonging to the same church group. This coincidence may afford a means of communication between them.

In general it may be said that the county access elements and communication are limited through church networks. Denominational and locality lines limit the interaction and communication to small local systems. Church participation does, however, allow small groups of these leaders to interact.

Neighbor Network

Figure XII illustrates the associations based on locality. The respondents were asked to name those in the

Fig. XII Network of neighbors

top twenty-one with whom they were neighbors; that is, those with whom they had frequent associations because they lived in the same vicinity. There were only 24 mutual and 10 non-mutual nominations, nearly all limited to one geographical area in the northwest part of the county. This network was scattered, but had a genuine neighborhood character, in the sense that contacts were frequent because the individuals lived in a rather contiguous area.

This chart gives additional concrete evidence of the limited influence of propinquity on the interaction of the top leaders. On a geographical basis there is some parallel between neighboring networks, kinship networks and segments of the church network chart. Thus the northwest neighboring network group has been found to have numerous other resources in common.

Networks of Business Interaction

Business relations also relate to acquaintance and access (Figure XIII). The respondents were, therefore, asked to indicate the persons with whom they had bought, sold, or traded something, such as hogs, grain, feed, machinery or other things. All but number 1 reported that they had negotiated some kind of transaction with others in the group, and of the total of 114 designations, the larger part (76) were named mutually.

Some individuals, however, were named more often than others. Those that received the largest number of designations
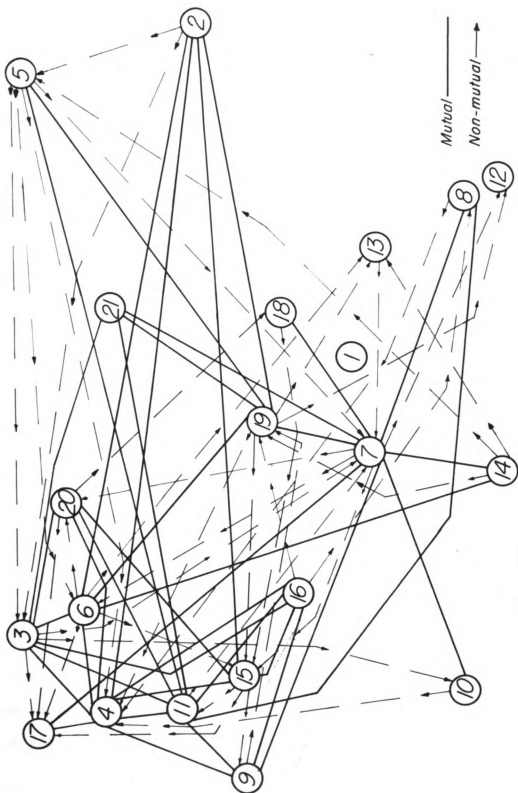
Fig. XIII Network of business dealings

Mutual ⟶
Non-mutual ⟶

for having business dealings were 4, 6, 7, 11, 15, and 19.
One of these was a hatchery owner, another a hog breeder,
two were seed producers, one a co-op manager, and the other
a general farmer. Although no other sub-group structure
was strongly evident interaction was wide spread both
geographically and in the number of people involved. Des-
pite their geographical separation numbers 5, 9, 10, 14
and 21 were active in their interaction on this factor.
The major isolate on the other hand, was number 1, the
Agricultural Extension Agent, a professional leader. But
the other two professional leaders had multiple contacts.

Networks of Participation of Wives in the Same Groups

Figure XIV shows that the wives of the county leaders
were perceived by their husbands as interacting on a wide
scale, as indicated by the answers to the question "which
wives participate in the same groups?" Over half of the
respondents indicated high rates of interaction. With the
large number of nominations sub-groups were not distinctly
evident. Among the large number of relationships shown,
however, there were, as usual, many mutual associations
between 2, 4, 6, 8 and 19 as well as within the locality
group 4, 6, 9, 11 and 15. Geographically these relations
extend across the county. The women of the county appear
to be actively engaged in cross-county activity.
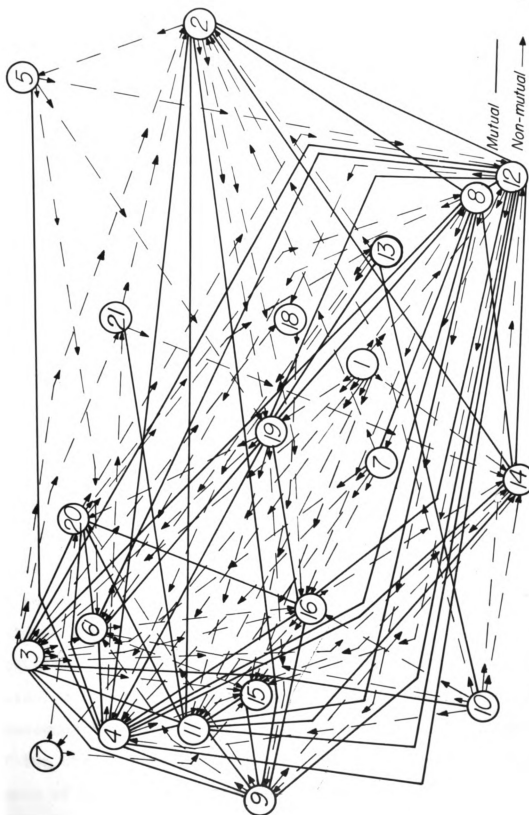
Fig. XIV Network of wives that participate in the same groups

Mutual —
Non-mutual →

In this network of wives participation numbers 3 and
14 have a larger number of nominations than they have shown
on most other factors.

The wives of professional leaders participated less than
most other wives although two professional leaders (1 and 7)
reported their wives as being active, the other leaders
did not reciprocate.

Although this data was limited to the perception of
the husbands, it seems that the agreement is great enough
to indicate that the wives of influentials also have a
wide range of association. The interaction of the wives
would appear to be sufficient to be an important informal
means of communication among county influentials.

The Meaning of Networks of Interpersonal Resources

It is immediately apparent that the networks of rela-
tions exhibited in these sociograms furnish a potent means
for spreading and gathering information, opinions and
policies. The patterns of acquaintance and access point
to an on-going system, aside from the organized structure,
through which the leadership of the county functions. In
addition, a study of these patterns would indicate to a
leader that communication patterns are predictable and that,
consequently, the ability to tie into these networks may be
of the utmost importance for an efficient and economical
means of informal legitimation of decisions.

Like those that Helen Jennings delineated in her concept of "tele" these networks are psychological as well as social.[8] Such relationships require personal acceptance of association between individuals at the dyadic level, and for this reason the assortment of interaction elements was defined as interpersonal resources. Such resources are part of a climate of interpersonal sentiment in which action occurs and influence functions.

Influence Score and Interpersonal Resources

The charts indicate that some influentials tend to have more resources than others. This numerical difference in the incidence of resources has a linear relationship with individual influence scores for the total number of friendship resources. The influence score of each top influential was the sum of the number of nominations received as a top influential by the sample, added to the number of times they were named by the top influentials themselves. The correlation was low, $r = .46$, but nevertheless it was significant at the 5 per cent level.[9] A high correlation, however, would not be expected in this group where all are in the top group. The correlation for the associational resources did not prove to be high enough to be significant.

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[8]Helen Jennings, op.cit.

[9]For methodology see A. L. Edwards, op.cit., p.91.

The networks of associations between those leaders that were chosen as most influential give a empirical evidence in support of the hypothesis, B-1, that "Interpersonal resources of influentials will include a variety of factors which form patterns and networks of intimate personal and informal relationships."

SUMMARY

Top county leaders frequently interact informally but some have more contacts than others. There was a great deal of variation among the resource items as to the number and mutuality of their occurrence.

Two main areas of resources were discussed including friendship and associational resources. Under friendship resources, only a relatively small number of nominations were made in the kinship, clique, home visit and house party categories, while a large number were made in the acquaintance, talking over personal problems, and good turn classes. A large proportion of the acquaintance nominations were mutual, which was not so of the personal problems and good turn nominations. This point was of particular interest in the case of the latter two, talking over personal problems because it revealed a network of intimate communication. In addition for both the personal problems and good turns the patterns show a widely distributed pattern of resources that relate the group at a very intimate level.

Sub-group and spatial patterns for all resources were usually consistently related to two series of persons, one a cross-county group including people from the northwest, east, southeastern and central areas of the county; the other, a northwest county group, geographically related. Those resources with a small total number of designations showed relatively clear locality sub-group patterns while those with many simply showed a general distribution of nominations in all parts of the county.

For the associational resources, few nominations were made for church activity and neighboring, but many were made for business interaction and participation of wives, in the same groups. Sub-groups followed denominational and area lines for the first two and were generally distributed on the last two. Professionals had few associational type contacts, except for business dealings, here the co-op manager and the soil conservationist were named many times.

In neither the friendship or associational areas were professional leaders as strongly involved in the networks of interpersonal resources as might have been expected, although the co-op operator was well entrenched with the few persons most closely related to his work. These people were, however, widely associated with the other leaders. The fact that the professionals were less involved than others in the networks of resources may indicate a weakness

in the structure of functional relations of the professional leaders.

That the professionals are able to maintain highly influential status without these resources raises another question of great importance to such leaders; that is, what may a new professional leader have as advantages or disadvantages when he becomes a part of a county social system? To gain acceptance, he must obviously have substitutes for a structure of interpersonal resources. What he has are the skills he brings and the prestige of the position he assumes. These are advantages. The disadvantages for a new person are his lack of knowledge of the informal social structure, the lack of acceptance at a personal level, and the absence of a strong set of interpersonal resources with decision-making influentials. The fact that he does have something that after a short trial period puts the professional in a strong position, may also make it easy for him to enter the system of interpersonal resources. Further study of the professional role and the function of interpersonal resources is necessary to determine the relationship between a professional's proficiency and his resources.

In relation to propinquity as a factor in interaction one definite locality pattern was evident among the leaders living in the northwest part of the county. In this area propinquity contributed to the number and pattern of

resources. Another geographic pattern, a cross-county one, appeared among the most active leaders. They had been both leaders and county residents for many years. Such a pattern required not only a long period to form but also a great deal of stability of both residence and leadership activity.

The sociograms reveal many networks of resources among the top influentials. These findings, added to the statistical evidence which showed a correlation between resources and influence score as well as differences in incidence of resources between the top and lesser influentials (see Chapter IV), makes a strong case for two hypotheses: (1) that interpersonal resources of influentials will include a variety of factors which form patterns and networks of intimate personal and informal relationships, and (2) there will be a positive association between influence level and number of interpersonal resources. The networks of resources demonstrate the existence of an important means for the communication and legitimation of decisions. Insight into the structure and function of such networks makes it possible to predict the behavior of persons in the structure. Such prediction would be an invaluable aid to leaders.

CHAPTER VI

PATTERNS OF INFLUENCE CHANNELS AND KEY LEADERS
FOR ORGANIZED GROUPS

In further delineating patterns of informal influence
the writer explored the structure of relationships for two
elements as they are related to the process of legitimation
of action by influential leaders. These elements are, first,
the means or "channels of influence" available to the re-
spondents in the initiation of action, and second, the
"key leaders" in the important organizations. Each element
will be related to three selected organizations. Included
in the channels of influence are the Rural Council, the
Farm Bureau Federation Board and the Agricultural Extension
Service. The second element, or key leaders, deals with
the Rural Council, the Farm Bureau Federation and the Farm
Bureau Cooperative Board. In addition, the relationships
between the sample officers and the top 21 influentials
will be pointed out.

These patterns of informal influence are relevant to
the second objective of this study which deals with the
patterns of informal networks of social relations in the
inter-community social system. The analysis of the data is
related to hypothesis B-5 which states that "Leaders recog-
nized as important influentials will also be those named as
channels of influence and will in addition be the key leaders,

or those who it is important to have in agreement with a proposal before a decision is made on a course of action."

The two elements discussed here are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Indeed, the expected pattern, according to the hypothesis, is that they will overlap. Each of the elements will be defined as it is taken up in the discussion.

CHANNELS OF INFLUENCE

The means available to an individual respondent for affecting decisions in an organization were and are described here as channels of influence for the respondents into organized groups. Of the three organizations selected for studying these patterns, two were important voluntary groups and a third a governmental agency with a professional staff and a voluntary lay advisory committee. The three included the County Farm Bureau Federation, which is a national and state, as well as county farm organization; the County Rural Council, a county-wide forum and policy organization comprising the leaders of other rural groups from both local communities and at the county level, and the county Agricultural Extension service with its professional staff and advisory council of county rural people. These organizations were selected for investigation because the pre-interview reconnaisance indicated that they were of general concern and importance to rural people in the county.

Channels of influence were defined as being persons to whom the respondents would go if they wished to get an organization to work on a problem. The persons named would serve as channels through which the group's actions could be influenced by the originator of the action.

In order to determine the structure of these channels a general question was asked. It was first explained to the respondent that the interviewer would like to know about people who were important to him. The questioner then followed with a hypothetical situation, "Let's say there is a problem that's important to you, and that you want to put across to the Rural Council the idea that they should work on it. You think it's a job the Rural Council would be the best group to have interested in it. How would you go about getting the Rural Council interested in doing something? What person would you go to first who you know could help you get the Rural Council to do something about the problem?" This question was restated to determine the choice of the individual channels for each of the other two organizations.

There was some variation in the patterns of choices of persons who were identified as the channels of influence. Table 19, shows that in choosing channels for the Rural Council, 39 persons, or 97 per cent of the sample respondents named persons who were among the top 21 influentials. For the Farm Bureau Federation, however, only 59 per cent named

people in the top 21 which was not a large enough proportion to be significantly different. Choices of channels for the Agricultural Extension Service in the county went to 92 per cent for persons among the top influentials.

TABLE 19

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHOICES MADE FOR CHANNELS
OF INFLUENCE THAT WERE AMONG THE TOP TWENTY-ONE
INFLUENTIALS, FOR THREE RURAL ORGANIZATIONS
BY THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Organization	In the Top 21		Others Named		Total	t*	P	df
	No.	%	No.	%				
Rural Council	39	97	1	3	40	12.4	.01	39
Farm Bureau	24	59	17	41	41	1.18	N.S.	40
Agricultural Extension	36	92	3	8	39	9.76	.01	38

* t was calculated from the significance of difference between proportions on the assumption of an equal distribution between influentials and others. For method and rationale see A. L. Edwards, op.cit., pp.184-185.

The choices of the 21 important influential persons had somewhat less variation than did the sample. It was found (Table 20) that the top 21 made all of their choices from among their own group for both the Rural Council and the Agricultural Extension Advisory Committee. For the Farm Bureau, however it was less, with 67 per cent of their choices from among the top group. The test of significance fell below the 5 per cent level.

TABLE 20

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHOICES MADE FOR CHANNELS
OF INFLUENCE THAT WERE AMONG THE TOP
TWENTY-ONE INFLUENTIALS FOR THREE
RURAL ORGANIZATIONS BY THE TOP
TWENTY-ONE INFLUENTIALS

Organization	In the Top 21		Others Named		Total	t*	P	df
	No.	%	No.	%				
Rural Council	21	100	0	0	21	----	---	20
Farm Bureau	14	67	7	33	21	1.66	N.S.	20
Agricultural Extension	21	100	0	0	21	----	---	20

* t was calculated from the significance of differences
between proportions, see A. L. Edwards, op.cit., pp.184-185.

The results of the analysis of the choices made for
channels of influence in general support hypothesis B-5,
that the choices of such channels will be from among the
top influentials.

Further analysis of the choices for the sample shown in
Table 21, indicate the patterns of the choices in relation
to specific individuals. The 40 persons who chose channels
in the Rural Council named only 7 different persons. Of
those named, one, the president, received 23 of the choices.
The second highest person received seven while the third
received five. Only one of the seven persons named was not
among the top influentials, and all seven were or had been
officers. None of the seven were professional leaders.

The selection of this group demonstrated a high concentration of choices for the top influentials and particularly for one person.

In the choice of members for the Farm Bureau Federation there was a relatively large number of persons named. Table 21 shows that there were 22 different persons, only eight of whom were among the top 21. Choices were widely scattered for this organization. The highest number for one person was seven, for the co-op manager; second, a former president received six; and the third high was three. The person receiving seven choices was the co-op manager, a professional leader; even though he was not an officer in the organization he was recognized as an important means for affecting decisions in the group. The man serving as president at the time of the interviews received two choices.

The widely scattered choices and the lack of concentration indicate that no strong individual influentials held the offices of this organization.

Five persons were named by the respondents as channels for the agricultural extension service. Only two of these received more than one choice. The extension agent, a professional leader, received 31 choices and the chairman of the advisory committee received five. Two respondents reported they "did not know." The two receiving more than

one choice were also among the top influentials. Many re-
spondents stated that the office itself was the prime
reason for choosing the extension agent; however, at the
beginning of the interviews, the agent had been in the
county only one year.

In looking at the overlapping of channels between or-
ganizations it will be noted in Table 21 that five persons
received choices for two different organizations. All five
had important numbers of choices in one organization, but
only one or two choices in the other. Since the channels
were associated largely with one organization there seemed
to be little overlapping between groups as reported by the
sample. Indications were that the sample respondents
differentiated between influence channels for different
groups.

The channels in the Rural Council and the Extension
Service were extremely concentrated while those of the Farm
Bureau were divided among many persons.

Since it is assumed that effectiveness of indirect
channels of influential power would be related to the

TABLE 21

TOP INFLUENTIALS AND OTHER PERSONS NAMED BY THE SAMPLE
AS CHANNELS OF INFLUENCE IN THE RURAL ORGANIZATIONS
AND THE NUMBER OF DIFFERENT GROUPS
IN WHICH THEY WERE NAMED

Persons Named*	Rural Council	Farm Bureau	Agricultural Extension	No.of Groups
1			31	1
2	5	2		2
4	23	3		2
6	7	1		2
7	1	7		2
8		2		1
11		6		1
15	2			1
16		1		1
19	1		5	2
21		2		1
A		1		1
B		2		1
C		1		1
D		1		1
E		1		1
F			1	
G		1		1
H		1		1
I		1		1
J		1		1
K		2		1
L		1		1
M		1		1
N	1			1
O		1		1
P		2		1
Q			1	1
R			1	1
Don't Know	1		2	
TOTAL	41	41	41	

*Numbers represent persons in the group of 21 top influen-
tials by their rank order numbers. Letters represent all
other persons named without reference to any list.

importance of those chosen as channels, it may be concluded
that a comparatively large number of the choices for the
Farm Bureau would likely be much less effective in influencing
decisions than top influentials would be.

Channels and the Top Influentials

For the top influentials, the channels of influence
were somewhat parallel to those of the sample, but with
certain differences. Table 22 shows the number of choices
per person for the three organizations and the number of
groups in which they were named.

In addition to the table, a series of circular charts
beginning with Figure XV illustrate the patterns of choices
by the top twenty-one influentials for others in the same
group. The difference in the size of the spaces for each
number around the periphera of the circle is proportionate
to the number of times each individual was named as a top
influential.

