A POWER STRUCTURE STUDY OF AN ALL - BLACK COMMUNITY A STUDY OF BLACK POWER

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ABSTRACT

Powerlessness has been identified as one of the most pervasive causes of unrest in America's black communities. Self-determination, that is, black control of the political power in black communities is a desired and sought-after goal. The implications of such a development upon American society has not been fully fathomed especially as it relates to urban and rural areas with large black populations. There is a great potential for dramatic changes in political control. To partially redress the lack of information on black communities and black leaders a study has been made of decision-makers and power wielders in an almost all-black community which has elected its leaders for fifty years. An attempt has been made in this community to determine the power structure, leaders' personal characteristics, bases for leadership, degree of acquaintanceship, influential organization, and salient issues. The purpose of the study is to determine the types of leaders and the factors which affect their selection when black people choose their own leaders. The findings of this study are compared with the findings of other studies of black leaders and power structures.

The "panel of experts," that is, the reputed power or influence and inventory of persons or organizations as defined by the opinions of community members was used to identify leaders and organizations.

A list of 130 potential leaders and 44 organizations was compiled and submitted to ten knowledgeable citizens who were asked to select the names of ten persons they considered most influential. The original lists were reduced to 51 potential leaders and 27 organizations. The smaller lists were reviewed by six other knowledgeable citizens to again select the names of ten most influential persons and most influential organizations. A final list of 29 persons and 16 organizations was compiled.

Twenty-seven of the 29 persons were interviewed and filled out a questionnaire on their background and activities in the community. Also, how well they knew other leaders, social and committee contacts, and the bases for their choices. Finally, they were asked to name two issues or projects they considered most crucial. The findings of this study are compared with the findings of other studies.

The results of this study are there is an identifiable power structure and that the members hold high positions in the economic and political structure of the community. The leaders either control or have access to

scarce resources of money, skill, or status. The leaders are not representative of the community in social terms; the leaders are older, have more education, and have higher income--96 per cent of the leaders hold white collar positions compared with 16 per cent in the community as a whole.

The types of organizations thought to be influential in this study differed with the results from other studies. In this study civic organizations rated highest followed by churches and social organizations. In Seattle, social organizations ranked highest followed by national organizations, civic organizations, and religious organizations. In Atlanta, 40 per cent of the influential organizations were national in scope and 30 per cent were social organizations.

The leadership base most highly thought of is Organizational Activity and Civic Service. Next highest in preference is Personal Attributes. There is a high degree of acquaintanceship among the leaders but there is no solid evidence of a leadership clique.

In the area of important issues in the community there is a strong commonality in the types of issues in all-black communities. The top issues, in rank order, are housing, education, and employment. Similar issues have been found in biracial communities. The difference is, for

example, in biracial communities the issue of housing revolves around segregation and open housing. In an all-black community it revolves around quantity and quality of housing. The one issue that arises in other communities but not in an all-black community is the question of police behavior and police brutality.

The greatest difference between black communities which run their own affairs and black sub-communities which do not is that in an all-black community there is greater concern and community involvement of the black leaders. The leaders have a greater sense of purpose, identity, and ethical values of themselves and the community.

A POWER STRUCTURE STUDY OF AN ALL-BLACK COMMUNITY

A STUDY OF BLACK POWER

By

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INTRODUCTION

The current emergence of black leadership in American society requires more knowledge about black leaders --especially in view of increasing black control of their own communities. This is particularly significant for areas which have large concentrations of black people--the urban areas of the country. It is also important for large rural areas of the South which are almost 100 per cent black. The question of the appropriateness of having black leaders and leadership has been raised and will continue to be raised by black people as they progress in their quest for equality. This study is an examination of the political leadership of blacks in an all-black municipality.

The locale for this study is the all-black village of Robbins, Illinois, which for fifty years has elected its officials and selected its own leaders. It is two miles from the city limits of Chicago, which indicates the village is not isolated from the recent developments in American society. Moreover, many of the characteristics and conditions in and around Robbins are very similar to black ghettos and communities in the cities of America.

The problem of white racism has long affected the lives of black people in America. But, in the last decade a revolutionary movement has taken place in which black people are striving for their long-suppressed participatory role in American society.

Many of the problems facing black Americans are felt to be directly related to their lack of power and influence over the decisions which affect their lives. One of the thrusts of the revolutionary movement is to rectify their powerlessness by obtaining control over the communities in which black people live.

In the effort to assume some control over his destiny, the "invisible man" in American society is taking form and substance. And, as attempts are made to "know his name" it becomes apparent that in vital areas there is a lack of information about the black man and his institutions. Very little information exists on the power and leadership structures, and political process of black people in America, particularly in the governing of their own communities. Previous studies have always dealt with communities where black men and their power and leadership structures were part of a larger white-dominated community. The white-controlled community in such cases is found to greatly influence the selection and control the actions of black leaders. These

circumstances are now being challenged. This study should be useful in helping to bridge the profound information gap that exists about black political leaders who hold political power in a Northern urban setting.

CHAPTER I

THE BLACK MAN IN AMERICAN POLITICS

Background

The amount of attention given to black people in America today is great--in fact, the problem of race is the most important domestic issue. After a series of racial disorders in black ghettos in the summer of 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson issued Executive Order 11365 which established a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. This Commission, commonly called the Kerner Riot Commission after its chairman, Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, issued a report which concluded, "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white--separate and unequal."[1] An over-view of the black man's role in American political history will reveal how the political sphere has contributed to the present and widening separation of the races.