The Rural Council

A total of five different persons were named for the
Rural Council. All were among the top twenty-one influen-
tials and all but one were, or had been, officers of the
organization. The one exception was the agricultural ex-
tension agent, (No. 1 in Figure XV) a professional leader
whose job placed him in a central position in the Rural
Council. The agricultural agent's office sent out all
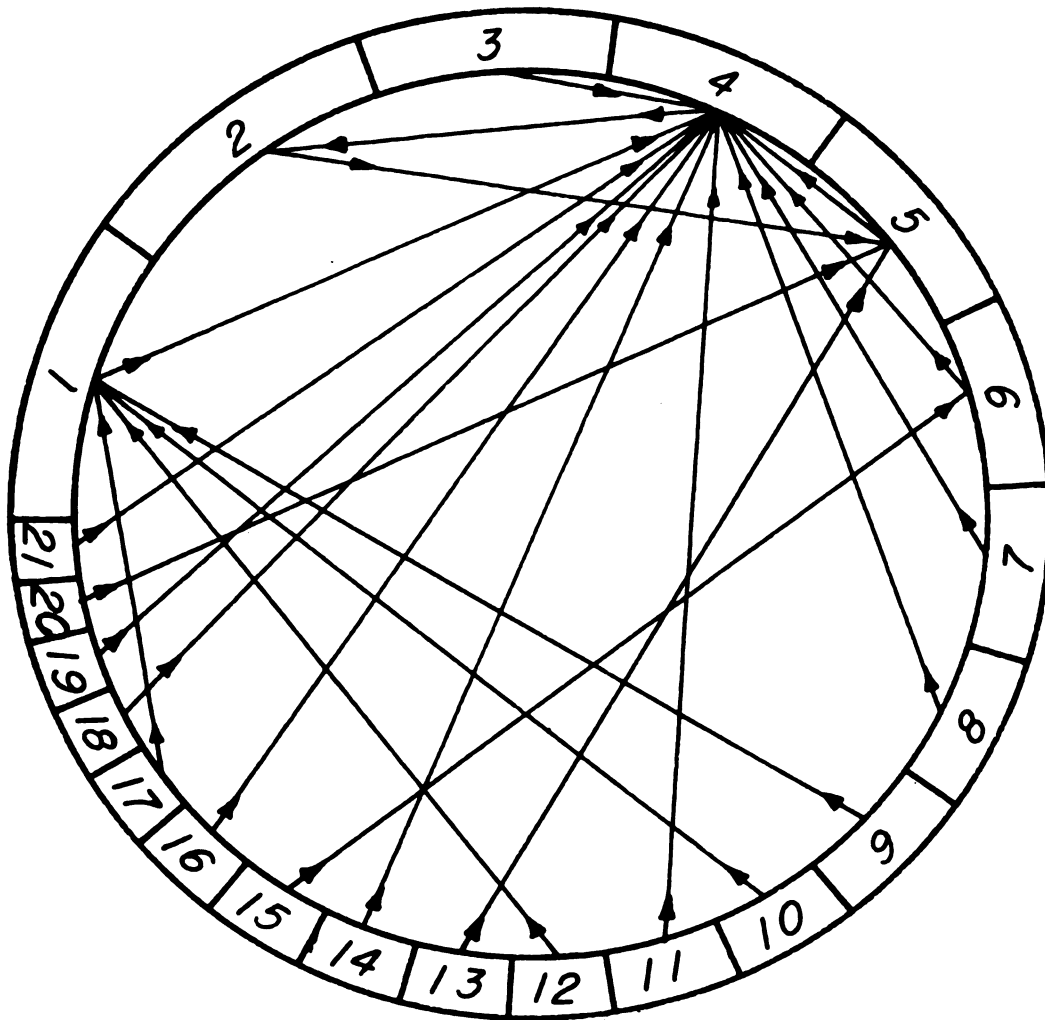
Figure XV   Choices of channels of influence
for the Rural Council

communications for the Rural Council and provided facili-
ties for the officers and committees to meet. The agent
himself participated in their meetings in a quasi-execu-
tive role. He was not given any choices for this organi-
zation by the 41 in the sample, but as shown in Figure XV,
he received four out of 21 choices by the top influentials.

Number 4 in Figure XV received 12 choices by the top
twenty-one and was the same person who received the largest
number from the sample. He was chairman of the Rural
Council during most of the time the field work was in pro-
cess, but shortly before it was finished, number 5 had re-
placed him in his office. Number 5 received three choices
from the top influentials. The other leaders in the chart,
numbers 2 and 6, received several choices by the sample
but only one each from the top twenty-one.

The Farm Bureau Board

Figure XVI illustrates the pattern of choices of
channels of influence for the Farm Bureau organization as
chosen by the top influentials. Table 22 shows that there
were twelve different persons, named as channels. Like the
sample, this was a large number of channels in comparison
to the other two groups explored. In comparing the sample
and the top twenty-one, however, there was a major difference
as to the individuals who received the largest number of
choices. Number 4 received the highest number from the top
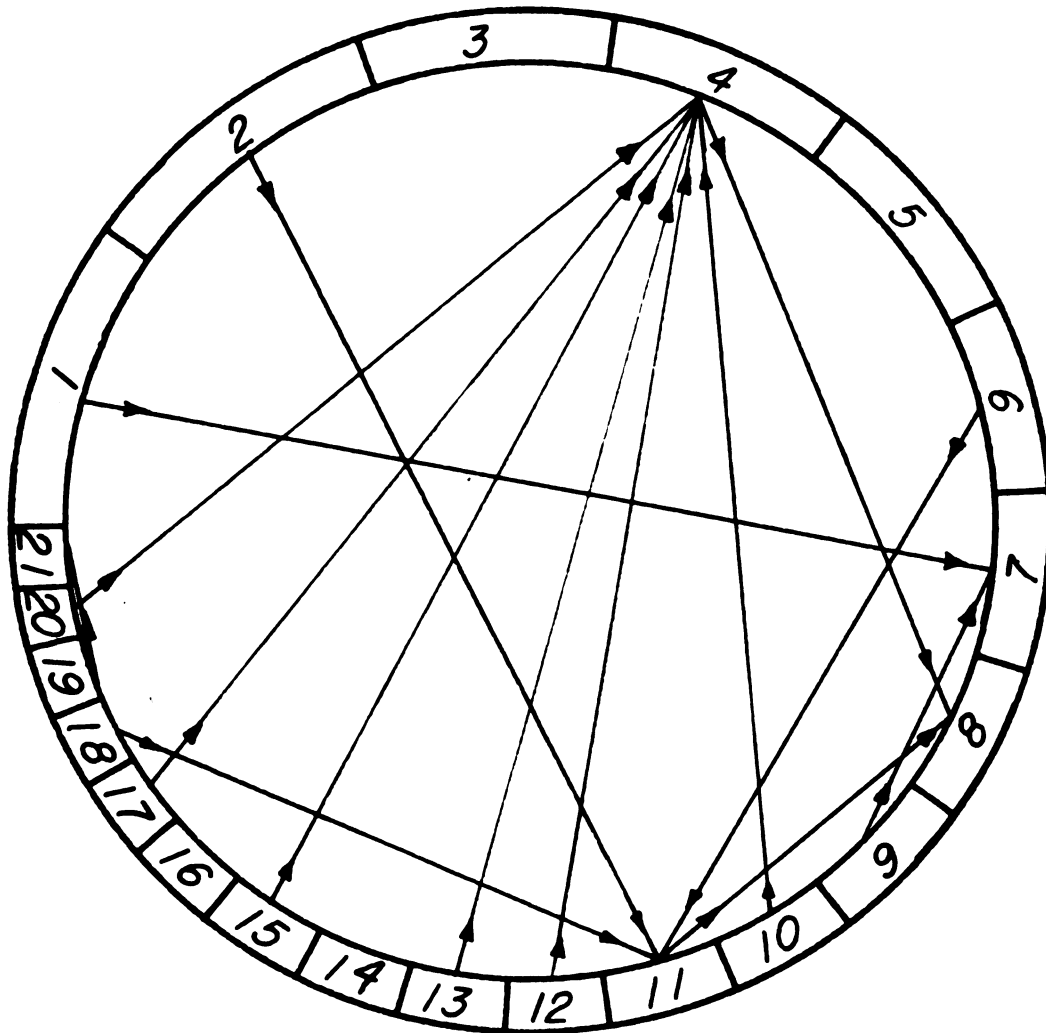
Figure XVI   Choices of channels of influence for the
county Farm Bureau Federation

TABLE 22

TOP INFLUENTIALS AND OTHER PERSONS NAMED BY THE TOP
TWENTY-ONE INFLUENTIALS AS CHANNELS OF INFLUENCE
IN THREE RURAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE NUMBER
OF DIFFERENT GROUPS IN WHICH THEY WERE NAMED

Persons Named	Rural Council	Farm Bureau	Agricultural Extension	No. of Groups
1	4		13	2
2	1		1	2
4	12	6		2
5	3			1
6	1			1
7		2		1
8		2		1
11		3		1
15			3	1
19			4	1
21		1		1
A		1		1
B		1		1
C		1		1
D		1		1
E		1		1
F		1		1
G		1		1
TOTAL	21	21	21	

*Numbers represent persons in the group of 21 top influen-
tials by their rank order numbers. Letters represent all
other persons named without reference to any list.

influentials with six while numbers 11 and 7 had been high-
est for the sample. Seven persons not in the group of top
influentials received one choice each while five in the top
twenty-one received the 14 remaining choices.

Both the top influentials and the sample population listed a much larger number of channels for the Farm Bureau organization than they did for other groups. The reason for this may lie in the different character of these organizations. The Rural Council was largely restricted to leaders in rural organizations, and the extension advisory committee was limited to a very few selected persons. The Farm Bureau, on the other hand, included all interested farmers in the county, some 1,600 members. Many of the officers on the board of directors of the Farm Bureau represented local areas, which presents the possibility that the respondents were well acquainted locally with some individuals and for this reason chose the local acquaintance as his channel of influence. There was a higher proportionate concentration of the choices among their own group by the top influentials than there was by the sample. The proportionate concentration of choices for one person was also somewhat greater.

The Agricultural Extension Service

Figure XVII shows a high concentration of choices of channels for the agricultural extension organization. In this case the professional leader received a very high number of choices. The agent (1), was given thirteen of the twenty-one choices. Only three others received choices.

The general results of this descriptive data on channels of influence affirms hypothesis B-5, that the top

influentials will be chosen as the important channels of
influence. However, an important variation occurred in
choices for the Farm Bureau Federation. The respondents
showed less precision in the choices of influence channels
for the Farm Bureau than for either of the other organiza-
tions.

KEY LEADERS

In addition to personal channels of influence some
patterns of crucial social power were explored in relation
to three important and influential organizations as they
were recognized by the respondents. In order to identify
the power centers, the following question was asked: "If
the county Farm Bureau Federation Board were going to
decide something, who would be the people who would be most
important to have endorse it or be behind it; that is,
which ones could likely block it if they went against it?"
The respondents gave the name of their first choice for each
organization and they were handed a list of the officers
of the organization to use if they wished.

This question was repeated for the Farm Bureau Co-op
Board and the Rural Council. The Rural Council and the
Farm Bureau Federation were named most often as the most
important action organizations. The co-op board was used
instead of the extension service on this question because
of its importance to rural people as was observed by the in-
vestigator, and its important relationship to the Farm

Bureau Federation. In addition, it was considered almost certain that the extension agent would be named as often as before for the extension service.

The key leaders in specific organizations are defined as those persons who are perceived by the respondents to be the key persons in legitimizing or preventing legitimation of matters that come up for decisions by the group, such as is indicated in the above question. It was necessary to find whether the key leaders were also the top influentials as hypothesized.

Key Leaders and the Sample

Table 23 shows that of 32 persons in the sample responding, with choices for the Rural Council, 31 or 97 per cent, named leaders among the top 21 influentials; only one named someone not among these leaders. For the Farm Bureau Federation, 26 of the 35 respondents answering, or 74 per cent, gave names among the top 21; and nine, or 26 per cent, named other individuals not in this group. Thirty-five persons answered the question for the Co-op Board. Of these, 33 or 94 per cent, named individuals as key leaders who were among the top twenty-one.

It is amply evident that the sample respondents associated key legitimizing leaders in the important rural organizations with those they had named as most important influentials in the county.

TABLE 23

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHOICES OF KEY LEADERS
THAT WERE FOR PERSONS IN THE TOP TWENTY-ONE
INFLUENTIALS IN THREE RURAL ORGANIZATIONS
FOR THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Organization	In Top 21		Others		Total	t*	P	df
	No.	%	No.	%				
Rural Council	31	97	1	3	32	26.70	.01	31
Farm Bureau	26	74	9	26	35	5.49	.01	34
Co-op Board	33	94	2	6	35	19.05	.01	34

* t was calculated from the significance of differences
between proportions, see A. L. Edwards, op.cit., pp.184-185.

There was some variation in the patterns between the three organizations in naming key leaders. The largest number of choices for persons outside the top twenty-one occurred in connection with the Farm Bureau Federation, where 26 per cent were outside of this group. Thus there was a tendency for less precision in the choices of key leaders in the Farm Bureau organization than in either of the other groups studied. This tendency was similar to the previous study of channels.

Table 24 shows five different persons were named as key influential leaders for the Rural Council by the sample population; four of the five men were top influentials. These choices were narrowly concentrated; of 32 choices

made, 25 were for the same individual, while the next highest had only four.

For the County Farm Bureau Board, a total of ten persons were named as key leaders. Five of these leaders were among the top twenty-one. The largest number of choices for one person was twelve. One other person received eight and a third received four.

The Co-op Board was found to have eight persons chosen as key leaders, with 19 choices for one individual. This was followed by six for the next highest, and four for the third highest.

All persons with four or more choices were found to be among the top twenty-one influentials.

Two other factors are shown in the table, first, there were relatively few instances (only 7 and 8 in Table 24) where individuals were chosen for more than one organization. Only number 7, the Co-op Manager, had a substantial number of choices in more than one organization. Second, for the professional leaders, the Co-op Manager, was named eight times for the Farm Bureau and four times for the Co-op Board, while the extension agent was named only once, which was for the Rural Council.

Key Leaders and the Top Influentials

Table 25 shows the number and proportion of choices of key influential power centers for the top twenty-one influentials. The pattern of choices in this group paralleled

TABLE 24

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS NAMED BY THE SAMPLE AS
KEY LEADERS IN THREE RURAL ORGANIZATIONS

Key Leaders*	Organizations		
	Rural Council	Farm Bureau	Co-op Board
1	1		
2	1		
4	25		
6	4		
7		8	4
8		1	19
9			2
11		12	
14		1	
16			6
19			1
20			1
21		4	
A		3	
B			1
C		3	
D		1	
E		1	
F		1	
G			1
H	1		
TOTAL	32	35	35

* Numbers represent persons in the group of top twenty-one
influentials while letters represent other persons named.

that of the sample, showing significantly high proportions
of the respondents who chose persons in the top influence
group for all three organizations.

TABLE 25

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHOICES OF KEY LEADERS THAT WERE
FOR PERSONS IN THE TOP TWENTY-ONE INFLUENTIALS IN
THREE RURAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE
TOP TWENTY-ONE INFLUENTIALS

Organization	In Top 21		Others		Total	t*	P	df
	No.	%	No.	%				
Rural Council	20	95	1	5	21	21.13	.01	20
Farm Bureau	18	86	3	14	21	10.29	.01	20
Co-op Board	21	100	0	0	21	-----	---	--

* t was calculated from the significance of differences
between proportions, see A. L. Edwards, op.cit., pp.184-185.

The patterns of choices shown in Table 26 for key
leaders among the top influentials was, for the most part,
similar to that of the sample, with the greatest proportion
of the choices going to one or two individuals in each or-
ganization.

A complete analysis of choices for each organization
among the top influentials will be shown diagramatically by
circular charts. In addition to analyzing the choices of
the key leaders the pattern for the professional leaders
will be noted.

The Rural Council

The top influentials named six different persons as key
legitimizing leaders in the Rural Council. Although four

TABLE 26

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS NAMED BY THE TOP
TWENTY-ONE INFLUENTIALS AS KEY LEADERS
IN THREE RURAL ORGANIZATIONS

Key Leaders*	Organizations		
	Rural Council	Farm Bureau	Co-op Board
1	1		
2	2		
4	11	5	
5	2	1	1
6	4		
7		7	5
8		1	11
11		2	
16		1	4
21		1	
A		1	
B	1		
C		2	
TOTAL	21	21	21

* Numbers represent persons in the group of top twenty-one
influentials while letters represent other persons named.

persons received more than one choice, eleven choices were

concentrated about one individual, who was chairman of the

organization during the early part of the study period.

This pattern is illustrated in Figure XVIII and shows the

concentration of choices upon number 4. The next highest

person received four choices; he had been a member of the

executive board for many years.
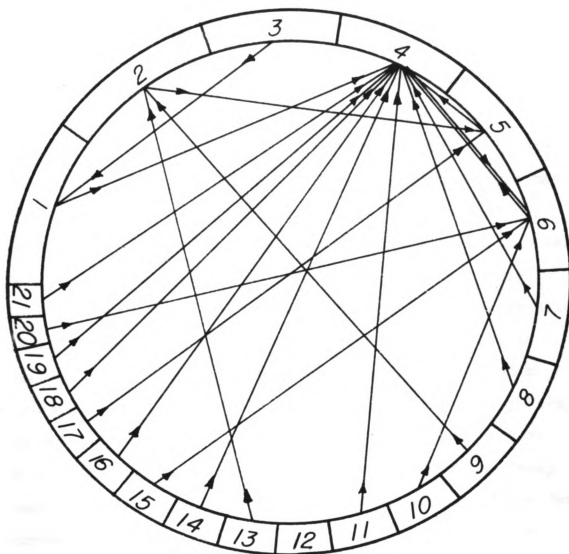
Figure XVIII   Choices of key leaders in the Rural Council

One professional leader, the agricultural agent, received only one choice by the top influentials.

As is shown in Table 26 and explained in the table footnote, in the group of top influentials. These included 20 of the 21 choices made.

The Farm Bureau Board

The Farm Bureau Board had nine persons named as key leaders; however, most of these had only one choice. The greater part of those chosen were in the list of most important influentials and included 18 of the 21 choices made.

As Figure XIX illustrates, number 7, a professional leader, received seven choices which was the highest number. Actually this represents a somewhat indirect influence relationship because as the Co-op Manager, this leader held no office and could act only in an advisory capacity to the County Farm Bureau. The Co-op, however, supplied a substantial amount of the annual budget of the County Farm Bureau and the two organizations maintained headquarters in the same building. In addition, a member of the Co-op Board was always appointed as an official member of the Farm Bureau Board.

Number 4 in Figure XIX received the second highest number of choices. He was the county representative to the State Farm Bureau and just before the interviews were completed he became the county president of this group. The

president of this organization during most of the period of the study was number 21 who received only one choice. Number 11, a former president, received two.

The major difference between the pattern of key leaders of the sample and that of the top influentials occurred in this group of choices. Whereas number 11 and number 7 were named most often by the sample, the top twenty-one influentials named 7 and 5. In addition, the top influentials placed greatest importance on the professional leader. For the professional leaders, greatest recognition occurred in relation to this group which was actually the largest membership group in the county.

The Co-op Board

For the Co-op Board the top influentials named only four different persons as key leaders and one of these received only one choice. All of those chosen were in the top twenty-one influentials. Three persons stood out as key people in this organization, as illustrated in Figure XX; these were numbers 7, 8 and 16. Number 8 had eleven choices; he was the chairman of the board and had been for several years. Number 7 received five choices; his position was the professional co-op manager and board secretary. Number 16 received four choices; his position was vice chairman. This organization was more stable than the others in regard to changes in officers since its officers served

over long periods. Its quasi-official and financial rela-
tionship to the Farm Bureau Board also made it an important
factor in the decisions of that group. It was largely for
this reason the Co-op Manager was recognized as being so
important to the Farm Bureau.

Choices of the Sample and the Top Influentials

In order to see what agreement there was between the
sample officers and the top influentials or those that
were named as key leaders, Table 27 was constructed. The
three persons named most often by each of the two groups of
respondents were ranked from one to three for each organi-
zation. As is shown in the table, there is a high degree
of agreement between the respondents.

TABLE 27

AGREEMENT BY THE SAMPLE AND THE TOP INFLUENTIALS
ON THE THREE PERSONS BY RANK AS KEY LEADERS
IN THREE ORGANIZATIONS

Key Leaders Chosen	Rural Council		Farm Bureau		Co-op Board	
	Sample	Top 21	Sample	Top 21	Sample	Top 21
4	1	1		2		
5		3				
6	2	2				
7			2	1	3	3
8					1	1
11	3		1	3		
16					2	2
A*			3			

*Was not named among the top twenty-one influentials.

Of nine possible pairs the sample and the top twenty-one
agreed on the same persons in the same rank order five times.
They were in agreement two more times on the top three but
not in the same rank order. Only four individual selections
out of eighteen were not included in the choices of both
groups. There was perfect agreement on persons and ranking
for the Co-op, and on the first two rankings for the Rural
Council. The greatest variation between groups occurred
with choices for the Farm Bureau. This difference was
characteristic of previous findings also. All but one per-
son of those shown here are among the top twenty-one influ-
entials.

Again the data strongly bears out hypothesis B-5 as it
relates to the choice of key leaders from among the top in-
fluentials.

Channels and Key Leaders

It has been demonstrated that the important influentials
are linked to the respondents as channels of influence and
to the organizations as key leaders. One more step may be
taken to see whether those persons named as personal
channels are also those who are recognized as key leaders in
organizations. Only two of the organizations were common to
both types of power; there were the Rural Council and the
Farm Bureau Board.

The individuals named were ranked according to the number of nominations they received from the respondents. The persons ranked first to third were listed for each factor and group. There was a possibility of twenty-four different persons who could have been listed either as channels or key leaders by both groups of respondents, or twelve for each organization. There was one tie at a third rank level in the Farm Bureau, so an extra name was included.

Only nine different persons were named for the twenty-five places, as shown in Table 28. Of the nine, four were named only once, leaving five persons who were named 21 times in the two organizations.

Looking at each organization separately one finds that of the six persons named in the Rural Council, three were named both as channels and key leaders. In the Farm Bureau there were three out of five included in both roles. Although there was not sufficient data to generalize to other groups there was a tendency, in relation to the two organizations examined, for the same individuals to be named in both power roles.

It is evident that in relation to social power the choices of channels and key leaders were largely from among the top influentials. In addition, the charts show these choices tended to concentrate on a small number of the in-fluentials. The major differences in the patterns shown

TABLE 28

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SAMPLE AND THE TOP INFLUENTIALS
ON THREE PERSONS BY RANK NAMED AS CHANNELS
AND AS KEY LEADERS FOR TWO ORGANIZATIONS

Persons Named	Rural Council					Farm Bureau				
	Channels		KeyLeaders		Total	Channels		KeyLeaders		Total
	Sample	Top 21	Sample	Top 21		Sample	Top 21	Sample	Top 21	
1		2			1					
2	3				1					
4	1	1	1	1	4	3	1		2	3
5		3		3	2					
6	2		2	2	3					
7						1	3*	2	1	4
8							3*			1
11				3	1	2	2	1	3	4
A**								3	1	

* Indicates ties.
** Was not named among the top twenty-one influentials.

occurred among the choices related to the Farm Bureau where
there were many choices for non-influentials. The greatest
inefficiency in the choice of channels and key leaders oc-
curred for the Farm Bureau since the number of choices made
for non-influentials was greatest for this organization.

One of the areas of interest in this analysis was in re-
gard to the professional leaders. In only one case, that
of the agricultural extension agent, were the professional
leaders accorded a high concentration of choices by both
groups of respondents. This,was in regard to the channel
of influence, for theextension service. People saw the

agent as the person to approach directly. The Co-op Manager was shown to have a very important relationship to the Farm Bureau Federation, although the number of choices were not so high as in the case of the Extension Agent. The sample named the Co-op Manager seven times as a channel of influence and eight times as a key legitimizing leader for the Farm Bureau. The top influentials disagreed on the channel of influence role naming the manager only twice, but as a key leader for this organization, they gave him seven choices.

The manager was also seen as one of the more important key leaders in the Co-op, although he did not receive the most choices from either group.

<div style="text-align:center">SUMMARY</div>

Both the sample population and the top twenty-one influentials were found to name personal channels of influence largely from among those who had also been named as influentials. Likewise, the key leaders, or those who were important to have in agreement with a proposal before a decision was made, were named from among the top twenty-one influentials.

Although the great majority of selections by the respondents were made from top influentials, there was an important deviation in the pattern between the specific organizations. Whereas the pattern of the Extension Service, the Rural Council, and the Co-op Board were quite limited

in the number of persons chosen as channels or as key
leaders, the Farm Bureau was not nearly so limited. For
both types of influence, a much larger number of names was
given for the Farm Bureau and the concentration of choices
on one person was definitely less than for the other
organizations. In addition, many more persons were named
who were not among the top influentials.

In regard to who was named in the different organiza-
tions it was found that the highest office holder received
the largest number of choices as a channel of influence in
the Rural Council. For the Farm Bureau, the highest officer
received very few choices, but a professional leader and
other officers shared the choices. The professional leader
received almost all of the choices for Agricultural Exten-
sion. In relation to identifying key leaders the choices
followed a similar pattern in the distribution of choices
as well as for many of the same individuals.

Professional leaders were not perceived as being of
great importance in all situations. The Agricultural Ex-
tension Agent was seen as almost the exclusive channel of
affecting the extension program, but was of only nominal im-
portance in the Rural Council, and was not named for Farm
Bureau or the Co-op Board. The Co-op Manager was recognized
as influential in both the Farm Bureau and the Co-op Board.
The sample and the top influentials differed to some extent

on the pattern of choices. The top twenty-one recognized the extension agent as being of some importance in the decision-making process in the Rural Council but the sample did not.

One lay leader was given great precedence in the number of choices by the top influentials for both the Rural Council and Farm Bureau as a channel of influence and as a key legitimizer. However, the sample tended to limit their choices in each organization to persons they identified more particularly with that group. The sample named fewer persons as having overlapping importance in more than one group than did the top influentials.

Ineffectual choices of channels were made by a number of the respondents. This was particularly true for the Farm Bureau. Unlike the other groups the influence patterns in the Farm Bureau did not cluster around the top office holder or professional. The choice of less effective channels would lead to less efficiency in leadership action.

Choices of important legitimizers as key leaders were also more varied for the Farm Bureau than for other groups. This would tend to indicate more inefficiency in obtaining action. Another aspect of inefficiency appeared to be in the lack of perception of the importance of the roles of professional leaders, particularly by the sample.

CHAPTER VII

OBLIGATION PATTERNS OF RURAL LEADERS

Miller has found that the feeling of obligation as an interpersonal resource varies as a factor affecting power relations. In his "Southeast" county, for example, it was reported that status was based on positions of formal authority and that there was no pattern of reciprocal obligations in community action programs, while in "Northeast" county obligations were the salient factors in the action pattern.[1]

Some feelings of obligation among rural leaders were explored in the present study, particularly those dealing with organizational activity.

First of all, the respondents were asked to make an evaluation of the importance of obligation as a factor in their acceptance of leadership roles. A question was derived from the statements of respondents in the pretest period of the study and was phrased as nearly as possible in the colloquial terminology used by respondents. The respondents indicated that the meaning of the question was understood. The following was asked, "In talking with some people in the county, it was said that one thing that got them to accept community jobs was the person that asked

[1]P. A. Miller, op.cit., pp.142-143.

them. This was because when they were asked to do something by a person that had previously said "yes" to them they felt they had to say yes also. How important do you think this is in getting people to accept responsibility for activities in the county?"

TABLE 29

IMPORTANCE OF OBLIGATION IN ACCEPTANCE
OF COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

	Important or Some Importance		Not Important and don't know		Total	t*	P	df
	No.	%	No.	%				
Sample	24	59	17	41	41	2.704	.01	40
Top Influentials	17	81	4	19	21	2.845	.01	20

*For methodology see A. L. Edwards, op.cit., p.184-185.

Results of this phase of the study are shown in Table 29 for the sample and the top twenty-one influentials. It is shown that of the forty-one persons in the sample 59 per cent agreed that this type of obligation was a factor in their taking on some leadership responsibilities; eighty-one per cent of the top influentials were in agreement. The large majority of both groups agreed that obligation was either important or of some importance in the process of action in voluntary community leadership for both the sample and the important influentials.

The function of obligation resources, of the type involved in this question, seems to indicate that leaders may be caught up in a web of resources influencing their behavior; such obligations continually circulate around and around among them making it difficult to break the cycle.

Following the above question two additional questions were posed dealing with the structure of obligation resource patterns as perceived by the respondents with the persons they named as important influentials. Each respondent was asked to designate specifically whether he felt obligated to each of the ten persons he had named as influentials if they were to ask him to accept a community responsibility. Table 30 shows the way the two groups perceived their obligations to the top influentials who were included in their choices.

For the sample, a minority of 39 per cent reported they felt obligated to the top influentials they named; on the other hand, 51 per cent of the important influentials reported a feeling of obligation to other influentials. The difference between the two groups of respondents shows that the top influentials perceived a strong network of obligation relationships among their own group. It is noted that the percentage of these relations is significantly larger for the top influentials than for the sample in general. It may also be inferred, therefore, that since they reported a higher proportion of relations, the top influentials had a stronger network of these interpersonal

resources between leaders, as well as the greater con-

sciousness and recognition of the relationships.

TABLE 30

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS REPORTING
A FEELING OF OBLIGATION TOWARD THE TOP INFLUENTIALS

	Yes		No	
	No.	%	No.	%
Sample	110	39	175	61
Top Influentials	85	51	83	49

X^2 = 6.52, P less than .02, df = 1. X^2 was calculated from
the marginals, see A. L. Edwards, op.cit., p.241.

A final question was posed to the respondents dealing

with their perception of the feeling of obligation which

the top influentials "should have for them;" the results

are shown in Table 31. The interviewer asked, in regard

to each of the ten persons named as influentials, whether

the respondent felt the influential should accept a job if

the respondent requested him to. This question sought to

learn how the respondent felt about obligation to himself.

The sample reported a network of expected obligations with

only 28 per cent of the important influentials they named.

The important influentials, on the other hand, reported

they expected 48 per cent of their choices as top influentials

should respond if they were to be asked by the respondent to

serve in a community function.

TABLE 31

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF THE RESPONDENTS REPORTING THAT
THE TOP INFLUENTIALS WERE OBLIGATED TO THEM

	Yes		No	
	NO.	%	No.	%
Sample	79	28	206	72
Top Influentials	80	48	88	52

X^2 = 18.31, P less than .01, df = 1. X^2 was calculated from the marginals, see A. L. Edwards, op.cit., p.241.

The top influentials saw themselves as both obligated to others and others as obligated to them to a noticeably higher degree than did the sample. This supports hypothesis B-6 which states that obligation patterns in county leadership are positively associated with the degree of influence of the leaders. This point of view also corresponds to the higher degree of interaction and other resources reported earlier for the top influentials.

The data reported here deals with the perception of the respondent only and is limited to those persons whom he had named as top influentials. Obligation patterns were perceptual evaluations and were not based on concrete action. The obligations were felt by the respondent for the others and expected by the respondent of the others.

Four persons among the top influentials expressed strong negative moralistic feelings concerning action through

obligation and declined to name persons in this way. Since
they did not deny the existence of obligation but refused
to name people, it is felt that the results are highly
conservative and that the differences would have been much
greater between the two groups had these four persons been
completely candid about the question.

SUMMARY

A large majority of the respondents from both the sample
and the top influentials, reported they thought the obliga-
tion resource was of importance in their acceptance of
community leadership responsibility. For this reason ob-
ligation may lead to a continuing cycle of relationships of
this nature.

Over half of the top influentials reported a sense of
obligation to other top influentials they named, while 39
per cent so reported for the sample. Thus the top influen-
tials showed a relatively stronger network of obligation
resources as well as a greater consciousness and recogni-
tion of these resources.

The top influentials felt that almost half of their
own group were obligated to them, whereas the sample felt
that only 28 per cent of those named were so obligated.

There was a positive relationship between the degree
of influence and the perception of obligation since the top
influentials saw themselves as obligated and others as being

obligated to them to a greater degree than did the sample population.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FORMAL POSITIONS
AND INFLUENTIAL RELATIONS

The final objective for this study was to consider the
interrelationship between formal and informal influential
leadership. The discussion in the preceding chapters has
dealt separately with patterns of offices held and with
the informal interpersonal resources of important influen-
tials. This chapter is, in large part, an integration of
elements already discussed. Such a study can throw light
on the power structure of rural organizations in the county.

Formal Leadership and Levels of Influence

The data related to formal leadership in Chapter III
demonstrated that rural leaders in the study area tended to
hold several formal positions: the same individuals served
in positions in more than one organization (Tables 5 and 6).
This interlocking pattern of leadership roles was accentuated
among the twenty-one top influentials. Although both the
important influentials and the sample leaders held about
the same average number of offices at the time of the inter-
view, the real difference between them became apparent when
the offices held in the past were examined (Tables 5 and 6).
It was then that the top influentials were disclosed as hav-
ing been involved in the decision making process in many
groups over a long period. The important policy level posi-
tions were not evenly distributed, but were also clustered

around those that had held the greatest number of positions
in the past (Tables 10 and 11). Top influentials, further-
more, held the highest offices in eleven out of the nineteen
organizations shown in Figure II. Seven of these leaders
held offices in more than one of the organizations at the
time the interviews were made. In this way, formal posi-
tions were the means of legitimizing the social power of
influential leaders. This conclusion supports Hypothesis C-1
which states that "Leadership positions in rural organiza-
tions serve as a means to legitimize the power of the rural
influentials as shown by the interlocking of the leadership
positions and the degree to which influentials are also
office holders." MacIver observed that "even the ---
tyrant gets nowhere unless he can clothe himself with author-
ity."[1] This principle applies to peaceful, democratic
rural leaders as well as to the tyrant alluded to by MacIver.

IMPORTANT ACTION ORGANIZATIONS AND INFLUENTIAL LEADERSHIP

In one question respondents were asked to name the im-
portant rural groups that got things started in the county
when something of a community nature needed to be done.
This question pointed up the action organizations that had
broad interests and a county-wide basis. The answers were
made on a basis of ranked choices. Table 32 shows that two

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[1]R. M. MacIver, op.cit., p.83.

groups were considered far ahead of any others as important
community action groups. These were the Rural Council,
with 33 choices, 24 of which were first choices, and the
Farm Bureau Federation, with 27 choices, seven of which were
first choices. A third organization, the Grange, also re-
ceived an important number of choices, a total of 16, two
of which were first choices. The Grange was an active or-
ganization in the county, but because of its inherent struc-
ture its activity was of greatest moment at the local level.
It did not have a strongly organized county system through
which decisions were made and channeled. As was seen in
Figure II, the Grange leaders did not appear among the top
influentials of the county, and it was only indirectly rep-
resented in the county level structure of organized groups.
The importance of the Grange as an organization and the lack
of Grange representatives among the top influentials shows
the necessity for county leaders to develop an effective in-
direct approach to cope with the local focus of Grange
activity. This is partially done by the Rural Council that
has representatives from each of the local groups.

The Agricultural Extension Service in the county was
seen as two organizations by the sample leaders. First,
five choices were given to Agricultural Extension and five
more were given to the county 4-H Club Council. That these
should be seen separately may indicate a lack of understan-
ding of the scope of the Extension program; but it also

TABLE 32

RURAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE COUNTY NAMED AS MOST IMPORTANT
FOR ACTION OF A COMMUNITY NATURE BY RANK
OF CHOICES FOR THE SAMPLE POPULATION*

Rank Order	Organizations Named	Total No. of Choices	Rank of Choices	
			1st	2nd & 3rd
1	Rural Council	33	24	9
2	Farm Bureau	27	7	20
3	Grange	16	2	14
4	Agricultural Extension	5	3	2
5	4-H Clubs	5	3	2
6	Swine Committee	5	1	4
7	Farm Bureau Co-op	3	0	3
8	Sheep Committee	3	0	3
9	Dairy Service Unit	1	1	0
10	Health Council	1	0	1
	Total	99	41	58

* No specific number of organizations were asked for,
merely those that were important. Respondents were asked
to rank the first three. Some persons named less than
three while a few named four.

reflects an actual and functional division of Extension pro-
grams that these leaders did not see as being related. When
the Extension and 4-H choices are added together, the Exten-
sion Service has a relatively high rank as an active in-
itiating agency.

In relation to the important groups in the county, it was discovered, as reported in Chapter III, that not only did the top influentials have many offices, but they also tended to hold office in one organization and then another (see Figure II). This circulatory process of leaders moving from group to group tended to be characteristic of persons who were regarded as important. The process was not equally open to all. This limitation of activity paralleled Hunter's findings that action on community projects was generally headed by persons from a relatively small group of influentials. The leadership shifted back and forth but largely remained among a limited group.[2]

In this light it is worth noting that seven persons in the top twenty-one either had previously been or were at the time of the interview, officers in the two most important action groups. Figure II shows that the top twenty-one influentials are strongly represented among the officers of the most important action organizations as well as of many other groups. The interlocking pattern of leadership in the important rural organizations, illustrated in Figure II, shows that these organizations tend to choose leaders from persons that are important in other groups. This tendency gives support to Hypothesis C-2, which states that

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[2]Floyd Hunter, _op.cit._, p.66.

"Interlocking leadership patterns in rural social organizations show that groups choose leaders because of their affiliation with certain other groups." Lasswell and Kaplan state a similar proposition in the following way: "The permeability of a group varies inversely with its influence. The relative permeability of a group with respect to another (that is, the degree to which candidates for membership in the first group belong to the second) varies inversely with the difference in influence of the two groups."[3]

The evidence indicates that the top influentials found leadership offices in the most important organizations more available or permeable, to them, than their numbers would appear to warrant. Of twenty-nine offices in the Rural Council and the Farm Bureau Board, groups with county-wide membership, ten were held by persons in the 21 top influentials. This implies that, conversely, top positions are less available to non-influentials.