From America's very beginning, black men have participated in her history. In 1492, when Columbus discovered

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[1]National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), p. 1.

the New World a black man, Pedro Alonzo Nino, piloted one of the three ships. Subsequently, other black people came to America's shores with French and Spanish expeditions. They came as explorers, servants and slaves.[2]

The history of the black man in America, however, did not begin until 1619, one year before the landing of the Mayflower. In that year the first cargo of twenty black people were sold into slavery in Jamestown, Virginia.[3] The institution of slavery, the Civil War and their effect upon the politics of America are well documented and beyond the scope of this thesis. The black man as a direct participant in American politics did not take place until after the Civil War.

At the end of the Civil War the overwhelming majority of black people were former slaves who lived in the South. But the active role of black people in the politics of America began in 1865 in the North when Edward G. Walker and Charles L. Mitchell were elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives. They were the first black men to be

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[2]Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before the Mayflower: History of the Negro People 1619-1962 (Chicago: Johnson Publications, 1962), p. 331.

[3]Saunders Redding, The Negro (Washington: Potomac Book, Inc., 1967), p. 3.

elected to an American legislative assembly.[4] Shortly thereafter, during the Reconstruction period, black people participated fully in the political life of America, particularly in the South. The "Reconstruction Era" was a most politically rewarding period for black Americans.

The Reconstruction Act was passed on March 2, 1867 and by 1868, Oscar Dunn, a former slave, was elected Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana. Later, Mississippi and South Carolina also had black lieutenant governors. And for 40 days, Louisiana had a black governor when the white governor was impeached. Furthermore, black men became secretaries of state, state auditors, speakers of the house, justices of the supreme court, superintendents of public education and state senators and representatives by the hundreds. The first General Assembly of the South Carolina Reconstruction government, for example, contained a majority of blacks, 84 out of 157 members.[5]

On the national level during this period, 14 men were elected to the House of Representatives, and 2 were elected to the United States Senate. One of the senators, Blanch K. Bruce of Mississippi, was even mentioned as a possible

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[4]Bennett, op.cit., p. 351.

[5]Ibid., pp. 183 and 352.

vice-presidential candidate.[6]

Reconstruction did not have a chance of succeeding in the South because no provisions were made for the economic security and independence of black people. For their livelihood black voters were at the mercy of those who were opposed to their exercising the franchise. The end of Reconstruction began when Rutherford B. Hayes, in exchange for Southern support for his candidacy for president, agreed to withdraw federal troops from the South.

The troops had provided protection for blacks and their withdrawal, coupled with the economic stranglehold over blacks by the whites, was enough to effectively end Reconstruction. "In the end, the Negro was only slightly better off than he had been when the war came in 1861."[7]

To make certain that black people would not have the political strength to challenge the move to make their status as a second-class citizen permanent, Southern states adopted devices to disfranchise them. Poll taxes, and the "Grandfather Clause" were two of the most effective. In addition there was always violence, intimidation, and fear.

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[6]Ibid., p. 184.

[7]John Hope Franklin, "A Brief History of the Negro in the United States," The American Negro Reference Book, ed. John P. Davis (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 36.

"By 1895, Negroes were legally disfranchised and segregated everywhere in the South. Indeed, the states of the Old Confederacy had created a pattern of race relations for the whole country to follow."[8]

The last black congressman from the post-Reconstruction Era left the House of Representatives in 1901. At that time a total of 20 black congressmen had served, representing 8 of the 11 southern states, and two senators from Mississippi. Moreover, black men who had served in Southern legislatures and city councils had almost been eliminated. The heyday of black participation in American politics was over.

Politics in the North

The early part of this century saw the beginning of a phenomenon which was to have great impact on future black participation in American politics--the movement of black people out of the hostile South. In every census from 1790 to 1900, at least 90 per cent of the black population lived in the South. In 1910, 89 per cent of 9.8 million blacks lived in the South, by 1920 the percentage was 85; 77 per cent in 1940 and by 1960 it was 60 per cent.[9] Like most

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[8]Redding, op.cit., p. 30.

[9]Karl E. and Alma F. Taneber, "The Negro Population in the United States," Davis, op.cit., p. 102.

immigrant groups black people concentrated in cities.

In 1910 no city in the United States had as much as 100,000 black people. There were six such cities by 1920 and by 1940, there were eleven. Other urban communities received thousands of immigrant blacks. This concentration in urban cities in the North was instrumental in bringing about the regneration of black political activity.

The black man's record of participation in American politics in the North was nowhere near as extensive as it was in the South during Reconstruction. However, where it was found it bore some semblance of continuity. For instance, there has been a black member of the Illinois legislature, elected from the densely populated south side of Chicago, continuously since 1882. Participation was increased to two in 1914, three in 1918, four in 1924, and five in 1928. Moreover, the first black alderman in Chicago was elected in 1915 and another was elected in 1917. But the most dramatic election took place in 1928 when Oscar De Priest of Chicago won election to Congress and became the first black man in 28 years to sit in that body. His election heralded the long, slow return of black people to the political life of this country.[10]

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[10]Harold F. Gosnell, Negro Politicians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), passim.