PATTERNS OF ORGANIZATION AND CHANNELS OF INFLUENCE

In Chapter VI the respondents indicated their individual choices of channels of influence for three organizations. This discussion will not concentrate on those choices, but on the means, both direct and formal, as well as indirect and informal, which are available to the influentials for affecting decisions in several of the important farm organizations. The data is limited to the top 21 influentials as

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[3]Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, _Power and Society_, Yale University Press, 1930, p.61.
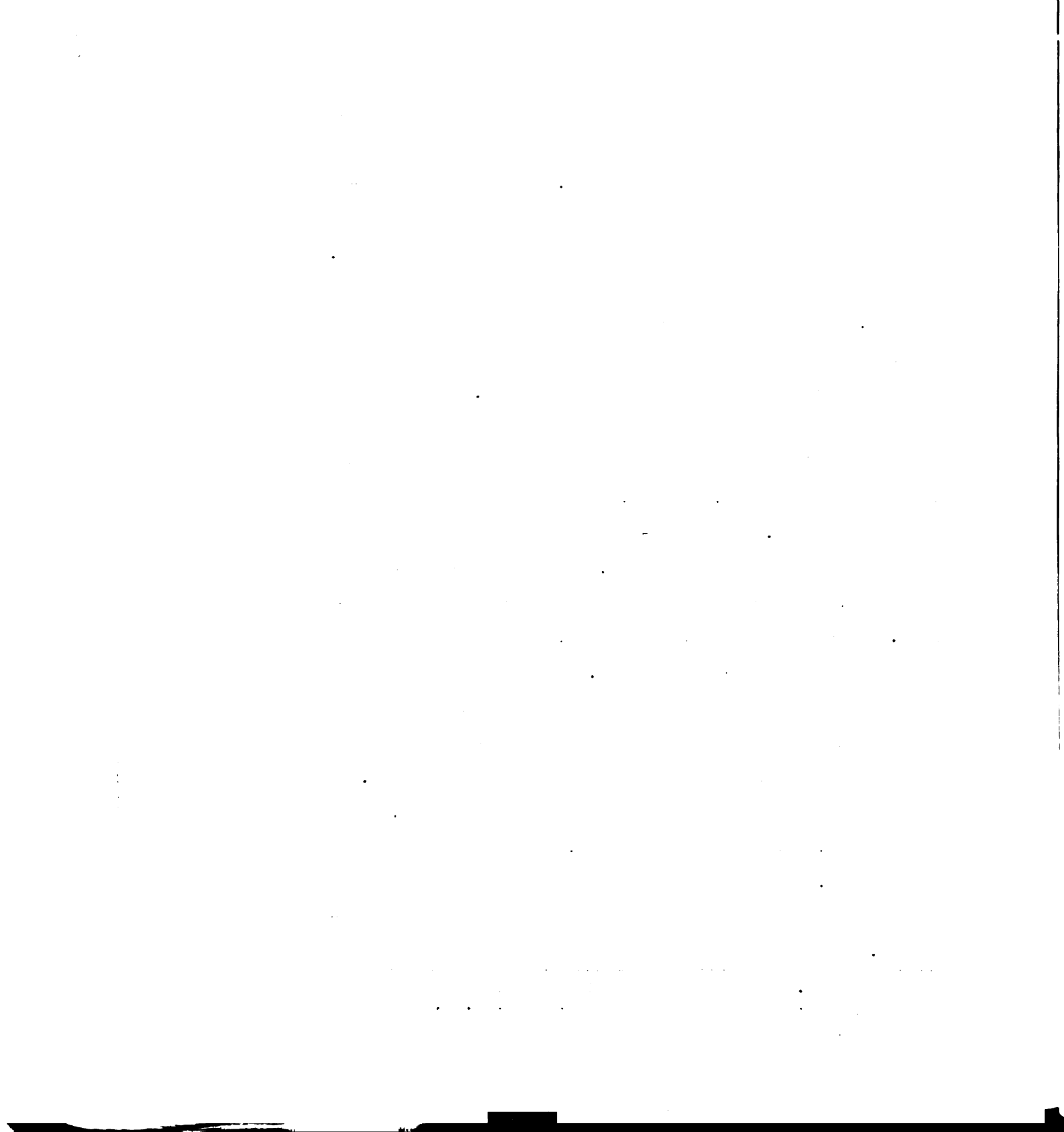
a case group, and to certain selected organizations; such
an approach is based on the previously discussed data which
revealed that the influentials were highly active in formally
organized activities and in addition were significantly more
active in informal associations or interpersonal resources
than the sample population (Table 18).

Direct Means of Influence

One step in studying the integration of the formal and
informal social structures is to observe how influential
leaders can affect the decisions of organized groups. In
examining several of the groups at the particular point in
time at which the interviews occurred, it was found that six
of the twenty-one top influentials were either officers in
or members of the executive board of the County Farm Bureau
Federation (see Figure II, Ch. III). This group included
twenty people. Four influentials held similar positions
in the Rural Council, which had nine members, six in the
ten man Farm Bureau Co-op Board, and four of the ten in the
Agricultural Extension Council. Thus, out of a possible
49 positions, the top twenty-one held 20 positions in the
four organizations. In every case the highest offices in
the four groups were held by top influentials. The twenty
positions were held by 17 different persons, which means
that 17 of the top influentials could directly affect
decisions in these four organizations. Of the other 10
organizations shown in Figure II, eight had top influentials

among their highest officers, who would have a similar direct
impact on the group. For examples of direct impact of
group membership see the case studies of influence in Appendix
A.

Indirect Means of Influence

Where two persons report mutual friendship resources,
it has been assumed that the close association provides a
means for exchanging ideas or attitudes. This access with
individuals may allow a non-member influential to informally
and indirectly introduce an idea or affect the policy and
decisions of an organization; he gets his views expressed
through another person or group. The pattern of these
relations can be shown by examining the dyadic friendship
type relations between officers in certain of the county
rural organizations, on the one hand, and non-member top
influentials on the other.

Figure XXI shows the identity numbers of the top 21
influential respondents and the names of the four important
rural organizations which have been discussed in this study.
Under each organization at the top of the column the Figure
shows, first, the numbers which represent top influential
persons that were officers in the organization at the time
of the interviews (see also Figure II), and second, an X
in the columns under each officer to indicate the officers
with whom the respondent had two or more mutual, friendship
type resources. Each of the top influentials had at least

one mutual friendship resource, with at least one of the officers in each of the four organizations, but it was decided to show only those with at least two friendship factors in common. Because of this restriction, the results are conservative.

To begin with, the Rural Council, Figure XXI shows that fifteen of the twenty-one top influentials had two or more mutual resources with from one to three out of its four officers who were also top influentials. Fifteen respondents showed multiple resources with from one to two of the Extension Council's four officers. Sixteen respondents exhibited strong indirect influence ties with from one to four of the six top influentials who were officers on the Farm Bureau Board, and there was a similar pattern with the six Co-op Board officers who were top influentials.

In taking the twenty-one influential respondents and four organizations in Figure XXI there were 84 instances in which one or more persons could possibly be identified as having multiple mutual friendship resources with the respondent. This actually occurred in 62 cases, or 74 percent of the time. The top influentials thus had well-established relationships with the influentials that were officers in the important action organizations, which tends to support hypothesis C-3, "Important influentials will have well defined channels of influence into other key groups in the county, either through membership or through other individuals who belong and with whom they have a high level of

Top Influen-tials	Rural Council Officers				Total No.	Agricultural Extension Officers				Total No.
	2	4	6	11		1	3	15	19	
1					0	−		x		1
2	−	x	x		2		x		x	2
3	x				1		−			0
4	x	−	x	x	3			x	x	2
5	x				1	x				1
6	x	x			2			x	x	2
7	x				1			x		1
8	x	x			2		x		x	2
9		x	x	x	3		x	x		2
10					0					0
11		x		−	1			x		1
12	x	x	x		3		x		x	2
13	x	x			2					0
14					0					0
15		x	x	x	3	x		−		1
16	x	x			2		x		x	2
17					0	x				1
18					0	x				1
19	x	x	x		3				−	0
20		x	x		2		x			1
21					0					0

No. with Resources 15   15

FIGURE XXI. Top Influentials That Had Two Or More
Friendship Resources With Those Top Influen-
tials That Were Officers In Four Selected
Organizations

FIGURE XXI. (Continued)

Top Influen-tials	Farm Bureau Board Officers						Total No.	Farm Bureau Co-op Board Officers						Total No.
	2	8	9	12	17	21		7	8	14	16	19	20	
1					x		1							0
2	-	x		x			2	x	x		x	x		4
3	x	x	x	x			4		x		x		x	3
4	x	x	x	x			4		x		x	x	x	4
5	x						1							0
6	x		x	x			3					x	x	2
7	x	x					2	-	x		x			2
8	x	-					1	x	-		x	x	x	4
9			-				0				x			1
10							0				x			1
11		x					1							0
12	x			-			1					x	x	2
13	x						1							0
14							0		-	x				1
15		x					1	x						1
16	x	x	x				3	x	x	x	-	x		4
17					-		0					x		1
18				x			1							0
19	x	x		x			3	x		x	-			2
20		x	x	x			3	x			-			1
21					-		0							0

No. with Resources 16   16

interpersonal resources."

It was clear, therefore, that there were informal means available for affecting or influencing decisions in important groups which were closely related to organizational leadership in the rural social system, either through the direct means of office holding roles or through resources with other influential officers in the organizations. For examples of some aspects of the indirect function of influence see Appendix A case studies.

CHOICES OF INFLUENTIALS AND ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY

In relating authority roles in organizations to informal influence it is of value at this point to see how organizational activity characterizes the important influentials. It has already been demonstrated that those with the largest number of sociometric choices as important influentials had a record of office holding activity in the rural county organizations (see Tables 5, 6, and 7). The holding of positions of leadership in important county organizations was characteristic of every one of the top twenty-one influentials. Although some were not officers at the time of the interview, they had been in many positions in previous years. Numbers 10 and 13 of the top 21 were past the time of greatest activity as officers, but they had previously held many positions. The fact that the sociometric choices of influentials and office holding in organizations were closely related for the rural leaders studied helps support hypothesis C-3: "Organizational affiliation and activity (treated here as office holding in organizations) is an accurate key to indicating influentials in the county as shown by the sociometric choices of county leaders."

This evidence implies that for those people interested in understanding the decision making processes of a rural social system of the type studied, one of the most important and most readily available means for determining who

influential leaders are and how to work with them is by
becoming familiar with the area's important organized groups. ✗
In addition, the activity of the influentials makes certain
of the organized groups of greater importance in a decision
making process than others.

In approaching this from another perspective the pat-
terns in Figure II tends to show that the more generalized
the nature of the group in determining broad action and
policy in the county the more the top influentials tend to
be associated with it. Thus the more special interest groups
such as the Swine Committee, Production Credit and the Soil
Conservation District, all of which are important groups in
their own right, nevertheless tend to have fewer of the top
influentials associated directly among their officers, while
the Farm Bureau, the Rural Council and the Agricultural Ex-
tension Council had a large number. The Farm Bureau Co-op
has numerous top influentials among its officers. It was
closely associated in many ways with the Farm Bureau Federa-
tion as well as being a large county-wide farm enterprise.

This study noted a close association between formal
organizational activity and informal influence in a rural
social system; in relation to this pattern, certain con-
trasts and agreements with other writers should be noted.
First of all, Homans' theorized that channels of interaction
become established on a vertical plane and that therefore

the leader will not become overburdened with interaction.
This is so, he says, because those above tend to originate
action more often than do those below.[4] Hunter found this
to be the case in the highly structured relations of a large
city. In addition, Hunter says that "The men of decision
will not go far up or down the scale of leadership to
choose others with whom to work.[5] Hunter thus found that
the top leaders in the urban social system he studied limited
their contact to persons close to them in rank; they did so
by developing structured channels of influence in order
to conserve time. This was not the case with the rural
leaders. Rural leaders among the top influentials not only
held numerous offices and participated informally, but
secondary leaders also approached them directly and inter-
acted with them about as often as the top influentials did
with each other.

Homans goes on to say that "the relative frequency of
interaction with immediate supervisors and interaction with
the top leader must differ from group to group according to
a number of circumstances, two of which are, the size of the
group and the severity of its environment. The smaller the
group, the more easily interaction can go directly to the

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[4]G. C. Homans, The Human Group, Harcourt Brace and Co.,
   N. Y., 1950, p.184.

[5]Floyd Hunter, op.cit., p.107.

top leader. The more severe the environment. The smaller

the group, the more easily interaction can go directly to

the top leader. The more severe the environment in which

the group must survive -- ships and armies are examples --

the more likely it is that interaction will be strictly

channeled."6 Here, although the gemeinschaft-like rural

social system of this study was similar in function to the

proposition which Homans has stated, namely that the smaller

the group the more easily interaction can go directly up

to the top, none the less for these county level rural

leaders there was a pattern of interaction that included

many organized groups, and yet the general pattern of

interaction among them was characteristic of Homan's des-

cription of a small group. This similarity could be so

only because of the large amount of primary interaction

among the officers of the rural organizations as shown in

the discussion of access factors and interpersonal resources

in Chapters IV and V.

Highly differentiated echelons in the occupational and

economic structure were not present among the rural leaders

of the present study. Therefore, no limitation of contacts

on the basis of vertical rank such as existed in Hunter's

Regional City was found. On the contrary, the rural

6G. C. Homans, op.cit., p.184.

organizations included directly in their leadership persons
at both the important influential and lesser or non-influen-
tial levels.

SOME FACTORS AFFECTING INFORMAL INFLUENCE AND ORGANIZED ACTION

Influence based on factors of close acquaintance,
intimate interaction and personal obligations such as have
been included in the friendship resources is not of a co-
ercive nature. It does not carry with it the authority to
require action and is based generally upon congeniality,
good will, mutual respect and a feeling of obligation
between the individuals concerned. Therefore, when used
alone there are limitations as to the application of this
type of power. Since it cannot be coercive it must be per-
suasive and by agreement. Agreement must be reached on the
acceptance of a point of view, judgment, or goal. This
must be done ordinarily under an atmosphere of congeniality
either by showing evidence that is understood or by appeal-
ing to common values and goals or both.

In the situation peculiar to inter-community voluntary
activity few people have rights of coercive power and even
as officers in the rural organizations they find that their
authority is definitely circumscribed by the willingness of
people to act voluntarily toward the goals of the group.

The organizations discussed here function in a system
largely made up of farmers that operate independent economic

units in which dependence of one person on another is at a
minimum. In this system no collective bureaucratic structure
exists within which one person holds coercive authority over
another. In such a system the success of any common enter-
prise is dependent upon the good will, common cultural
values and goals of the several individuals involved. The
development of discord, strong dislikes, lack of loyalty
and widely different objectives limit or nullify action. An
illustration of how discord may arise among cooperating
individuals occurred during the process of the interviews.
It is shown in case study VII in Appendix A.

SUMMARY

This chapter dealt largely with the integration of
formal and informal aspects of leadership discussed in pre-
vious chapters.

Interlocking leadership was characteristic of the
leadership pattern and particularly so of the more influen-
tial leaders. Influence and important policy level posi-
tions tend to be clustered around leaders with a long his-
tory of leadership both for the past and for activity at the
time the interviews were made. Their activity in formal
positions served the influentials as a means for legitimiz-
ing their social power.

In terms of the most important action organizations the
sample named the Rural Council, the Farm Bureau Federation,
the Grange and the Agricultural Extension Program most often.

However, the Grange lacked a county focus in its program and consequently none of its county leaders appeared among the top influentials named. The agricultural extension program was repeated under two separate groups, Agricultural Extension and the 4-H Club Council. This reflects the lack of a full perspective of the program. Other groups receiving several choices included the County Swine Committee, Farm Bureau Co-op and the Sheep Improvement Committee.

The top influentials held offices in several organizations and were even returned to offices in organizations after an inactive period. This movement from one group to another was characteristic of important influentials and showed a tendency to choose persons for leaders that were important in others. This fact indicated that leadership opportunities were more available or permeable to top influentials than non-influentials.

Top influentials could act to affect decision and policy both directly and indirectly. Because of the characteristic pattern of these persons to hold offices there were 17 of the 21 that could act directly at the top level of four important organizations including the Rural Council, the Farm Bureau Board, the Extension Council and the Farm Bureau Co-op Board. They also held the greatest part of the highest offices in other county organizations.

As for informal means for affecting decisions it was found that three quarters of the top influentials had two

or more close friendship type resources with influentials that were officers in each of the four major organizations studied, making a pattern of well established channels into key groups.

There was a close relationship between sociometric choices of influentials and office holding, thus making a thorough understanding of the leadership in the organizations a simplified and rather accurate means for understanding the power structure. In addition some organizations attracted more participation by the top influentials than others did. It would be important for a leader to be acquainted with the structure and function of these groups.

Unlike the findings of some other writers rural influentials participated actively in county organizations and do not establish formalized, vertical channels of interaction which limit access and contacts of other lesser influentials. Neither did they have a greatly differentiated occupational and economic structure to limit contacts. People from widely different influence levels were included in the organizations. The behavior of the rural influentials was similar to those of Homans small group interaction where interaction goes directly and easily to the top leaders even though the influentials were involved in many organized groups.

Finally the social system in which rural influential power must function lacks coersive power and is dependent

largely upon positive elements of cooperation such as good

will and common goals. Coercive authority is in large part

absent from the independent individual voluntary organiza-

tions under study.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE WORK

The general purposes of this study included examining patterns of inter-community rural leadership from the stand-points of the networks of formal authority roles, informal relationships, and differential social power. This study is an exploratory one, limited to one county and intended to assist in the formulation of methodology for other work of a related nature. It is an attempt to relate techniques of statistical and empirical sociometric analysis to elements of leadership and power relationships.

The persons, groups and offices studied covered a wide range of rural organizations. The most striking common element among them, aside from their being farm groups, was the voluntary leadership activity related to them. Such activity occurred even in the government and business oriented agencies, by means of lay advisory boards or councils.

FORMAL LEADERSHIP

Formal leadership or office holding was the basic criteria for the selection of the universe of the study. It was discovered however that the sample leaders did more than merely qualify since they were found to be holding an average of two positions each, which showed that holding offices was an important means for legitimizing leadership

in this social system. Holding more than one office in different organizations was a characteristic pattern that demonstrated overlapping or interlocking of authority roles in different organizations throughout the system. The result of the interlocking was a tendency for the access type contacts previously analyzed to concentrate on fewer persons. Another important result relating to the concentration of power was the tendency for the more important policy making roles to cluster around a relatively few individuals who were among the most important influentials in the county.

In addition, it was found that the important influential persons, in contrast to Floyd Hunter's findings, were most active at all levels of activity: they held offices in local groups, county organizations, and in organizations from outside of the county that extended into the county area. Because of their supra-county affiliations the most active persons were also the ones that introduced and perhaps modified ideas from outside of the county. This implies that the active inter-community leaders are important legitimizing channels for outside agencies.

ACCESS AND INTERPERSONAL RESOURCES

This study was an attempt to discover specific measurable elements that characterize decision makers and affect their decision making patterns. To this end, formal leadership activity, access elements, and interpersonal resources

were examined and related to levels of influence in a par-

ticular context of social organization. Respondents chose

the most important influential rural people, those with

numerous choices were grouped together and compared statis-

tically with the sample in general.

Although the planning and field work for this study

was completed well before Miller wrote, he expressed a view-

point parallel to this writer's when he identified the need

to study interpersonal resources in a more analytical manner

than has been done before. He said he believed "that

'resources' is the key analytical concept for an under-

standing of influence, and that they represent clusters of

values and, in turn yield 'rightfulness' to decision making.

Continued research might encourage a classification of re-

sources as relevant clusters of values in the 'rightful'

making of decisions."[1] Again he said, "Undoubtedly continued

attention to resources as an ingredient of influence should

produce more axact measurement...more standardized batteries

of carefully tested questions might permit a more quanti-

tative and sharply defined view of these resources."[2]

Acquaintance and Access Factors

The statistical analysis of leader relations revealed

that when a large number of people are involved the degree

[1]P. A. Miller, *A Comparative Analysis of the Decision Making Process In Community Organization Toward Major Health Goals*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Michigan State College, 1953. p.470.

[2]*Ibid.*, p.471.

of acquaintance was measureable by the use of a scale. This analysis showed that county leaders are generally quite widely acquainted, but that the influentials had an even more extensive acquaintance pattern. In addition, the important influentials reported being significantly better acquainted than the other leaders and were found to be in very close agreement on reciprocal ratings. Secondary leaders, on the other hand, were found to have a tendency to rate their acquaintance with top influentials consistently higher than was reciprocated by the influentials.

In the area of the three access elements, namely working with other leaders, talking things over or getting advice from them, and spending an hour or more per month with them in county activities, statistical measurement showed a generally high rate of interaction by all respondents. The difference, however, between the influentials and other leaders was not great enough to be statistically significant. One factor that was important in the result was that although the average incidence of interaction was not greatly different, the interaction between influentials was higher than between influentials and other leaders. Thus, access to association with influentials, the important decision makers, is more available to other influentials than to secondary leaders, which makes contacts in this

group of greater significance. Again, the mutual choices
showed higher agreement among the twenty-one influentials
on this type of interaction than was found among the choices
of lesser leaders.

One difference of note that occurred in the patterns
of access interaction was the fact that there was relatively
little reciprocal interaction reported on getting advice.
It would appear that the respondents do not seek advice
from those that come to them.

Interpersonal Resources

In discussing the use of the idea of resources, Miller
said "Within the theoretical scheme the concept of resources
was most difficult to employ."[3] This was also the case in
the limited framework of county level interaction, perhaps
because interpersonal resources are more important in
close association groups than in groups of widely scattered
associations. It was found, however, that networks of
interpersonal resources existed and were related to different
influence levels. This finding shows that the elements nec-
essary for access and acceptance were present among leaders
in organizations of county wide scope.

An exploratory study of interpersonal resources of two
types, including friendship and associational resources,
was made and checked against the level of influence. It

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[3]Ibid., p.470.

was found that the top influentials had a significantly
higher average number of these resources with other leaders
than did the sample group as a whole. These resources in-
cluded acquaintance, friendship,and other factors of close
intimate interaction. This finding was significant in that
it showed a quantitative difference in the behavior of
influentials on several factors that develop close contacts
among people. This pattern of resources existed among top
level county decision makers.

Once a significant difference of interpersonal resources
was established between influence levels, the pattern of
these resources among the top influentials was disclosed
by means of sociometric charts. This brings the focus, as
Kaufman suggested, on the given actors and the interaction
in the system, as well as giving empirical evidence of the
patterns and networks of a variety of intimate personal
relationships.[4]

There was a wide variation as to the number and mutuality
of the resources. There was only a small number in each of
the nominations for kinship, cliques, home visits and home
socials, but there were many made for close acquaintance,
talking over personal problems, and good turns done. The
last three resources were of a highly intimate level and
they were also widely distributed over the county, which

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[4]Harold F. Kaufman, et. al., op.cit., p.11.

shows a network of intimate communications.

County level leaders were not found to be limited in their relationships by spatial factors alone, since a pattern of resources between leaders in several parts of the county was well established. The series of resources among many of these leaders showed aspects of a rather well integrated social system.

Some interesting patterns occurred with regard to certain resources. The people with fewer nominations as influentials were rather clearly associated with local areas. In addition, some relations, such as church activity and neighboring, were almost entirely restricted to local areas. Business interaction and wives participation in groups, on the other hand, were broadly distributed.

It is readily seen that the networks of resources supply a potent means for spreading and gathering information, opinions and policies. These resources require personal acceptance and involve a climate of sentiment in which action occurs and influence functions. These systems of association show an ongoing structure of relationships through which leadership can function outside of the formal organizations. This indicates that communications patterns are predictable and that the ability to become a part of these networks may be of greatest importance for efficient legitimation of decisions.

Influence Channels and Key Leaders

Respondents named their channels of influence largely from among the important influentials. This also occurred in naming the key leaders or those that were in important organizations who could help or block acceptance of an idea. In fact, there was a great deal of overlapping of the persons named for both of these power roles.

While choices were rather clear cut for some individuals for the roles indicated in relation to Agricultural Extension, the Rural Council and the Farm Bureau Co-op, they were by no means clear for the Farm Bureau Board. Many names were given for the Farm Bureau that were not among the important influentials and would, therefore, presumably be less effective and less efficient in affecting action. That this peculiar pattern should occur is probably related to the character of the organization. The Farm Bureau is far more an elective, general and less specialized organization than any of the others and involves many more persons not among the top leaders than the others.

Obligation Resources

The respondents reported that obligation as a means for getting acceptance of leader roles was often successful. This fact may lead to a continuing pattern of such relationships involving many leaders. In responding to their sense of obligation to specific other people, the influentials felt significantly more obligated than did the sample.
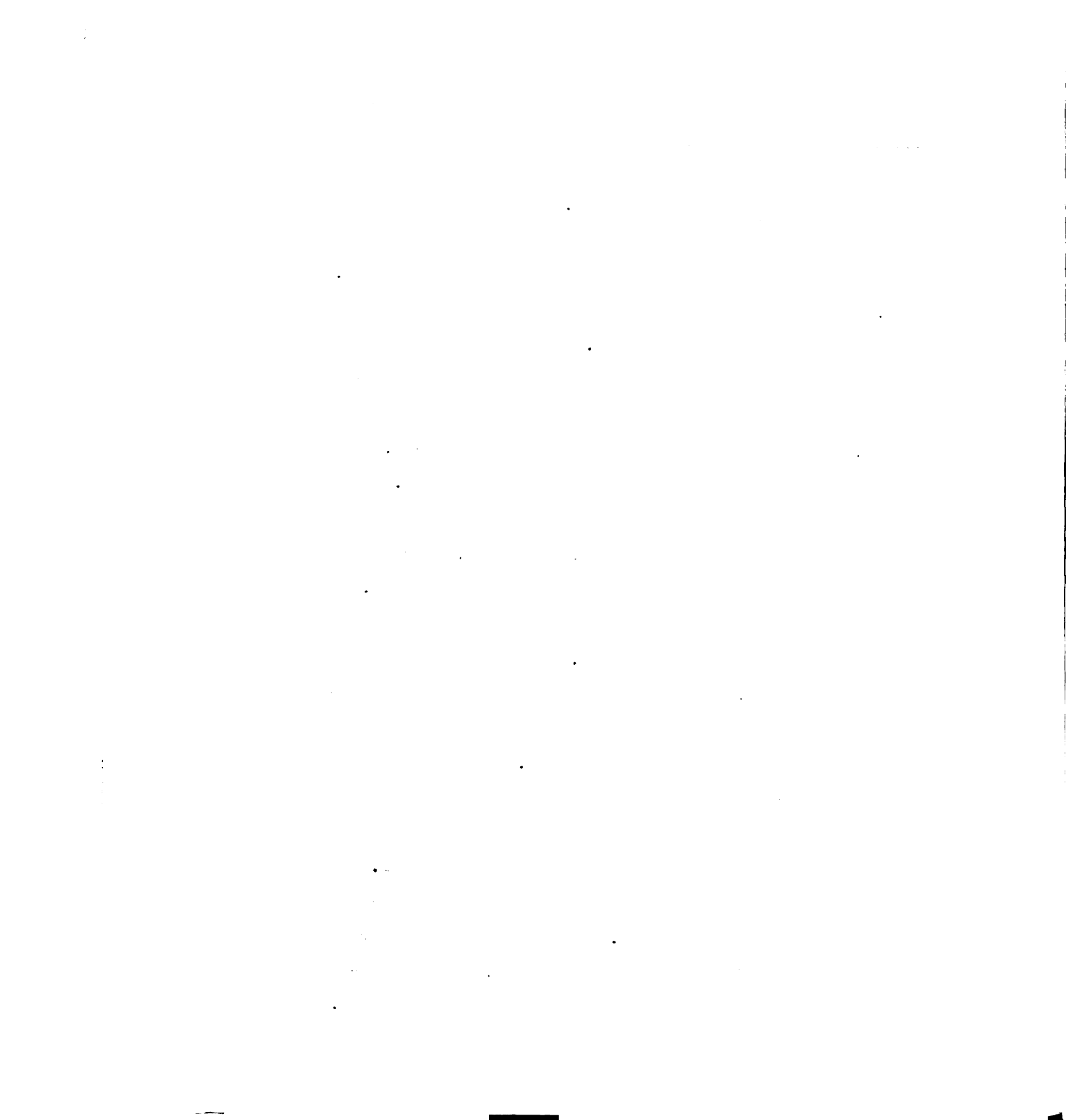
Likewise, when asked whether the others should feel obligated to them, the response pattern was similarly related to the level of influence. Top influentials appeared to be much more sensitive to obligation networks than was the sample as a whole.

Formal and Informal Relationships

The most important action groups in the county were delineated by the respondents as the Rural Council, the Farm Bureau Federation, the Grange and the Extension Program. The Grange, like the Churches, lacked a county focus and its leaders were not listed among the top twenty-one.

Interlocking leadership was characteristic of the organizations, but, in addition, the office holders were often found to be among the top influentials, bringing formal and influential aspects of leadership together. By this means the office serves as the means through which social power is legitimized in the county.

The top influentials not only held several offices, but they also returned to office in organizations after periods of absence. This process of moving from group to group showed a tendency to choose persons for leaders that were important in other groups. Top influentials were also able to affect decisions both directly as officers and indirectly as influentials by means of other influentials that were officers and with whom they had well established patterns of several interpersonal resources.

Office holding and sociometric choices as influentials
were closely related in this social system. Thus, an
understanding of the organized structure would give the
community leader a good insight into the influence structure,
particularly if he were aware of the important action and
policy organizations. These groups seemed to attract the
participation of influentials to a higher degree than other
groups, showing a pattern of permeability for top leaders.
This relationship between the formal and informal leadership
contrasts sharply with that reported by some other writers.
Other studies have found that, in urban areas, the top
leaders establish vertical channels of access that limit
their contacts with other people. They do not participate
in the direct leadership of organizations, except rarely or
unavoidably. The rural leaders, on the other hand, behaved
like small primary associations, in which there is direct
participation and interaction.

It was clear that the social power in the voluntary
social system studied here lacked coercive power and depended
largely on cooperation, good will, feelings of obligation
and the willingness to work toward similar goals.

The case studies presented in Appendix A illustrate the
process of social power in the rural social structure. They
serve to demonstrate the function of formal and informal
relationships in affecting decisions within the rural social
system.

Professional Roles in Rural Power Systems

Three professional leaders were among the study's top twenty-one influentials. They were the County Agricultural Agent, the Co-op Manager and the Soil Conservationist. The first two were important functionaries in organized groups, the third was a technician with little in the way of organizational or group function. In relation to formal leadership, the professionals held no positions other than their professional job.

In the area of interpersonal resources, the professionals were relatively weak; they had few friendship or associational ties. The Co-op Manager was well entrenched with a few important leaders in his organization, but showed few other resources. The County Agent had been in the county less than two years and apparently had not become integrated into the system in that length of time. This lack of involvement by the professionals appears to be a weakness in the structure of their influence relations.

The professional obviously has some other factors of acceptance which he can use. These are his ascribed status as a professional and his achieved status or the skills that he brings to the job. These may make it easy for the pro- ᐳ fessional to enter the system of interpersonal resources where legitimation of decisions can often be done more easily ᐳ and efficiently.

In the patterns of choices for channels of influence, the Extension Agent was chosen for the extension service by almost all of the respondents, even by some that could not recall his name. He is associated with that office and there seemed to be a general feeling of freedom to approach him directly. He received very few choices, however, for the Rural Council. As for the Farm Bureau Federation, the Co-op Manager received a substantial number but not a majority.

In the identification of key leaders, the Co-op Manager was the only professional that was chosen frequently and then more in relation to the Farm Bureau Federation than to the Co-op Board. However, he was seen as being more important in these groups by the top influentials than by the sample.

PARTICIPANT ... OBSERVATION

From the position of a participant observer some additional light may be thrown on the statistical results. The professional leaders appeared to be generally aware of the importance of involving key people in decisions that were made in the county. As professionals they often made use of influentials in legitimizing their programs and in fact based their programs on involving important leaders. Likewise some of the leaders recognized the importance of the professionals, however, the author observed that the respondents

tended to underestimate the importance of the professional leader's role in the community action context. Much of the initiation or stimulation of ideas and opinions was instigated in one way or another by the professional in his key roles as consultant and ex-officio officer in the various rural groups. These roles gave the professional the widest possible access opportunities. The case studies I, II and III in Appendix A, for example, bring out the extent and the depth of the county agents relations with the Rural Council group. Strong leaders, such as no. 4 in the group of top influentials who was president of the Rural Council, may be independent from the professional, as shown in case study III. The agent is none the less about equally as influential in initiating action in that group as no. 4. The case studies also show the strength of the manager in both the Farm Bureau and the Co-op Board.

A further observation may be made in relation to differing tendencies between professional and lay leaders in their method of operation. Lay leaders tended to use meetings to arrive at decisions while professional leaders operated much more informally and tended to use the formal meeting as a place to legitimize decisions, rather than as a forum. An illustration of this type of behavior occurs in case study IV in relation to a joint meeting of the Co-op Board and the FARM Bureau Federation.

It was the opinion of the author that the respondents did not rank the Co-op Board as highly as might have been done among the important action groups. Case study number IV is a good illustration of the impact of that group on another organization. Because of the large number of influentials among its members, its status as a financial institution and its official relationships to the Farm Bureau Federation Board it was a group of great importance in the power process.

The lack of recognition of the professionals and the place of the Co-op Board may be because of a tendency for people to recognize front line social power but not that of the somewhat less obvious functions of those not in the forefront. This is illustrated in case study II in particular where the county agent set the stage beforehand with the president of the Rural Council to accomplish certain objectives. The number of inefficient choices of top influentials, channels of influence and key legitimizers gives some indication of the lack of consciousness of rural people toward social power in human behaviour. Some persons rejected influence on moral grounds, but did not deny its efficacy as a force in human relations.

One further observation should be made about the decision making power structure dealt with in the county.

The people interviewed were involved in the voluntary leadership type of organizations. These activities appeared to be motivated largely by moral values of service and some sense of informal obligation to others. In addition these values were expressed over and over by the respondents. They were the "organized" people, that is, people belonging to farm organizations. This also had a general meaning of "Farm Bureau" identification in this county even though the groups were largely not Farm Bureau sponsored. In response to questions about influential power the respondents identified farmers in farm organizations.

The Differentiation of Rural and Political Power

In naming important rural influentials it was found that a general differentiation existed between political and rural leadership. Almost none of the farm leaders interviewed reported activity in the political field. Farmers that were politicians either as office holders or party workers, were not active participators in any of the rural organizations. In addition political leaders were not named as important influentials. It became apparent to the observer that the one political organization of any consequence was the Republican party and its leadership consisted almost entirely of a small group of non farm people.

Two of the top twenty-one influentials had at one time been candidates for the office of county commissioner. One

of these (no. 4) ran as a Republican and the other (no. 11)
as a Democrat. The first was not approved by the party
central committee and was defeated in the primary even
though he was a very well known and influential rural
leader. The second allowed his name to be used on the
Democratic ticket but did no campaigning. He said in most
cases he had voted as a Republican, but felt there ought
to be opposition on the ballot. Number 10, of the top in-
fluentials, an older man, had formerly been a Democratic
county commissioner during the depression period. Also a
few of the respondents held elective positions on local
school boards but were not active in partisan politics. Two
had represented their townships on the county Republican
committee, but again were not among the central decision
making committee.

Without exception politics was declared as distasteful
and bad by the respondents and they wanted to stay away from
it. With this attitude it appeared to the observer that
there was little chance for the farm people to become a part
of the very important decision making apparatus which the
political arena affords. Two instances show the importance
of political decisions to the rural people. In getting a
hospital no help could be obtained from the political
officers of the county, they even predicted defeat of the

hospital bond issue that passed with an 86 per cent majority.
The problem of overcoming the apathy and tacit opposition
of the political leaders required hurculean efforts on the
part of the Rural Council which was the group that carried
the brunt of the educational load on this project. A
further indication of the separation was seen when the county
hospital board was named, no one from the Rural Council was
appointed to it. Hospital boards are named by the governor
of the state on the recommendation of local political
leaders. The only farmer named was not a member of the
rural organized groups.

A second instance was in the defeat of a proposal for
a rural youth center on the county fair grounds. This
measure received about 40 per cent of the votes and was
defeated largely because the political machinery simply re-
fused to endorse it. They announced no party position
either for or against it. Without political ties there was
a wide gap in the effectiveness of the decision making power
of rural people in the county.

With the exception of the lack of emphasis on the role
of the professional the observer role lead to impressions
that coincided with those of the respondents and corroborate
the findings of the interviews. The participant observer
role was a very useful tool in the investigation because it
gave the researcher important insight into the patterns of

behavior in the rural community that were necessary to guide later research as well as legitimized his position in relation to the respondents who were then willing to discuss intimate details with him.

SOME METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

As a method for practical leaders the one used in this study is far too detailed and complicated. However, some aspects of it could be adopted and taught to those persons making professional leadership their career. In particular this would include the skills related to observing social phenomena and analyzing it in a non-statistical way. A "short cut" technique for quick analysis would have to rest on a base of sufficient training or insight to know what elements to look for.

For use in technical research the methods used have been proven to be useful so long as respondents are cooperative. It requires good rapport, for long probing interviews to be successful. In addition the time required cuts down on the extensiveness of the research. Moreover, personal interviews are likely the only successful way to obtain data of this nature.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

A more intensive investigation of the meaning of interaction is suggested by the partial rejection of the hypothesis that the interaction rate of important influentials

is greater than that of other leaders. A further probe of
access factors and their function is also suggested by this
result.

An intensive study of the meaning of interpersonal re-
sources in the action context would be useful future investi-
gation. This would be applicable as a methodological and
theoretical approach to investigate the socialogical aspects
of decision making not only at the community level but in
other situations such as decisions in the farm enterprise,
in the family and the home. A related problem might include
the study of the legitimizing process as it is related to
cultural change such as in getting acceptance for the
spread of farm practices.

Again, a study of what might occur in the pattern of
decision making and interpersonal resources if anomic
conditions become prevelant such as in the case of rapid
urbanization or rapid social upheaval.