After Mr. De Priest's election in 1928, the progress of the black man in politics was excruciatingly slow. Mr. De Priest served three terms in the Congress before he was defeated by Arthur L. Mitchell in 1933. Mr. Mitchell became the first black Democrat to serve in the Congress. In 1942, William L. Dawson replaced Mr. Mitchell in the Congress and was joined in 1944 by Adam Clayton Powell of New York. Charles C. Diggs of Detroit and Robert Nix of Philadelphia joined them in 1954 and 1958 respectively. In 1962 Augustus F. Hawkins of Los Angeles and in 1964, John Conyers, Jr. of Detroit became members of the U.S. House of Representatives.

However, significant events in the 1950's were to alter the course of American political history and the black man's role in it. Some people have called the changes revolutionary, others have called them rebellious. None have denied that changes have taken place in American society--changes so deep and far-reaching that a true assessment of their impact on American life will not be accurately measured for some time to come. In fact, the society is still in an action-reaction and measure-counter measure state of activity. The future, near and far, is unclear. The recent past--the 1950's and 1960's--is more apparent.

Most people agree that the precipitating event

occurred on May 17, 1954 when the Supreme Court ruled that segregation in public schools was unconstitutional. This decision was hailed as the second Emancipation Proclamation and the hopes and expectations of black people were raised. However, it soon became apparent that the changes inherent in the ruling would not be readily forthcoming. The slow progress and the deliberate attempts to sabotage the Court's intent provoked disillusionment among black people.[11]

The second major event occurred on December 5, 1955 in Montogomery, Alabama when a bus boycott gave rise to the tactic of non-violent resistance. The boycott leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, received a Nobel Peace Prize for his leadership and the tactic of non-violent protest would become a widely used tool in demonstrations against segregation, discrimination and the political structure.

The first "sit-in," for example, occurred in Wichita, Kansas in August 1958 and was successfully used to desegregate lunch counters in several cities in Oklahoma. The tactic was not widely used until February 1, 1960 in Greensboro, North Carolina when four black students "sat-in" at a lunch counter. Soon the idea spread until thousands

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[11]Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1966), p. 410.

of college students were drawn into active protest. They opened a phase of the non-violent resistance campaign that swept the country.

The racial protest of school integration suits, boycotts, freedom rides and voter registration drives did not produce the sought-after racial equality. Congress passed voting rights bills, but white Southern resistance stiffened and a white backlash vote changed the make-up and attitude of Congress. As white resistance increased, the mood of some black people, especially younger blacks, changed. This caused ferment within the civil rights movement and civil rights organizations, and within the black community. The time was ripe for change and it occurred July 1966 in Greenwood, Mississippi when civil rights leaders were completing James Meridith's March Against Fear. At this time, the slogan "Black Power" was introduced to the civil rights movement.[12] The slogan caused a debate within the country and a reassessment of goals and strategies in the quest for equality.

> Black Power first articulated a mood rather than a program--disillusionment and alienation from white America and independence, race pride, and self respect, or "black consciousness.". . . In politics, Black Power meant independent action--Negro control of the political

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[12]Martin Luther King, Jr., Where Do We Go From Here? (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 29.

> power of the black ghettos and its conscious use to better slum dwellers' conditions. It could take the form of organizing a black political party or controlling the political machinery within the ghetto without the guidance or support of white politicians.[13]

The call, then, was for self-determination--black people controlling and influencing their own communities and their own destiny. It was the painful realization that if black people were to gain full equality in American life they must be full and free participants in political life; they must vote and elect their own representatives responsible only to them. Evidence of a breakthrough in this regard occurred in November 1967. Two major cities with large black populations elected black mayors.

Moreover, in addition to the eight black Congressmen, the first black United States Senator since Reconstruction was elected from Massachusetts. Nationally, there were 28 state senators, 112 state representatives, more than 160 city councilmen, and more than 200 other elected officials.[14] It was the greatest display of political participation since Reconstruction.

There is every indication this momentum will continue

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[13]Commission on Civil Disorders, pp. 232-233.

[14]Civil Rights Digest, I, No. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968),

and spread. Black people are becoming more aware of political power and increased political activity is assured. It follows, that we are talking about one aspect of Black Power.

> If the black man has any power in American life, it is Black Power; and so the term is simply descriptive of a contemporary and, it is hoped, a growing reality in American life.[15]

It is reasonably assured that black leaders will soon be controlling their communities and consequently, playing a larger and more important role in political life in America. The question then becomes, what kind of leaders will black communities produce? How will black leaders who are power-wielders and decision-makers differ from black leaders who are not?

With the potential importance of independent power-wielding, decision-making black leaders, it is readily apparent that there is a paucity of information which deals with the subject. Past studies have dealt with black leaders of sub-communities which were part of larger bi-racial communities.[16]

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[15]Nathan Wright, Jr., Black Power and Urban Unrest (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1967), p. 20.

[16]See, for example, Floyd Hunter, Community Power (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953); Ernest A. T. Barth and Baha Abu-Laban, "Power Structure and the Negro Sub-Community," American Sociological Review, XXIV (February, 1959), 69-76; M. Elaine Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City (New Haven: College and University Press, 1960); James Q. Wilson, Negro Politics (New York: Free Press, 1960).