Additional work should be done in delineating other
elements of informal influence that are related to the per-
sonal needs and gratifications of leaders which may be moti-
vating factors in leadership behavior.

In the charts of this work the non-mutual nominations
represented by broken lines indicated that many people were
nominated but did not reciprocate. The non-reciprocated
nominations may be unknown resources or resources which the

influential does not know exist. The implications of
unknown resources raises some questions of interest to the
investigation of influence such as are there characteristic
patterns related to unknown resources.

Still another suggestion raised by the study is related
to the imagery of influence held by the respondents. What
does it consist of and why does such imagery legitimize
the influential with the "right" to act.

A useful tool might be developed for scaling inter-
personal resources which could be used in future work of
this nature.

A study of broad significance in the investigation of
leadership is suggested by the question of why volunteer
leaders participate in the myriad of activities that keep
this society functioning? This question is being asked not
only by those interested in leadership training in this
society, but also by persons from other cultures who are
trying to bring about basic social and technological change
and need the assistance of local people to assume responsible
roles.

Another significant study suggested by this work is
the inverse of the study of top influentials and includes an
investigation of the process of how lower echelons of the
power structure bring about change in the status-quo and
policy made by the top. This is not necessarily the "grass

roots" approach but is in an area of study involving an
intermediate level or those that are in between the top
levels of the authority heirachy and the bottom. Such
people are close to the situational needs and yet find
themselves unable to instigate action.

Still another field of investigation involves the
structure and process of the "popular movement" type of
action that begins (and may even remain) outside of the
ordinary decision making power structure and, in a sense,
overwhelms those that control the power forcing revision or
adoption of policy and action. Such change may occur more
economically and with less disruptive conflict if more were
known about its principles.

Investigation into the problem of how decisions of
different kinds are implemented in a real situation is
needed. This may involve patterns of influence that may
differ between decision making and decision execution within
a social system.

Some limitations must be mentioned in regard to the
study. First its exploratory nature and confinement to one
county made it impossible to make extensive inferences to
rural social systems in general. Second was the fact men-
tioned above that the scope of the study limited it to be-
havior related to county level organizations and to the kind
of people that participate in them. A word of caution might

be added here, however, that naming of the top influentials was not restricted in this way. The influentials were only limited to rural people.

Finally, work beyond this should include a broader sampling method to include other areas of the population and the structures related to them. These might include the political system, educational system, unorganized farm people and related urban components.

The methodology of statistical tests were greatly hampered by the size of the sample when it was desirable to explore further breakdowns, as for example in the study of the resource and access items. However, the total structure of these items cannot be determined without a complete enumeration of a specified group. This would require many interviews of an intensive nature.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CASE STUDIES OF SOCIAL POWER*

In order to understand the way in which the influentials can affect the decisions of organizations and individuals some case studies are included. These studies are shown in the form of field notes taken on the spot or immediately after the interviews and include the main parts of the discussion or conversation. They are both narrative accounts of incidents and direct statements. Wherever possible quotations or near quotations are used. Included also are short notes or observations relating to the situation. These cases reveal the impact of the influential upon an action situation. They were not taken as evidence for a specific question but as a record of the power process in relation to rural groups in the county.

CASE I

A CASE STUDY OF THE FUNCTION OF INDIRECT INFLUENCE
BY A PROFESSIONAL LEADER WITH A RURAL ORGANIZATION

The first case study is one showing the direct influential role of a professional leader, the county agent, in relation to an organization, the Rural Council. It explains his function in relation to the executive committee which

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*All names used are fictitious, all other aspects are authentic.

although direct is also indirect in that he does not take a leading part in the organization as a whole. He works with its affairs in helping them with the preparation of the organization program.

I, the interviewer, asked Mr. Porter, the county agent, the following question: "Where do you fit in the official organization of the Rural Council?"

He did not answer directly, explaining his idea was that part of his job was training leaders and he believed this was the way to do it. He felt the best way to train leaders was in the actual operation of a problem. Porter added that these kinds of groups will not go just by themselves, so he feels it is his place to help steer them along. He says he presents ideas and lets them choose what they want to do. Then he "sort of is there all the time to help keep things rolling".

He has no official job because he feels that other agricultural agencies might feel extension was running the show, so he keeps off all those things. The agricultural agencies get along well and cooperate, so he wants to be sure that this continues to be so.

Mr. Porter's extension office handles all of the details of notifying people about meetings, keeping records, etc., for the Rural Council.

Mr. Porter attends all of the meetings of the executive board even though not an officer, and takes an active

part in assisting the president and advising as is shown
by the fact that for the first meeting of the newly elected
officers, Mr. Porter was there and presented to the group a
mimeographed sheet with several items which made up the guide
for discussion. This sheet had several questions, for ex-
ample, the first listed several factors and then asked,"Which
long-time trend means most to us?" Then those present were
asked to rate the trends by numbers as to which was first,
second, etc., through to seven.

Mr. Porter said he made up this device to assist those
present to think through for themselves what the problems
are and which were most important. He said he merely chose
the problems from any he thought of.

This first meeting was only for the officers and exec-
utive board.of the Rural Council. At that meeting they
decided what problems were important for the Rural Council
committees to work on for the year and whom they would ask
to be chairmen of these topic committees.

Note: The role of the county agent as described here by the
agent is like that of a paid executive secretary. The agent
feels this is a justifiable use of his time because it also
is accomplishing other things that are part of his job,
namely adult education and leadership training for improved
agriculture and rural living.

A CASE STUDY OF THE INDIRECT ROLE OF A PROFESSIONAL
LEADER IN RELATION TO PREPARING
FOR A GROUP MEETING

Case II deals with the role of the county agent in working indirectly with an organization in two ways. First, he was checking to see if the new president had an understanding of the purposes and function as well as the problems of the organization. Second, the agent explained his role in relation to the choice of the new officers. In both instances the impact of the county agent in the informal influential role are important. He maintains good interpersonal resources with these leaders and therefore has the freedom of initiating through them or receiving from them. He was well acquainted with the new chairman, Mr. Nelson, and worked with him on many things.

Question: How do you operate with Mr. Nelson (the new president of the Rural Council) before Rural Council (R.C.) meetings?

Answer: He is new and I talked with him and gave him a copy of the programs for the meetings of the previous two years to be sure if there was any carry over of meetings for this year. I raised the question to him as to what the themes should be this year. I didn't suggest any topics. The suggestions I made myself were made at the officers meeting. We

did talk in general terms of county prob-

lems; some that should not be included and

we pinned a few things down. Also, I

visited with him a little to see if he really

understood the objectives of the R. C.

Question: Did you brief him on those objectives?

Answer: Yes, in general.

Question: How are you working with him now about get-

ting programs started?

Answer: Mr. Nelson was in this morning. He asked if

we should read the minutes of last years'

meeting or a summary of all meetings last

year. He asked how he should handle the

business meeting, also, how many committees

have met so far and are the programs getting

started. Mr. Nelson came out with two things

that I had hoped he would and have been work-

ing around indirectly to get him to do. That

is, he recommended we have the leaders of

these committees in to some leader training

meetings, this would be under extension, not

Rural Council, and invite others in also.

Second, was to indoctrinate the group as to

what the objectives are at these meetings.

Another point he discussed was how to get

the organizations in the county to get

representatives named as well as checking on

how these groups are coming through with con-

tributions for the expenses of Rural Council.

Question: How were the candidates for president chosen

in the last election and how did you work

in that phase?

Answer: Mr. Ackerman (the past president) came to me

and asked about naming the nominating com-

mittee to get a committee to name the right

kind of men. We decided on the names for

the committee. Isaac Ackerman called the

committee together and then asked me to help

him explain the purpose of the committee and

then the committee called a meeting of their

own. I had a conflicting appointment but

they went ahead and made the nominations of

Lloyd Nelson and Tyler Thompson. The committee

was instructed very carefully I thought, about

the kind of men wanted. This is usually done

a couple of months ahead of the election.

Question: How were the candidates brought into the

picture?

Answer: They were nominated, then each one was con-

tacted by the committee to see if they would

let their names be used. Lloyd Nelson did

not give permission until about a week before

the election. There was some concern.
Tyler Thompson is pretty capable but lacks
some initiative, however, both are strong
men. The choice was between two strong men.

The nominating committee had some re-
fusals for other places on the executive
committee. After deciding not to use Isaac
Ackerman (who had served three years) again,
they considered Roger Clark. He said he
didn't want to be considered at the present
time, however.

CASE III

A CASE STUDY OF THE DIRECT ROLE OF A PROFESSIONAL LEADER AND A LAY LEADER IN THE ACTION CONTEXT OF A MEETING

The third case is that of a meeting of the executive
board of the Rural Council where several of the top influen-
tials were present. The purposes of the meeting were both
announced and unannounced; on the one hand it was intended
by the chairman to organize the working committees for the
monthly programs of the year of the County Rural Council.
On the other hand it was intended by the county agent to
carry out some training of the officers in the purposes of
the organization and attempt to get this group to consider
some of the ways it might be more affective in stimulating
a carry over from the fact finding role to getting action.

The impact of the roles of two influential persons, the county agent and the chairman of the Rural Council are illustrated. Other influentials are also involved, and are identified by their numbers among the twenty-one top influentials.

This was a summer meeting of the executive board of the Rural Council and the topic committee chairmen of the coming year. It was the second meeting of the new officers and board, the purpose being to organize the working committees for each monthly meeting of the coming year. Lloyd Nelson, a very competent, well educated farmer was president and in charge.

Before the meeting the agricultural agent, Mr. Porter, passed out agenda sheets to the first two comers and started a discussion from the beginning by raising a question about the second point saying he thought they would have to face it tonight. The point being -- is Rural Council depending too much on organizations such as local Granges and Farm Bureau Councils to secure community planning?

The meeting started very informally with no call to order by the chairman, but just a continuation of the discussion started as they arrived by the county agent.

The county agent brought up question two on the sheet he had passed around. He was concerned that the Rural Council be more effective in getting groups in the county

to take action on the problems the project committee dis-
cussed.

Chairman, Mr. 4* - What do you folks think?

Mr. A. -   There is not a good understanding of
                    the Rural Council in our group
                    (Grange).

Chairman -   Put a question to Harold Porter, the
                    county agent, about the objectives
                    of the Rural Council.

County Agent -   answered saying membership in the
                    Rural Council was made up mostly of
                    officers of the rural organizations
                    in the county.

Chairman -   Isn't that the way it should be?

County Agent -   Not entirely. The idea has slightly
                    changed. The thinking originally
                    was that there should also be people
                    elected or named representing each
                    organization, then it got to be just
                    the officers from these local groups
                    that were on the mailing list because
                    they failed to name representatives.
                    This makes the leadership very narrow

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*Numbers represent the individuals number as a top in-
fluential. Letters represent other leaders not in the
top twenty-one. These notes were made during the par-
ticipant observer and exploratory stage of the study
which preceded the interviews. The county agent con-
cerned here had been in the county for four years.

	and we are not getting new blood in.
Mr. 2 (past president)	We used to put different people on the monthly topic committees; over the years this has scattered the leadership pretty good.
Chairman -	In the past there was no limit to who could come to meetings even if they were not on the mailing list.
Mr. 2	If you have definite people to mail to who are named by their groups you get different people and not the same crowd that would come out to everything.
Chairman -	By naming many on committees we can get a cross section.
County Agent -	If the local groups we have aren't doing the job of getting action on these problems we must face it and get those that will.
Mr. 5	If we are not careful and get local people to take part it will be like the word being made in Washington, centralized.
Mr. 2	The job of the R. C. is to get the facts and then get local groups, Grange, Farm Bureau, etc., to work.
Mr. A	Too many who come to R. C. meetings don't take the message back. People back there

aren't interested in asking them about it.

Mrs. B - Our local Farm Bureau Advisory Council is active. Someone needs to take the information back to them.

Mr. 5 The R. C.'s purpose is to set policy, not action. It is supposed to study a problem and get the facts.

Chairman - Let's get on with the program for this year.

Note: At this point Mr. Nelson actually assumed the role of chairman.

Discussion note

This part of the meeting had been an effort by the county agent to get the new officers of the organization to examine itself and the affectiveness of its program. He had started it by handing out mimeographed copies of some points to be considered as the people arrived. The agents concern was with the fact that little action had taken place on community problems that the Rural Council had been discussing and the reason seemed to lie in the fact that the county representatives were not taking the information back to the local people in their local organizations anddeveloping understanding and interest in the problems.

In his attempt to interest the executive committee to act, however, the agent failed. Those present fell back upon

the past methods and principles of the organization which

included fact finding, policy making (or in reality policy

suggesting), through involving representatives of local

and county groups. Direct action had been taken in the past

by the expedient of naming a committee to follow up and on

its own become an action group outside of the Rural Council.

This was not brought in here however, and no other sugges-

tions for stimulating action were made.

<u>County Agent</u> says - In November the main part of the

program is on international programs,

F.A.O., point four and exchange students.

<u>Chairman</u> went on through the program naming subjects

chosen for discussion and did not enlarge

on the November topic.

<u>Mr. C,</u> chairman of the school committee, said he wanted

the Executive Board to name his com-

mittee, he didn't know the names of

people in other parts of the county.

<u>Chairman</u> -   The subject should center around consol-

idation of schools, that's the important

point.

<u>Mr. 2</u> - suggested Mrs. T. I. for the committee. She

is a sister-in-law of the school super-

intendent. She lived on Greene Road.

<u>Chairman</u> -   We will have to include the superin-

tendent. Sabina and Blanchester could be

ignored.

Mrs. B -   When you mentioned school consolidation
                you hit a bomb.

Chairman -   Ulysses Evans would make a good one.
                Now, who from Midland?

County Agent - suggested Mrs. Bob Hansey.

Chairman - said the thinking of the committee should
                be diversified.

County Agent - (to all chairmen) - We are trying to
                present both sides of the picture. We
                don't have to defend everything.

Mr. C.   It should be fact finding. People
                should open up, not jump on everyone and
                defend their own position.

Mr. 2   I don't think the superintendent should
                be on the committee.

County Agent - Agreed. Suggested using him for a re-
                source person.

Mr. C   Thought he would work all right on the
                committee.

Chairman -   Thought he would also.

County Agent - Thought strongly he shouldn't be on the
                committee, but should be used as a re-
                source person on the program. With the
                school problem a hot issue he felt it
                might be better to leave the program

arrangements to the people and not the
officials.

Mr. 2 -   Agreed.

Mr. C(topic chairman) agreed, then the idea carried.

Rural Church Topic

Chairman -   Did R. C. do a survey on the Rural
                Church?

Mr. 2   -   Yes.

Mrs. D said -   Yes, the R. C. did.

Mr. 2 said -   They made the survey by judges, not by
                asking personally about attendance and
                activity. They went down the roads
                past each house and asked what the judge
                thought of the occupant as church people.

County Agent   suggested J. C. for the committee.

Mr. 6   suggested N. W. and S. D. Several active
                churches were named.

Mr. 5   suggested someone of the Catholics should
                be on the committee.

County Agent   suggested someone from the Friends
                Church because they were carrying on a
                good program for the people.

Mrs. D -   The Catholics didn't help on the survey.

Note: A group was decided upon from the names listed with
little disagreement except for the mention of the activity
of the Catholic Group.

County Agent said for December program, the F.H.A.
wanted to furnish a program. What did
the group think? (The county agent had
been asked to make the suggestion and
had to bring it up although he apparently
had no strong feelings for it. Yet it
seemed to be an opportunity for a little
known agency to put its case before the
group.

Chairman said   Let the topic chairman decide. She is
not here so now move on to the January
meeting. In January it is Rural-Urban
relations. We will invite our city
friends to that night. To my mind this
should be a discussion of how is indus-
trial expansion going to effect the kind
of farming due to labor change, method,etc.

County Agent   suggested several businessmen for the
committee.

Chairman said -We don't want too many of them.

County Agent said - We need them to get the businessmen
out.

Someone named C.H. - He is doing a bang up job on those
farmerd down around him.

Mr. 5 -   The two K boys, Dave and Jim would be good.

Mr. 2 -   Dave is very busy and Jim is not well.

Mr. 5 -   The boys were born in one of those

                 shanties down there.

Chairman -   Who in the county knows trends in farm-

                 ing; knows about new things? P. W.

                 would be good.

Note: City fellows with farms were mentioned but not accepted.
The committee was named with all of them being farmers but
one, who had both a business and a farm.

Chairman -   The February topic is the Family Farm

                 Policy.

Mr. 5 -   I'm not soure what the job is.

County Agent said - There have been some changes on the

                 topic idea since the last meeting.

County Agent -   The third point on the agenda here is the

                 64 dollar question; that is that members

                 ofthe group should do this.

The Chairman didn't think so - It's who gets the facts

                 and presents them that is the 64 dollar

                 question.

Note: Disagreement on this point indicated that the agenda
sheet was not the work of the chairman. Also this topic was
one involving farm organization policy versus anti organiza-
tion policy.

Mr. 5 -   It's good to have someone who is not a

                 member of anything on this committee

                 also.

Mr. 2	suggested N. B.
County Agent	agreed with No. 5's idea that those not in farm organizations should be in on it.
Chairman said	About one-half the farmers are in agricultural organizations and one-half not.
Mr. 5	Only about one-third in his township were in agricultural organizations. A lot give their business to the Co-op, but do not belong.
County Agent	suggested P. L.
Someone -	F.A. is independent or non-organizational.

(comments - good guy, poor manager, speaks out)

Mr. 5 -	We need someone red hot on organizations. P. L. will fit there.
Chairman -	P. L. is not high in the Farm Bureau.
Someone -	suggested N. F. or A. N. for the P.M.A.
County Agent	suggested G. V. for the Co-op.
Mr. 5 -	This committee is solid Farm Bureau.
County Agent -	You need a P.M.A. man on it also.

Note: Names were chosen from those mentioned with two "non organizational" people on it. There were cleavages shown in the discussion including pro Farm Bureau or farm organizations versus anti farm organization, and pro government, i.e. P.M.A., versus anti government sentiment. This group is

strongly pro farm organization, but sought to have the "other side" represented.

March - Helping Children

Chairman said to County Agent - This is your program. Earl Newton, (Extension Council Chairman who was named chairman of this program) isn't here.

County Agent   said he wanted two young people on it and suggested Mrs. W. D. and Rev. H.E. (This committee was left for final decision to the chairman who was not present).

April - Community Planning

Mrs. D.   topic chairman, wanted Mrs. R. J. and D. Y., wife of Rev. R. Y.

County Agent   suggested also Rev. H. E. who was on the White House Conference committee for children and youth.

Chairman said   Put H. E. on one and not the other.

County Agent said - What do you think, Isaac? Where would Rev. H. E. be best?

Mr. 2 -   He hasn't too much experience in either; he's got some ideas but not tried. H. E. is a city man and not transplanted.

County Agent - This committee should cover several

several fields.

Chairman - Harold (county agent) I don't think this

should go too wide. Keep it on the

church and school. Let this be the

windup of the biggest problems of the

year which for this year will be church

and school.

Mrs 5 - Some of the problems here are, what is

the community going to be like with better

transportation. Is the local community

just going to disintegrate. I think

people that are friends want to worship

together. (he was arguing for keeping

the local rural churches.)