Power Structure Studies

The 167 studies of "community power structure" attests to the viability of the community as a frame of reference within which to examine the location, structure and functioning of leadership.[17]

In the findings of some power structure studies the most active role in community affairs was played by economic leaders. For example, the majority of the leaders identified by Hunter, Lynd, Miller, Form and D'Antonio were occupants of high positions in the economic organizations of their communities. However, in studies by Schulze, Dahl, and Scoble, dominence by economic leaders was not found.[18]

The key factor appears to be the social and economic

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[17]Scott Greer, "The Shaky Future of Local Government," Psychology Today, II, No. 3 (August, 1968), 66; Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961); Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure; James Q. Wilson, Negro Politics.

[18]Robert and Helen Lynd, Middletown in Transition (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1967); Hunter, op.cit.; Delbert C. Miller, "Decision-Making Cliques in Community Power Structures," American Journal of Sociology, LIV (November, 1958), 299-310; William Form and W. Antonio, "Integration and Cleavage Among Community Influential in Two Border Cities," XXIV, American Sociological Review (December, 1959), 804-814; Robert O. Schulze, "The Role of Economic Determinants in Community Power Structures," American Sociological Review, XXIII (February, 1958), 3-9; Robert Dahl, Who Governs?; Harry M. Scoble, "Leadership Hierarchies and Political Issues in a New England Town," in M. Janowitz (ed.), Community Political Systems (New York: Free Press, 1961).

structure of the community that provides the framework within which the leaders function.

Ecological characteristics of community resources can be crucial in shaping local power structures. Determinants such as economic base and community wealth are important factors.

Size may also be critical in that a large reservoir of individuals with leadership skills may not be present. For instance, small communities may have a limited number of people possessing leadership skills.

Even with size held constant, wealth in the form of industry and financial institutions requires and attracts such skilled groups as lawyers, engineers, and accountants who have the education, interest, and time required for participation in local affairs. This study will adhere to the guidelines of other works in examining the leadership structure.

Previous Studies of Black Leadership

The first important study of black political participation was by Gosnell,[19] who set out to describe the struggle of a minority group as it attempted to advance its status by political methods. This study dealt with

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[19]Gosnell, op.cit.

the personalities and the struggle of black leaders and the position of black people within government service in Chicago. Gosnell, however, paid relatively little attention to tactics and organization of black politics. At the time of Gosnell's study, black people were 6.9 per cent of the total population of Chicago and black leaders were part of the Republican Party.

In a study of elites and community decision-making and the interrelationship of the two in Atlanta, Hunter included a section on the black community and its leaders.[20] He was concerned with the relationship of the ghetto's power structure to the power structure of the larger white community. Hunter's landmark study of community power structure in Atlanta precipitated other studies. For example, in a study designed to duplicate Hunter's, Barth and Abu-Laban reported on the black community of Seattle, Washington.[21] Both studies were concerned with the operation of influence and power within the context of the black community. Barth compared his findings with Hunter's so as to study the functional relationships between the structure of the influence system and other dimensions of community structure.

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[20]Hunter, op.cit. [21]Barth, op.cit.

Burgess, furthermore, was interested in the study of race and power relations in Durham, North Carolina. She related the issues of desegregation to a study of power and decision-making in the black community.[22] Similarly, Ladd studied characteristics of black leadership in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and Greenville, South Carolina.[23]

Wilson and Thompson studied black leadership in Chicago and New Orleans respectively. Wilson explored the state of black civic and political leadership in an attempt to illustrate the structure and processes of influence in a large black community.[24] Thompson, on the other hand, was primarily concerned with the role of black leadership in their changing status in New Orleans.

It can be seen that without exception previous studies have concentrated on blacks as leaders and influentials in the sub-community of larger conglomerates. A view of black leaders and influentials in their own power setting has not been attempted. This study will deal with this gap in information and knowledge, by studying the power structure of decision-makers and power wielders in an all-black community.

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[22]Burgess, op.cit.

[23]Everett C. Ladd, Jr., Negro Political Leadership in the South (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966).

[24]Wilson, op.cit. and Daniel C. Thompson, The Negro Leadership Class (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963).

Research Problem

Racial disorders came to American cities indiscriminately, that is, to progressive cities such as New Haven and non-progressive cities such as Newark. The question is asked as to the cause of the unrest. At the top of the list of ghetto grievances is the total lack of control or influence over what happens in the community. The Kerner Riot Commission called it powerlessness and referred favorably to Black Power. The black

> . . . population can assume its proper role in society and overcome its feelings of powerlessness and lack of respect only by exerting power over decisions which directly affects its own members. A fully integrated society is not thought possible until the Negro minority within the ghetto has developed political strength--a strong bargaining position in dealing with the rest of society.[25]

The same call for self-determination has been made by black militant leader Stokely Carmichael and moderate leader, the late Dr. Martin Luther King. Carmichael asserted as imperative that black people first form an independent base of political power, choose their own leaders, and hold those leaders responsible to them.[26]

The late Dr. King viewed the political arena as a

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[25]U.S. Riot Commission Report, p. 403.

[26]Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), pp. 43 and 96.

major area of untapped power. He urged black people to become political activists and believed that necessity would draw toward the power inherent in the creative uses of politics.[27]

If black power is a desired national goal, it is then reasonable to ask that if black people run their own communities, what kinds of leaders can be expected to develop, what factors will help determine the kinds of leaders, and how will they compare with other leaders.

The answers to these questions form the basis for this study. The purpose of this study will be to determine the power structure, leaders' characteristics, bases for leadership, degree of acquaintanceship, influential organizations, and the salient issues of an all-black community. The central problem to be addressed is if blacks control and influence their own community what type of people can be expected to be leaders. As defined earlier, we will have here an example of Black Power, i.e., black people running a black community--what is the result? What is the functional relationship between the structure of the influence system and other dimensions of community structure? What are the differences in the value system when compared to other communities?

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[27]King, op.cit., pp. 146 and 154.

Findings of this study will be compared with earlier studies of black leaders. The value of the comparative approach has been demonstrated by Form and D'Antonio,[27] Miller,[28] Presthus,[29] and Barth.[30] The fruitfulness of this approach allows specification of conditions relevant to the type of leadership structure and processes in a community, and contributes to a typology of community power structure.

As the primary base for comparison, previous studies will be utilized: Hunter in Atlanta, Barth and Abu-Laban in Seattle, and Burgess in Durham. Where there is comparable data in other studies, it will be used. This study is patterned after Barth and will follow it in form.

Comparative Base

Barth and Abu-Laban reported findings from a study of influence and power in the black sub-community of Seattle. Their study had been designed to duplicate the work of Floyd Hunter in the black sub-community of Atlanta,

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[28]Form and D'Antonio, op.cit.

[29]Miller, op.cit.

[30]Robert Presthus, Men at the Top (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

[31]Barth, op.cit.

Georgia. Both studies were concerned with the relationship of the sub-community's power structure to the power structure of the larger white community. It is evident that ecological, demographic, and social characteristics have a bearing upon the power structure peculiar to any given city and data related to Atlanta and Seattle were as follows: Atlanta is located in the Southeastern section of the United States. At the time of Hunter's study, the population was 331,000, of which one-third were blacks. Seattle, on the other hand, is located in the Pacific Northwest, and at the time of Barth's study, had a population of 468,000, of which 3.4 per cent were black.

In addition to the size of the black population, other important differences between the two cities were in-migration of blacks and the interracial climate. For the ten-year period between 1940 and 1950 in-migration increased 16 per cent in Atlanta; for Seattle the increase was 313.5 per cent. In regards to the interracial environment, the official policy in Atlanta, supported by law, was racial segregation in schools and in public accommodations. In Seattle, however, there was an official policy of non-segregation. There was a State Fair Employment Practices Law, a long-standing public accommodations law, and at the time of the study, the State legislature passed an "Omnibus

Civil Rights Bill," with provisions for the protection of rights in housing and employment.[32]

In the concluding comparison between Seattle and Atlanta, Barth summarized that both had an identifiable structure of leadership, and the leadership groups had certain similar characteristics. Nevertheless, the power structures represented quite different types.

The black power structure of Atlanta was stable, well organized, and made up of economic dominants who wielded power within the ghetto and were motivated in some measure, to maintaining their segregated ghetto.[33]

In Seattle, black leaders were not power wielders; they held positions of little importance to the community; their decisions had no serious effect on the larger community; and, they were active in civil rights protest organizations. Barth hypothesized that the difference in power structure was related to Seattle's small black population being insufficient to support large-scale separate institutions, to the rapid expansion of population due to migration which upset the older patterns of power, and, to the attitude of leaders to eliminate segregation rather than support segregated institutions and establish a distinct ghetto.[34]

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[32]Barth, op.cit. [33]Ibid., p. 76. [34]Ibid.

In Durham, North Carolina, Burgess, too, found an identifiable leadership structure. It contrasted with Barth's in that black leaders were power wielders and held positions of importance in the total community as well as the black ghetto.[35]

Community Organization in Black Communities

Because decision-making activities may be channeled through formal organizations and administrative agencies, as well as stable cliques, Hunter and Barth attempted to identify them.

The listing of organizations by Barth was similar to Hunter's in two respects. Although making up one-third of the listings, fraternal organizations played a minor role in decision-making activities. Organizations considered most influential had definitive political content in their programs. This included the local Urban League although its major function is community organization and case work.[36]

Churches--probably the most segregated black community organization--surprisingly, were not mentioned, although two of the top ten leaders were ministers. It was also noted that no "luncheon" or "supper" club, or other

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[35]Burgess, op.cit., p. 76.

[36]Barth, op.cit., p. 75.

informally organized groups appeared on the list of influential organizations.

Barth made three observations with respect to organizations. First, six of the top seven groups were directly concerned with interracial relations and race betterment. Second, only one had as its primary interest the business organization of the community. Thirdly, although black people were fairly widespread within labor unions, only one union was mentioned and was rated low in influence. It was concluded that the major concern of the ghetto and its leaders were issues that centered around minority status and group protest.[37]

Burgess, on the other hand, found an organizational mix. Some of the organizations were protest, others were political, racial-uplift, recreational or community service, or economically oriented. Most crucial in Durham was an organization that acted as a coordinating group for all black organizations.