Chairman - Would the college help?

County Agent - No, but P.K., one of the top church

people in the county doesn't work on any

committee.

Mr. 2 - What these communities need worst of all

is leadership.

Chairman suggested A. I. and Mrs. M. T.

Mr. 5 - Challenged the idea that community plan-

ning should just be school and church.

Chairman argued that he thought the first two

programs would be so important that this
last group would want to "rehash" it.

He carried his point with the group.

County Agent - Perhaps the biggest problem is how do
you do community planning.

Here the County Agent in effect took over the preroga-
tive of the chair and moved back to the November meeting.
The chairman of the November meeting was not present so
the county agent began pushing it and chairing the discussion.

Chairman   came back into the discussion and sug-
                    gested S. M. for the committee; others
                    named were No. 6, Mrs. N. U. and Mrs. 2.

Mrs. B   suggested for the Christmas meeting an
                    all womens program put on by a womens
                    committee. The group agreed.

County Agent   commented that the F.H.A. manager didn't
                    have the special speaker he suggested
                    in mind until after the county agent had
                    told him that the R. C. didn't have any
                    special group to give the program.

Note: The county agent again presented the three ideas on
the agenda sheet he had distributed before the meeting. To
him this was a phase of leader training. He used these
points to clarify what the group should think, he kept re-
turning and clarifying these points throughout the meeting

when the group agreed on something that he did not feel
fitted the purpose of the organization.

He especially emphasized number 3 on securing and use
of a guest speaker. Those present sometimes said yes and
sometimes no to this idea for the different committees.
The county agent kept pushing the point until all agreed
on no, because he felt the committee would rely on the
speaker and not really dig into the facts of the problems
in the county.

Discussion Note

When someone didn't want a person that had been sug-
gested on a committee, they evaded him by commenting about
him and then adding "but" someone else would probably do as
good or better, etc. This was particularly true of numbers
2, 4, 5, and the county agent.

Women's names came up several times during the evening
but usually not alone. They would usually come up in connec-
tion with the husband, either because they wanted him on a
committee but felt he was too busy or because they wanted
someone near to him. In one case a sister of the school
superintendent was brought up and named to a committee.
One or two women seemed to rank as choices for committee
membership but this was only by the women chairmen.

The direct impact of important influentials can be
seen in this running account of a meeting of the Rural

Council, one of the important organizations in the county.
In particular, the county agent, a professional leader, is
shown with another important influential lay leader (no. 4)
who is the chairman of the organization. In some cases the
suggestions and aims of both are accepted in others they are
not. The county agent with his perception of the group as
a media for adult education very often behaves as though he
were a teacher and the others pupils. They accept this at
times but do not at others. However, he persists without
any violent rejection of his role.

CASE IV

A CASE STUDY OF AUTHORITY AND THE USE OF DIRECT AS WELL AS INDIRECT INFLUENCE BY AN INDIVIDUAL AND A GROUP

The fourth case shows the function of the role of a
professional leader, and an organization in the power pro-
cess. This includes the Co-op manager, who is secretary
of the Co-op Board, and who therefore at that time had a
quasi official relationship to the Farm Bureau Federation
Board, as well as the Co-op Board. The manager has the
authority of an employer as well as being an employee of
the Board.

Included in this case is the action of the manager and
the board in relation to two meetings of the Co-op Board.
Contingent data to the action of these meetings is also

given including both before and after. The case shows action on three major items, first, the use of authority to obtain the resignation of the Farm Bureau Executive Secretary. The second is the use of influence and authority to obtain greater separation of powers for the co-operative from the Farm Bureau. This latter action was being done on the basis of a resolution passed at the previous meeting of the Co-op Board, and which had been presented to the Farm Bureau Board for their consideration. The key role of the manager is shown in the action taken.

A third very pointed example of influence is shown in this case study, it includes the influence of the professional leader and then the Co-op Board, in turn, on the Farm Bureau Board. It appeared in relation to the strategy used for counteracting the effect of the Mobilization Committee report on the Family Farm Policy Review. This also illustrates vividly the behavior and rationale of the organized groups involved.

Action of the Co-op Board

The vice-chairman was in charge of the meeting in the absence of the chairman of the board; however, the manager led the discussion. The minutes were read by the manager who acted as secretary. The chairman asked if there were any questions about the minutes. There was no response so he said then they would go on to other business. But the

manager said he wanted to discuss the resolution that had been read which had been made during the last meeting. The resolution was about the functional separation of the Co-op from the Farm Bureau Board of the county.

Note: Under the present arrangement, instituted recently, the Co-op manager was put in charge of the promotion work for the Farm Bureau Federation of the county and the Co-op payed the expenses and costs of personnel, offices, etc. of the F.B. Also in this change Mr. Roberts the former executive secretary of the Farm Bureau was made an employee under the direction of Mr. Ogden, the Co-op manager. He was to continue working for the Farm Bureau and the Co-op and to be paid by the Co-op/

The manager, Mr. Ogden, reported that the resolution of the Co-op Board made at the previous monthly meeting in July was read in the last Farm Bureau Board meeting and discussed. Mr. Ogden was present and the discussion got "plenty rough" for a while he said, but after much explanation they seemed to see the point. Especially the younger members; older members were those who did not desire a change. The resolution included relieving the Co-op manager of any responsibility for promotional work or responsibility in the Farm Bureau Federation and the paying of two dollars per member by the Co-op to the Farm Bureau for expenses of the Farm Bureau (this would virtually isolate the two organizations.) The manager explained that Mr. Roberts told

the Farm Bureau Board that the Co-op had been contributing
about 6,500 dollars to the Farm Bureau and this would go down
below 4,000 dollars with the new proposition. The manager
said that this was not quite so because Mr. Roberts whose
salary came out of that amount was being paid to do the
publicity for the Co-op as well as to promote the Farm
Bureau membership and that Mr. Roberts' secretary also was
doing work for the Co-op. (This arrangement, however, had
only been in operation for a few months) The manager
brought out that he didn't think the Co-op was getting value
received for the cost of this set up. (This obviously
meant the work of Mr. Roberts.)

Since the meeting with the Farm Bureau Board the
manager explained that Mr. Roberts had quit and taken
another job. The manager continued saying that Mr. Roberts
had come to see him one night after that meeting and told
him that he had another offer and asked what he thought he
should do about it. Mr. Ogden, the manager, said he told
him he thought he ought to take the job because he thought
the Farm Bureau would be out of funds before the end of
the year anyway; Mr. Roberts took the job.

The Co-op Board then discussed the resolution and
finally left it with the idea that more would develop from
it. But much depended on what happened to the proposed in-
crease in Farm Bureau membership dues which would be voted

on at the state convention. The vote of the state convention
was to be on an increase of state dues per member from $2.50
to $4.00. This would almost automatically require an in-
crease of county dues from the present $5.00 to $10.00. The
sentiment was that this should be passed and if it was
passed that the Farm Bureau could carry on its own program
without so much help from the Co-op. It was also suggested
that there would be a cut in the membership of the Farm
Bureau but that they perhaps would be stronger members.

Influencing Public Policy

The third factor discussed at this meeting concerned
action about how to affect a change in the farm policy re-
port which was to be turned in to the U. S. Department of
Agriculture by the County Mobilization Committee. As
background for this part of the case study an explanation
must be made concerning the function of the Mobilization
Committee prior to this time.

The Mobilization Committee was a committee made up of
all federal farm agencies in the county and included the
paid personnel as well as their advisory groups. This was
an official group set up to act in case of war mobilization
after the beginning of the Korean hostilities. The Mobili-
zation Committees in all counties had been directed by the
Secretary of Agriculture of the United States to meet with
the farm people and discuss each of these agencies and get

the farmers reaction to the present policy of the federal administration.

The procedure used in this county to carry out the directive was as follows: The hired personnal of the agencies under the chairmanship of the P.M.A. chairman decided to call a meeting of themselves and members of their advisory councils or committees and representatives of the farm organizations. This included someone from the Farm Bureau, the Co-op Board and the Grange. Actually almost all those present were Farm Bureau members.

The mat rial prepared by the U.S.D.A. explaining the function of each agency was presented to this selected group and discussed. Strong sentiments were expressed about the government programs, particularly the P.M.A. The P.M.A. chairman countered by saying that the Farm Bureau national leadership did not represent the farmers. The Co-op manager stated that he did not believe the Farm Bureau leadership could remain in office if it were not representative. There was some strong assent by the others. The county agent asked if farmers were not acting in two ways at once, first, talking against the program and second, actually participating in them anyway.

The question was finally raised as to how this should be presented to the people of the county. Should a series of local meetings be held or should there be a county-wide

meeting. It was expressed by the Co-op manager, that local meetings would run them to death. No final action was taken at this meeting on the method of action but later it was decided by the professionals in the agencies to hold one public meeting at the county court house, and have each agency explain his own program. The people present were to fill out a short questionnaire for each agency after each presentation.

This was done, but with only a very small group of about 80 people of the county present. The opinion toward each agency when tabulated was overwhelmingly in favor of the government programs and there was almost no general discussion from the floor.

Organizational Response

From this setting then, a description is made of the way the Co-op Board responded and the way in which they planned to counter the affect of the public meeting which most the organizational leaders did not attend.

The Co-op Board Meeting Continued

The manager then brought up the program of the Mobilization Committee for discussion. Only one other person on the board besides himself had attended either meeting held by the Mobilization Committee. Mr. Ogden had attended both and Mr. Evans, the public meeting at the court house. (Mr. Evans had made a statement at the public meeting against

government programs, almost the only voluntary response made.)
The manager explained that the U.S.D.A. wanted to know what
the farmer thought about the U.S.D.A. programs. He said
that two meetings had been held in the county in which the
agencies had presented their programs to get the reaction
of the people. But he felt that the reactions there would
be what these agencies wanted rather than that of all groups.

The kind of people he said that were at the court house
meeting were not representative of the thinking of the county.
He said he thought that the farm organizations must get
their ideas into the report that goes in or it would be
just the ideas of the government agencies. He referred to
a letter he had received from Mr. F. of the State Farm
Bureau to the effect that the county Farm Bureau Boards and
the county Farm Bureau Co-op Boards should hold a joint
meeting and discuss this. This had been brought up in the
Farm Bureau meeting but they had not done anything about it.

Mr. Essex, vice-chairman, thought the Co-op Board
should call the meeting. There was the chance to do some-
thing, it should not be passed up. Others agreed. This pro-
gram was discussed at some length. The manager had copies
of a short summary of the programs of each agency which had
been made up by the state Farm Bureau office from the large
mimeographed publications put out by the U.S.D.A. These
summaries were not the same as were made up by the agencies

themselves that were used in the meeting called by the
Mobilization Board.

Mr. Ogden asked who they thought should present re-
ports on the agencies, and if they should invite any others
in. The group wanted Mr. Ogden to present the material and
did not want the agency people in. Mr. Sornson felt that
"people don't say what they want when personalities are
there." Mr. Essex and the others affirmed these ideas.

Mr. Evans wanted to be sure that the information pre-
sented was from the Farm Bureau and Mr. Ogden reaffirmed
this.

Mr. Evans started to say something about government
agencies and then stopped and said, "Well, I won't get into
an argument now."

A discussion ensued which was brought up by the manager.
He indicated that the idea of the U.S.D.A. was that they
were getting conflicting stories about what the farmers
wanted from the farm organizations and the agencies.

The manager then said, "the question is now if we let
the agencies make the report then the government agencies
will be speaking for the farmer instead of the farm organi-
zations. This is dangerous. The farm organizations must
speak up for the farmers."

The manager said that some claim that L. E. (national
president) does not speak for the Farm Bureau and he said

he told them in the first meeting of the Mobilization Com-
mittee that if L. E. didn't he wouldn't be president of the
Farm Bureau long.

The group agreed and some stated that L. E. was repre-
senting the farmers and Mr. Evans said you couldn't repre-
sent everybody's ideas.

One person speaking about the government agencies said
that the Farm Bureau Board is another county voted to throw
out all the government agencies and start over. This state-
ment was added to or assented to by several. It was given
illustratively but raised no negative comments toward it.

Joint Meeting of Farm Bureau Federation Board and the Co-op
Board

The following is an excerpt from the recorded notes of
a joint meeting early in September between the Farm Bureau
Federation and the Co-op Board and shows how the ideas dis-
cussed in the previous meeting of the Co-op Board were
carried out in the joint meeting. After the Co-op Board
meeting in August the manager prepared a series of resolu-
tions which were to be the response of the Farm Bureau to
the Mobilization Board and to be included in their report.
The notes of the meeting show how the manager got them
accepted on the record without change.

There was a joint meeting of the Farm Bureau Federation
Board and Farm Bureau Co-op Board to discuss the Family
Farm Policy Review and several recommendations made by the

Co-op manager ostensibly from the previous months' Co-op
Board meeting but which had not been an actual part of that
meeting. These were on a mimeographed sheet dated for the
joint meeting. These recommendations were read and pre-
sented for discussion by the manager.

<u>Stephen Burt</u>   questioned item no. 2. "Isn't it taking
in too much territory to try to let
local groups make all the decisions?"
Answers to this were made by Ogden,
Co-op manager, and Norwood, Farm Bureau
President. Someone questioned item no.
5 on crop insurance. "How are you going
to pick those areas? (high risk areas
for crop insurance.)

<u>John Hopewell</u>   said, "I never heard of an insurance
company that picked out just the high
risk areas."

<u>Mr. Ogden</u>   explained that this program seemed to be
made for those big farms out west and
not for this area.

Someone else said, "The people of Clinton County don't
have anything to gain to take out crop
insurance."

Another man said, that some people thought there had
been some high pressure salesmanship and

the farmer bought to get rid of them
(the statement was carefully phrased but
was intended to mean specific persons.)

Mr. Ogden   said he thought the group was thinking
about the cost of administrating it in
the county.

Someone pointed out that it is still in the county any-
way.

Another man pointed out that the bankers said the
farmers' credit is better if they have
insurance. This is the bankers' idea.

Someone else said you feel better when you know it is
insured.

Mr. Ogden   said, "Well, this doesn't say that it
shouldn't be available. It's just that
there should not be so much emphasis on
it."

Someone said, "If there is no less over seven years the
premium is cut in half."

Mr. Norwood -   "What are the wishes of the group? Do
you want to leave it in or not?"

One man said that the emphasis should be on less emphasis;
if it's on that then it's worded all
right.

Mr. Norwood said, "If it's worded all right someone
should make a motion to accept or change
it."

Mr. Ogden   said, "The joint meeting was a meeting

of the boards so actually we should be

voting on this only as accepting them as

minutes. If the secretary has stated

them right then there should be no

changes."

Note: This strategy was completely new and occurred to
forestall any change in the resolutions. No one even ques-
tioned the strategy even those on the Farm Bureau Board. No
one seemed to know what it meant. Another man at this
point began discussing the P.C.A.

Stephen Burt - "The question is, is it good to get free

of the government?"

John Hopewell made a motion to accept them as read and

it passed with no further protest.

Note: It was apparent that the recommendations were not
receiving complete agreement and that many question were
being raised. It was also apparent that the group were
expecting to pass on, reject or modify the items being recom-
mended. This was forestalled by the Co-op manager by his
stating that they were minutes and therefore simply to be read
and if these were with no mistakes they should be accepted as
read. In effect this was asking the Farm Bureau Federation
Board to approve the minutes of the Co-op Board, after which
they would be presented to the Mobilization Committee as
the approved policy of both graoups. This is exactly what
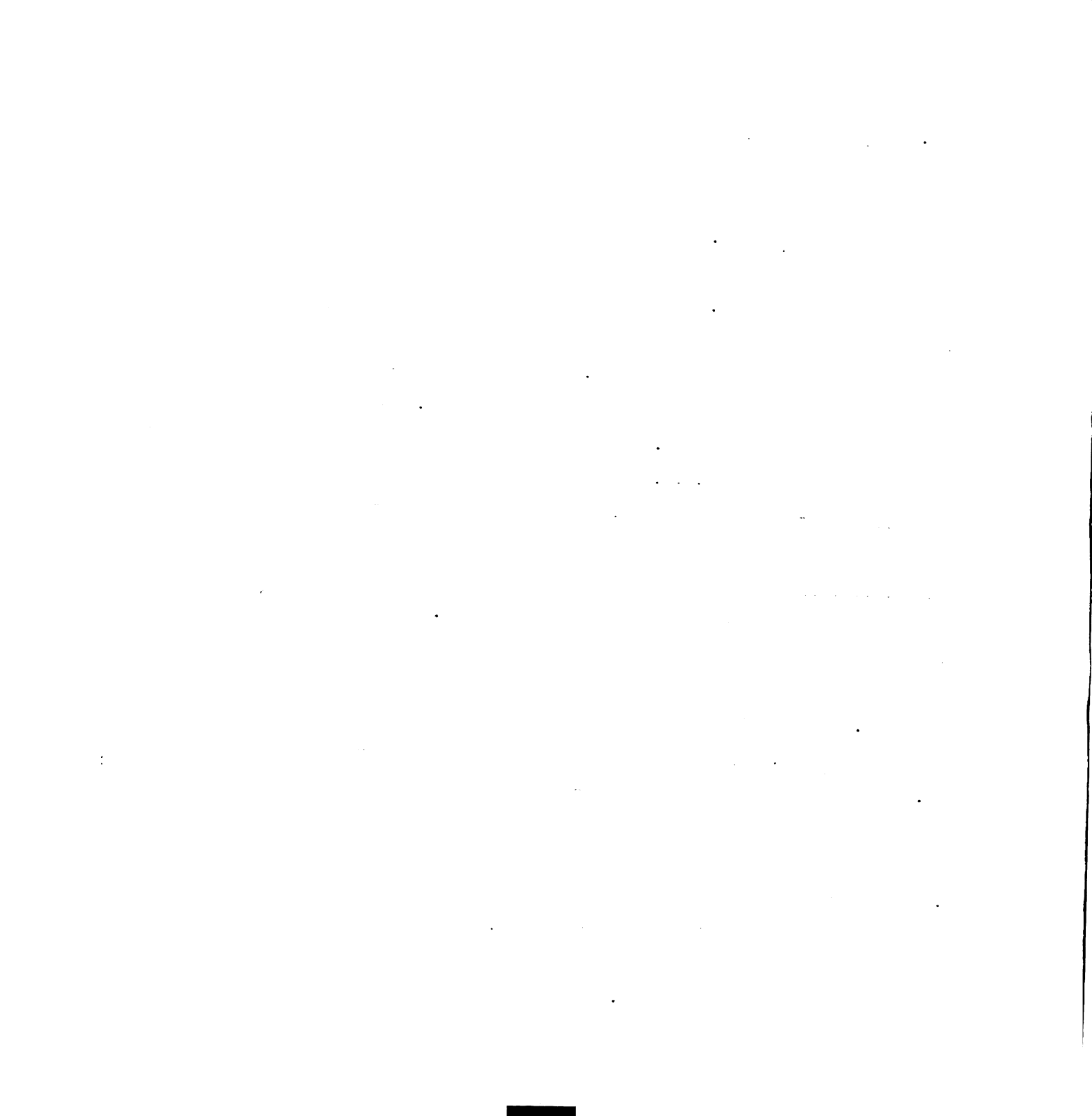
happened.