Issues Confronting the Black Community

Included in the Barth study but not Hunter's were the issues considered most crucial by those who were selected as leaders. The information indicated ghetto leaders

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[37]Barth, op.cit.

in Seattle were concerned with issues of an interracial nature, that is, the effects of minority group status and attempts to change existing social structures in the total community. It was suggested the interest reflected the attitude that because of the lack of power, the influence of ghetto leaders on major issues was minimal.[38]

In his study of Chicago, Wilson classified issues into two general categories which he called welfare ends and status ends. Welfare ends were those which looked to tangible improvement in the community or some individuals through the provision of better services, living conditions, or positions. Status ends, on the other hand, were those which sought integration of blacks into all phases of the community on the principle of equality. It was discovered that a leader's position on the issues often depended upon his economic position and class. Upper class leaders were more concerned with status ends as opposed to lower and middle class leaders.[39]

Study Design and Methodology

Miller and Form identified three basic approaches which may be employed in the study of community power or influence. They are: (1) the study of potential for

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Wilson, op.cit.

power based on the influence and inventory of persons and organizations; (2) the reputed power or the influence of persons or organizations as defined by the opinions of community members; and (3) the study of actual influence or power as shown by the parts played by persons or organizations in determining the outcome of an issue or project.[40]

To accomplish the purpose of this study, the second method, the "panel of experts," will be used and will be duplicative of Barth, Hunter, and Burgess.

To locate individuals characterized as influentials, a list of names was obtained from knowledgeable key informants in Robbins, an almost all-black suburb of Chicago. Added to this list were the names of office-holders in public and private organizations, the names of persons mentioned in the local newspaper who appeared to play a role in community activities. A listing of organizations was also compiled.

Two questionnaires were constructed. One carried the names of 130 potential leaders, the other, names of 44 organizations. A panel of ten respondents, representative of the various institutional areas of the community, were

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[40]William Form and Delbert C. Miller, Industry, Labor, and Community (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), p. 517.

selected. A personal interview was conducted with each respondent to determine how well he knew each potential influential and was to add names of others whom he thought to be omitted from the list. The respondent then selected from the list names of ten persons he would choose "to help in a major project requiring a decision by a group of community leaders." He was asked to rate each of the organizations as "most influential," "influential," or "less influential" in initiating or supporting important actions in Robbins.

Based upon the number of votes received from the first ten interviews the list of leaders was reduced to 51 names. In like manner, the list of organizations was reduced to 27. The modified lists were submitted to six other informants who were asked to select leaders and to rate organizations. They were also invited to add names of those believed to be omitted. The results comprised a master list of 29 probable influentials and 16 organizations.

Twenty-seven of the influentials were interviewed (one refused and another was unavailable). Each was asked to fill out a questionnaire seeking information about his background and activities in the community. The respondent was asked to indicate how well he knew each of the other

influentials and to include social and committee contacts with each. The respondents were invited to add the names of any leaders believed to be omitted from the list. Each was asked: "If you were responsible for a major project which was before the community that required decision by a group of leaders--leaders that nearly everyone would accept--which ten on this list would you choose, regardless of whether they are known personally to you or not?"

After the respondent had indicated his choices, a section delving into the bases for leadership, i.e., the reasons why they chose the leaders, was asked. Respondents were provided a listing of reasons from which to choose.

Each influential was asked to rate the 16 organizations on a three-point scale of influence, and to add other organizations thought to be omitted. Finally, they were asked to name two issues or projects considered to be "most crucial" to the community.

Research Site

The general context of a community, that is, the ecological, demographic, and socio-economic characteristics provide the framework within which leaders function. Barth and Burgess both refer to structures of leadership and power

as dependent upon local conditions.[41] Elements such as history, immediate traditions, and institutional and social characteristics appear to mold the leadership structure.

Furthermore, Presthus emphasizes the close relationship of the socio-economic structure of the community to the effectiveness of the power structure. He concluded, ". . . community resources as wealth, industrial strength, skill, energy and value consensus tend to determine the composition and effectiveness of its leadership elite."[42] We shall review Robbins, Illinois as the community setting for this study.

The Village of Robbins, Illinois is located in southern Cook County, 17 miles south of the central business district of Chicago. The southern boundary line of Chicago is approximately two miles from the village limits (see Figure 1). Census data for Robbins in 1960 reported a population of 7,511 persons. Of this number 7,445 or 99.1 per cent were black.[43] Robbins enjoys the distinction of being one of a dozen all-black communities in America with a population of 1,000 or more of which more than 95 per cent

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[41]Barth, op.cit., p. 76, and Burgess, op.cit., p. 189.

[42]Presthus, op.cit., p. 175.

[43]Northeastern Illinois Metropolitan Area Planning Commission, Suburban Factbook, 1962.

Fig. 1--Map of Chicago

are non-white. These communities are:

TABLE 1

LIST OF ALL-BLACK COMMUNITIES

	Incorporation Date	Form
Brooklyn, Illinois	1874	Village
Mound Bayou, Mississippi	1898	Village
	1912	Town
Robbins, Illinois	1917	Village
Lawnside, New Jersey	1926	Borough
Fairmount Heights, Maryland	1927	Town
Glenarden, Maryland	1939	Town
Lincoln Heights, Ohio	1946	City
Urbancrest, Ohio	1947	Village
Kinloch, Missouri	1948	Town
Grambling, Louisiana	1953	Town
North Shreveport, Louisiana	Unincorporated	
Richmond Heights, Louisiana (?)	Unincorporated[44]	

Hence, Robbins is the only community in the Chicago area with this classification and one of the few communities in the country governed and influenced solely by black officials.

Just as most of the other communities in the Chicago metropolitan area, Robbins was influenced by the urban pattern which developed in response to the economic logic and geographic symmetry of Chicago's suburban development.