CASE V

A CASE STUDY OF THE OPERATION OF INDIRECT INFLUENCE

Case V does not involve affecting the action of an organized group, but illustrates how an important organized group can affect other affairs in the county. This is an instance illustrating a combination of motivating elements including indirect influence combined with a direct threat of coersion. The sanctions are only implied but were strong enough to warrant immediate action.

Mr. Ogden, the Co-op manager, and a top influential, reported friendly interaction with the news paper editor. Mr. Ogden explained that the editor of the Center City Press understood the "cooperative position" and what the Co-ops were doing and he had agreed to keep the propaganda of the Tax Equality League out of the paper. However, he said if someone wanted to pay for the ad and attach their name to it he would print it. The paper hadnot printed any of the stuff put out by the Tax Equality League. However, one day a large advertisement from that organization came out in the paper under the name of a local feed mill. When it was called to his attention, Mr. Ogden called the editor of the paper on the phone. It was recognized that there was no violation of their agreement but the Co-op Manager said,

"Unless you want this spread all over the front page I want
you to get that man in here to my office." It was the
desire of the editor not to have it develop into a wide open
flare-up.

It was only a few minutes after this conversation that
the feed mill man called Mr. Ogden. Mr. Ogden told him he
wanted to see him in his office. The man tried to get Ogden
to meet him and have lunch with him. Mr. Ogden refused an d
said he wanted to see him there in his own office where he
had the facts handy. The man then agreed to come but said
he would bring another business man. Mr. Ogden then in-
vited another man in from the Co-op board. Mr. Ogden said
that they came in and they calmly talked over the aims ,
objectives and methods of the Co-op with these men and when
they left they expressed surprise to learn the facts and
there have not been anymore such incidents. Mr. Ogden said
it is just because people don't understand what the Co-ops
are doing that such things occur. Somebody, he said, had
sold the feed mill man a bill of goods to back the ad.

CASE VI

A CASE OF INDIRECT INFLUENCE OF LAYMEN AFFECTING CHANGE AMONG PROFESSIONALS

The public health program in the county was completely
unsatisfactory to many people in the county and after the

Rural Council had held several discussions of the health

problems it was suggested that the fact finding committee

constitute itself into a county health council to begin

work on the problem.

The first thing that required action was a change of

health commissioners. The incumbant was inactive and elderly

and did not see the needs as others saw them. This kind of

action meant attacking an established power system. This

system was made up of the Board of Health and its members.

By law the county Board of Health appointed the commissioner.

This board was made up of the chairman of each of the town-

ship boards of trustees, the mayor of each village and

several members appointed at large, at least one of which

must be a medical doctor. The chairmanship of the board of

trustees of the townships rotated each year which made it

confusing for them when it came to know what their duties

were with regard to such things as health.

The medical member of the board was an older medical

doctor who was away to Florida or Canada much of the time

and was out of touch with the situation. He was a close

friend of the health commissioner and was perpetuated in

office by a board that knew very little about the program

and even less about their duties on the board. As one re-

spondent said, "Dr. J., who was a fine man personally, was

a member of the board and he had influence with the board

but he was a 'yes' man to the commissioner." The commissioner

was secretary for the board and although he had no legal
power to act beyond that, did so frequently. No one
seemed to know even who was vice-chairman of the board or
if there was one.

It was evident to the county people that in order to
affect a change in this situation the chairman had to be
unseated and a new doctor nominated and elected to the
board that would make new recommendations. The County
Health Council determined to take this action. Edgar Rock-
ford, no. 6 of the influentials, was a member of the Health
Council. He and others talked with township trustees and
village mayors to convince them of the need to take action
but the rotating chairmanship mentioned before complicated
this procedure.

Meetings of the County Health Board were very infrequent
and action had to be taken at a specific time or the old
doctor would be elected to a new term of office.

Action occurred as follows: Mr. Rockford reported
that he and others talked to "several people they knew they
could talk to" and got agreement that they would nominate
another doctor as member of the council. The strategy was
to have some of the township trustees nominate two new doc-
tors and then to close nominations before the old doctor
could be nominated.

At the meeting the chairman was absent and the health
commissioner took over the chair even though this was not

his duty. Members of the County Health Council were present
including Mr. Rockford. When the old doctor called for
nominations two new doctors were quickly nominated. Mr.
Rockford reported that even then he had to urge the trustee
he accompanied to the meeting to close nominations. By
this action the old board member was closed out from being
nominated which insured a change in program for the County
Health Department.

CASE VII

A CASE STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF DISCORDANT PERSONAL FEELING AMONG IMPORTANT INFLUENTIALS

Although friendly attitudes of leaders in voluntary
organizations are basic factors in maintaining cooperative
behavior certain extraneous incidents occasionally occur to
develop cleavages among the participants which reflect on
cooperative activity.

One such incident occurred near the end of the field
work period of the study. There had been a prolonged
period without rainfall and the effect of the drought on
the coming wheat crop was of much concern among the farm
people. At this time four of the top influentials in the
county were traveling to a state meeting of farm people in
a distant city. Two of the men (numbers 5 and 8 of the top
twenty-one) felt very pessimistic about the wheat crop and

said it would not make twenty bushels to the acre. A third
(no. 16) was more optimistic and took the opposite view.
He felt that the wheat crop would not be so badly affected.
Considerable joshing and discussion ensued and finally the
optimistic person made a wager that he would pay the other
two market value for every bushel of wheat that their crop
went under 20 bushels if they would pay him for every
bushel it went over that amount. the others agreed. How
seriously the bet was taken seemed to differ between the
wagerers. Later, word of the bet became public knowledge
and was even noted in the newspaper. It was discussed at
meetings and became a subject of interest and some joking.

At the wheat harvest it became apparent that the crop
was not hurt as badly as was expected by the pessimistic
wagerers. The winner requested payment, but one of the
losers apparently did not expect it to be taken that
seriously and did not pay. Some felt that payment may not
have been required, but that since the wager had become
public there was constant jocular inquiries to all parties
about payment. Finally at a public gathering the winner
exhibited a check made out to him for several hundred dollars
as payment from one of the losers (no. 8). This display
brought the lack of payment of the other loser (no. 5) to
the forefront and also brought strong pressure to bear on
the winner to try to collect. The public had to know the

outcome and there was a great deal of gossip and discussion. No. 16, the winner now pressed for settlement and no. 5 refused to pay in cash, but indicated if the winner wanted the wheat he would have to come and get it. Not to be out done the winner took a truck, drove to the farm of no. 5 and loaded it with wheat. There was more discussion about the measurement of the wheat, the lack of willingness to pay and the strained feelings between the individuals concerned by people in the county.

Numbers 8 and 16 were long-time friends and chairman and vice-chairman respectively of the Farm Bureau Co-op Board. This relationship apparently survived the incident, indeed it is not clear whether the check paid by no. 8 and displayed by the winner was intended to be cashed, but may have been accepted only to satisfy public attention and perhaps provide a means for needling the other loser. Informants felt that without the public attention the incident received it would all have been treated more lightly and perhaps without payment.

The result was severely strained relations between two of the important influentials. The permanence of this feeling is not known. In justification of his collection of the wager no. 16 said he had taken the risk of insuring the wheat crop of the other two.

APPENDIX B

THE SCHEDULE

WADE H. ANDREWS

Ohio Agricultural   Schedule No._____
Experiment Station
                                           Date_____

A Study of Rural Leadership and
Community Organization

Introduction:

I am from the Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station and I
would like to have some time to talk to you about your
community. We are making a study of rural leadership and
organizations in Clinton County to learn how rural people
get things done. This work is important to other rural
people in the state because it is aimed at learning some
things that may help them to solve their community problems.

Part I.

1. Name of person interviewed_____

2. Male_____Female_____

3. Year of Birth_____

4. Place of birth, county and town or township_____

5. How long have you lived in Clinton County?_____

6. How long have you lived in this township?_____

7. Occupation 1st_____2nd_____

8. Where living, farm_____town_____

   township_____town_____

   road or street and number_____

9. Marital status, married_____single_____widowed_____

   divorced_____separated_____

10. How many children do you have?____How many are at

home?_____

11. Highest grade completed_____

Other training_____

Part II.

Now I'd like to ask you about different groups you belong to.

12. Do you belong to:

	Check if Yes	Leadership Positions Present	Past
A Church (SPECIFY DENOMINATION)_____	( )	_____	_____
Sunday School.	( )	_____	_____
Other Religious Organizations.	( )	_____	_____
Service Clubs, such as Lions, Kiwanis, Rotary.	( )	_____	_____
Labor Union.	( )	_____	_____
Fraternal lodge, such as Masons, Odd Fellows.	( )	_____	_____
Veterans Organization. . . .	( )	_____	_____
Businessmens Association . .	( )	_____	_____
C.R.O.P., Red Cross or other foundation worker.	( )	_____	_____
Other Civic (SPECIFY)_____	( )	_____	_____
County Farm Bureau.	( )	_____	_____
Local Farm Bureau Council . .	( )	_____	_____
Farmers' Cooperative	( )	_____	_____
Other Coop. (SPECIFY)_____	( )	_____	_____
The Grange (County).	( )	_____	_____

	Check if Yes	Leadership Positions	
		Present	Past
Local Grange.	( )	_____	_____
Dairy Association.	( )	_____	_____
Swine Association.	( )	_____	_____
Sheep Association.	( )	_____	_____
Artificial Breeders Association.	( )	_____	_____
Beef Association	( )	_____	_____
County Extension Council . . .	( )	_____	_____
County Home Extension Council.	( )	_____	_____
Local Home Extension Club. . .	( )	_____	_____
County 4-H Club work.	( )	_____	_____
Women's Clubs or Organizations (W.C.T.U., B.P.W., Etc.). . .	( )	_____	_____
Parent-Teachers Group.	( )	_____	_____
Cooperator in P.M.A.	( )	_____	_____
Cooperator with the Soil Conservation Dist.	( )	_____	_____
Production Credit Administration.	( )	_____	_____
F.H.A. Cooperator	( )	_____	_____
Political offices (township board, school board, etc.). .	( )	_____	_____
Friendship group or card playing club.	( )	_____	_____
Study clubs or ladies' social clubs.	( )	_____	_____
Rural Policy Group.	( )	_____	_____

	Check if Yes	Leadership Patterns	
		Present	Past

Other (SPECIFY)_____( ) _____ _____

Part III.

Now would you mind telling me something about your place here?

IF FARMER:

13. How many acres do you farm?_____

14. How many acres do you own?_____

15. How many acres do you rent, share or lease?_____

16. Are you in partnership with anyone? Yes_____No_____

   If yes, who?_____

17. What are main farm enterprises?_____

18. Number of tractors you have?_____

19. ALL RESPONDENTS

_____

Item and Scale Value

Telephone: yes____(+5); no_____(-6). . . . . _____

Lights: electric_____(+4); gas, acetylene,
   carbide_____(-3); other_____(-8). . . . . _____

Refrigeration: mechanical_____(+7); ice_____(+1);
   other or none_____(-5). . . . . _____

Washing machine: power_____(+2); hand_____(-5);
   none_____(-8). . . . . _____

Iron: electric_____(+5); fuel_____(-2); other or
   none_____(-8). . . . . _____

Item and Scale Value
(continued)

Sweeper: electrical_____(+11); mechanical.._____(+3);_____
        hand[a]/_____(+1); none_____(-9). . . . . . . _____

Water: piped_____(+6); pumped_____(0); other
      source_____(-5). . . . . _____

Kitchen sink: yes_____(+3); no_____(-6). . . . . . . _____

Toilet: indoor_____(+9); outdoor_____(-2);
      none _____(-16). . . . . _____

Heating: furnace_____(+4); heater[b]/ or gas fire-
       place_____(-2); range_____(-7);
       other_____(-8). . . . . _____

Floors: painted or varnished_____(+3);
      unfinished[c]/ _____(-7). . . . . _____

Magazine subscriptions[d]/: 7 or more_____(+8);
                    4-6_____(+2); 2-3_____
                    (-2); 0-1_____(-8). . . _____

Books: 100 or more_____(+8); 50-99_____(+2) 10-
     49_____(-2); fewer than 10_____(-8). . . . _____

Bookcase: yes_____(+4); no_____(-5). . . . . _____

Total Family Score

a/   Small box-sweeper.
b/   Include coal or wood heaters or circulators.
c/   Consider badly checked or scarred paint or varnish as
      unfinished.
d/   Include those regularly purchased at news stand.

Part IV.

In the study of leadership it is very important to know
something about the very informal relations of people. So
we are interested in finding out something about who people
work with and do things with in the county.

All that we say is, of course, confidential and no names will be repeated.

20. Now I have a list of people in the county that are active in different groups. Would you go over the instructions on the list with me please.

(HAND THE SEPARATE CHECK LIST OF RURAL OFFICERS AND A PENCIL TO THE RESPONDENT)

A. As you look down the list would you check off in the first column those that you work with in the different organizations. Those that you are an officer with or on a board or committee within the organizations in the county, in at least one activity within the last 12 months.

B. In the second column put a check by those people that you talk over problems or ideas with and get advice from on county activities. This is in addition to activities in meetings or organized activities.

C. In the third column check those you spend the most actual time with in county activities. That is, those that you spend one or more hours a month with in county activities. These would be the ones you work regularly with.

D. Put the appropriate letter by the name to show degree of acquaintance. (Categories are on the respondents check list.)

21. Over-all in the county, who are the most important influential rural people? If you were to choose the top ten who would you include? "Rural People" would include farm people and people in rural agencies or rural organizations whose work was with farm people in the county.

(LET THE RESPONDENT MAKE A FREE CHOICE. CLARIFY WHEN NECESSARY BY REPEATING THE QUESTION. ALLOW THEM TO USE MEMORY OR EXAMINE THE LIST FROM QUESTION NO. 20 IF THEY WISH. EMPHASIZE THESE ARE OF COUNTY-WIDE IMPORTANCE.)

1. _____   6. _____

2. _____   7. _____

3. _____   8. _____

4. _____   9. _____

5. _____   10. _____

22. Now I would like to know about people that are important
    to you. To give an example of what I mean let's take
    an organization in the county.

    Let's say there is a problem that's important to you
    and you want to put across to the: (USE ONE GROUP AT A
    TIME)

          A. Rural Policy Group
          B. Farm Bureau Board
          C. Agricultural Extension Service

    the idea that they should work on it. You think it's
    a job that this group would be the best one to have
    interested in it. How would you go about getting the
    _____(name of group)_____ interested in doing some-
    thing? What person would you go to first that you
    know could help you get the _____(name of group)_____
    to do something about the problem?

    (INTERVIEWER: BE SURE THE RESPONDENT UNDERSTANDS THE
    PROBLEM AND THAT IT IS STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL).

    Group A. Name_____

    Group B. Name_____

    Group C. Name_____

23. Every county has many organizations and social groups.
    Now considering Clinton County, what would you say are
    the most important rural groups that get things
    started when something needs to be done of a community
    nature? Which is most important, second, third, etc.

    Rank order:

    1._____ 3._____

    2._____ 4._____

24. If the ___(ask for each organization listed below)___
    were going to decide on something who would be the people
    that would be most important to have endorse it or be
    behind it, that is, which ones could likely block it if
    they went against it? Name the one you would place first.

    (SHOW THE LIST OF OFFICERS OF EACH ORGANIZATION IF THE
    RESPONDENT DESIRES, ALSO ADD ANY OTHER ORGANIZATIONS
    LISTED IN ANSWER TO QUESTION NO. 23).

Who in the:

 (a) Farm Bureau Board_____

 (b) Farm Bureau Co-op Board_____

 (c) Rural Policy Group_____

 (d) Other_____

25. Interpersonal relations. Check those that apply between the respondent and those listed in No. 21.

(READ OFF ITEMS FOR EACH PERSON LISTED)

Experiences	Names of Influential Persons Listed in #21									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Family Relationship[1]										
Know Him (her) well or close friend										
Casual Acquaintance										
Wives are friends										
Became acquainted through rural organizations										
Do you visit in his home?										
Active in same church groups										
Neighbor										
Have Had Business Dealings										
Wives Participate in same groups										

[1]Refers to only acknowledged relationships considered to be a factor in close ties and friendship.

Names of Influential Persons
Listed in #21

Experiences

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Belong to same friendship or social group[2]										
Attend same house parties[3]										
Do you ever talk over personal problems together?										
Have you done a good turn for <u>him</u> in any way?										

[2]Small friendship group that do things together or get together informally for recreation or visiting.

[3]Same house parties or home socials other than family gatherings.

[4]These should be things the other party knew about.

26. In talking with some people in the county, it was said that one thing that got them to accept community jobs was the person that asked them. This was because when they were asked to do something by a person that had previously said yes to them, they felt they had to say yes also. How important to you think this is in getting people to accept responsibility for activities in the county?

27. Some people say that one main reason they accept positions in the community is because they feel obliged to do it when certain people ask them. (CHECK BELOW FOR EACH OF THE TEN NAMES LISTED IN ITEM 21).

If (each name listed) asked you to work on a committee that involved a lot of work would it be difficult to say no to him, that is, would you feel obliged to say yes?

(REPEAT WHAT IS NECESSARY FOR EACH NAME)

28. If you needed someone to do a job that had a good
deal of work to it in a community organization which
of these people do you think you would be able to ask
and feel they should respond if you asked them?
(ASK ABOUT EACH NAME) (IF "No" leave blank)

LIST NAMES GIVEN IN #21	#27 Yes	#28 Should
1.	( )	( )
2.	( )	( )
3.	( )	( )
4.	( )	( )
5.	( )	( )
6.	( )	( )
7.	( )	( )
8.	( )	( )
9.	( )	( )
10.	( )	( )

QUESTIONNAIRE

Item 20

Check List of Rural Leaders

Schedule No. _____

Name_____

Introduction:

The following is a list of some of the people that we have noted are active as leaders in Clinton County. Limit your response to current or on going county activities that meet annually or oftener.

1. After each name check those that you work with in county activities. (Note that this does not mean just attending the same general activity, but it means being on committees with or an officer with them).

2. Check those that you talk things over with or get advice from on county activities in addition to activities in meetings or organized activities.

3. Check those that you spend one or more hours per month with in county activities. This means people that you work with regularly.

4. Put down by each name one of the following letters; A, B, C, D, E to indicate how well you know each person. Classify each name according to where it fits best in the following types.

   A - means you know him or her very intimately as you would know a member of your family.

   B - means you know him very well, you are good or close friends or you work with him a great deal in organizations and are friendly and well acquainted.

   C - means you know him to talk to him when you meet or see each other, but not on a visiting or personal basis.

   D - means you have met but have no more than a speaking acquaintance.

   E - means he is unknown to you or a stranger.

	Work with	Talk Over Advice	One Hour Per Month		Work With	Talk Over Advice	One Hour Per Month
	1	2	3		1	2	3
1⍟				16.			
2.				17.			
3.				18.			
4.				19.			
5.				20.			
6.				21.			
7.				22.			
8.				23.			
9.				24.			
10.				25.			
11.				26.			
12.				27.			
13.				28.			
14.							
15.				91.			

⍟ Names of the ninety-one individual officers were listed in the actual mimeographed questionnaire used.

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