[44]Harold M. Rose, "The All-Negro Town: Its Evolution and Functions," The Geographical Review, LV (July, 1965), 362.

The history of the settlement of the Chicago metropolitan area suggests three major stages of development. The first stage was the era of water transport, 1840-1880, with the area noted for agricultural processing and a trading center. The second stage was the railroad era, 1880-1920, and the growth and development of the industrial suburb. And, the third stage, the automobile era, 1920-1960, was the growth and development of the dormitory suburb.[45] Robbins evolved during Chicago's railroad era when all residential and manufacturing areas were influenced by a railway network. The routes of twelve suburban railroad lines radiated out of a central hub into various sectors of the metropolitan area. The railway lines served as the axes for most of the towns with a population of 2,500 or more.[46] Robbins is one of those towns and is located on the lines of the Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company. As Chicago grew in size and population industry began to disperse according to the rules of the economics of location and transportation, which, at the time, was access to either water or the railroads. In the Chicago [illegible]

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[45]Northeastern Illinois Metropolitan Area Planning Commission, A Social Geography of Metropolitan Chicago (Chicago, 1960), p. 15.

[46]Ibid., p. 31.

metropolitan area industry dispersed into industrial satellites along access routes.

In the south sector of Chicago an industrial satellite formed at the mouth of the Chicago and Calumet Rivers and Lake Michigan (see map Figure 1). The river, dock, harbor and railway lines brought to this sector, known as the Calumet area, heavy industry such as steel mills, large plants, refineries and laboratories.[47] The workers came with the industry. The distribution of urban workers were affected by three factors--the cost, distance, and time of work travel. Hence, there developed ". . . close-in working class lower income suburbs like Robbins, Phoenix and Munster whose residents work in the Calumet district. . . ."[48] The early citizens of Robbins were attracted by the proximity of employment, ". . . a place for the children to play unmolested, of friends and neighbors." They worked and sacrificed so as ". . . to feel the independence of owning a bit of ground and their own house."[49]

Robbins is named after Eugene S. Robbins a white realtor who developed the site as an independent community

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[47]Ibid., p. 26. [48]Ibid., p. 16.

[49]Chicago Commission on Race Relations, The Negro in Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922), p. 139.

for black people only.[50] The first black settlers moved into the area in 1892 and by 1917 more than 300 persons were in residence. On December 11, 1917, the people elected to become incorporated. On December 14, 1917, Robbins was declared a Village by order of Cook County Court.[51] At the time, there were some who regretted independence and talked of asking the larger, neighboring town of Blue Island to annex Robbins. But the majority of the people were proud of their independence and sure of its future.[52]

Robbins has a representative form of government with a mayor, six trustees and clerk. Local elections are non-partisan, are held in April in odd-numbered years. The mayor and trustees serve four-year terms. Elections of trustees are staggered, three trustees are elected every two years.

Robbins is located in both Worth and Bremen Townships. The following election data relates to those districts which lie entirely within the boundaries of Robbins.

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[50] Ibid., p. 369, and Federal Writer's Project, American Guide Series, Illinois: A Descriptive and Historical Guide (rev. ed.; Chicago, 1947), p. 398.

[51] Old newspaper clipping, n.d.

[52] Chicago Commission on Race Relations, p. 139.

These districts are: Worth Township Districts 43 and 64; and Bremen Township Districts 2, 3, 19, 23, 30, and 37. Election returns from Bremen Township Districts 1, 13, 17, and 50 are not used because they serve Robbins and neighboring communities.

In state and national elections Robbins is solidly Democratic. The percentage of Democratic vote ranges from a low of 63 per cent in the 1956 presidential election when Adlai E. Stevenson ran against Dwight D. Eisenhower to a high of 98 per cent in 1964 when Lyndon B. Johnson defeated Republican Barry W. Goldwater. In the 1960 presidential race between Democrat John F. Kennedy and Republican Richard M. Nixon, Kennedy received 75 per cent of Robbins' vote. Democrat Hubert H. Humphrey polled a substantial 92 per cent of Robbins' vote in his 1968 presidential race with Richard M. Nixon. For state offices, in the respective years, similar percentages were recorded in the Democratic column.

The national and state election returns in Robbins for the years 1956, 1960, 1964, and 1968 are:

TABLE 2

VOTES IN NATIONAL AND STATE ELECTIONS

	1956[53]		
	For President	**Votes**	**Per Cent**
Democrat	Adlai E. Stevenson	1398	63
Republican	Dwight D. Einsenhower	818	37
	Total	2216	
	For U.S. Senate		
Democrat	Richard Stengel	1289	62
Republican	Everett M. Dirksen	788	38
	Total	2077	
	1960[54]		
	For President		
Democrat	John F. Kennedy	2020	75
Republican	Richard M. Nixon	661	25
	Total	2681	
	For U.S. Senate		
Democrat	Paul H. Douglas	1952	76
Republican	Samuel W. Witwer	609	24
	Total	2561	
	For Governor		
Democrat	Otto Kerner	1765	74
Republican	William G. Stratton	649	26
	Total	2414	
	1964[55]		
	For President		
Democrat	Lyndon B. Johnson	3198	98
Republican	Barry W. Goldwater	72	2
	Total	3270	

[53] Cook County Election Board. Abstract of Votes, Election November 6, 1956, Democrat and Republican.

[54] _____. Abstract of Votes, General Election, November 8, 1960.

[55] _____. Abstract of Votes, General Election, November 3, 1964.

TABLE 2--Continued

			Votes	Per Cent
	1964			
	For Governor			
Democrat	Otto Kerner		3027	94
Republican	Charles H. Percy		196	6
		Total	3223	
	1968[56]			
	For President			
Democrat	Hubert H. Humphrey		2325	92
Republican	Richard M. Nixon		189	8
		Total	2514	
	For U.S. Senate			
Democrat	William G. Clark		2199	92
Republican	Everett M. Dirksen		195	8
		Total	2394	
	For Governor			
Democrat	Samuel H. Shapiro		2155	88
Republican	Richard B. Ogilvie		279	12
		Total	2434	

The 1964 election is noteworthy in two respects. First is the large vote for the Democratic nominee, 98 per cent, and, secondly the increased number of voters. In 1960 the Republicans received 25 per cent of the vote in Robbins, in 1964, at 2 per cent, the Republican vote is practically nil. It increases slightly, to 8 per cent, in 1968. Total votes cast, however, reveals another condition.

[56]Cook County Election Board. Abstract of Votes, General Election, November 5, 1968.

In 1960 there were 2,681 votes cast for president, in 1964 the total votes increased to 3,270, and in 1968 decreased to 2,514 which is even less than the vote totals of 1960. This phenomenon could be explained by the theory that people will go out and vote when they are dissatisfied or feel threatened. The latter was certainly the case in 1964 and obviously not in 1968 in spite of the candidacy of racist presidential candidate George C. Wallace. For 1968 one apparent explanation supports the contention black people boycotted the election because they did not see any real difference between the candidates. Another explanation backs the theory that when people are confused or "cross-pressured" they stay home and do not vote.

Early economic activity in Robbins consisted mainly of commercial enterprises related to personal and business services and retail facilities which offered food and drug commodities. During the post-incorporation period, Robbins established a local school system and a police and fire department. A federal post office was established. The physical and economic growth of the Village, however, was severely crippled by the Depression when 90 per cent of the labor force was unemployed. Many of the problems plaguing the community today can be traced to the Depression years. Having an essentially residential tax base

development and improvement ceased due to the severe economic wrench of having so many people unemployed. Tax receipts have barely kept up with operating expenses and capital improvements such as paved streets, water, and sewer facilities have been neglected.[57]

Population Characteristics

By 1940, the population of Robbins had grown to 1,349 persons. In 1950 the population was 4,766 and in 1960 was 7,511. The increase of 2,745 persons between 1950 and 1960 represented a growth rate of 67.6 per cent. For the same period of time, Northeastern Illinois was growing by a rate of 20.1 per cent; suburban Chicago by a rate of 71.5 per cent, while Chicago lost population at a rate of -1.9 per cent.[58]

The median age in Robbins in 1960 was a rather low 20 years of age. Forth-eight per cent of the population was under 18 years of age. In comparison, Northeastern Illinois had a median age of 31.3 per cent of population under 18 was 33.8. Chicago and Chicago suburbs had median ages of 32.9 and 29.2 years of age and populations under

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[57] Comprehensive Plan: Robbins, Illinois, 1966, p. 7.

[58] Suburban Factbook, Table 4.

18 years of age were 31.1 per cent and 37.4 per cent respectively.[59]

Socio-Economic Characteristics

In school years completed by persons 25 years of age and older, the median in Robbins was 8.7 years. For Northeastern Illinois, median school years completed was 10.8 years, in Chicago it was 10.0 years, and in Chicago suburbs, it was 12.1.[60] The 8.7 median school years completed for population over 25 years and older indicates that in 1960 over 50 per cent of the adult population had less than one year of high school. Furthermore, 17 per cent of the population had completed high school and 2 per cent completed four years of college.[61]

Median annual family income in Robbins in 1959 was $4,491 per family. Twenty-eight per cent of the families had income under $3,000, 31 per cent between $3,000 and $5,000, 25 per cent between $5,000 and $7,000, 11 per cent between $7,000 and $10,000 and 5 per cent had income over $10,000 per annum.[62] Median family income for Northeastern Illinois in 1959 was $7,342, for Chicago it was $6,738, and

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[59] *Ibid.*, Table 1. [60] *Ibid.*

[61] Comprehensive Plan, p. 29.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

for Chicago suburbs it was $8,158. The per cent of families with income over $10,000 was 25.9 in Northeastern Illinois, 21.3, in Chicago, and 32.1 per cent in the suburbs.

Occupational Characteristics

The total number in the labor force for both sexes in 1960 was 2,387 persons. This means that 32 per cent of the total population was part of the local labor force. The percentage of the total labor force unemployed in 1960 was 16.4, the highest in the state.[63] At the same time, unemployment in Northeastern Illinois was 4.3 per cent, in Chicago 5.4 per cent, and in Chicago suburbs 2.6 per cent.

For those employed, the occupational groupings in 1960 were Professionals or Managers 6.6 per cent, Clerical or Sales 9.7 per cent, Craftsmen or Operatives 27.2 per cent, Laborers 18 per cent, Service Workers 14.2 per cent, and all other 24.3 per cent. The total white collar workers, that is Professional or Managers and Clerical or Sales, was 16.3 per cent.[64] The percentage of white collar in Northeastern Illinois was 45.5 per cent, in Chicago was 41.7 per cent, and in Chicago suburbs was 51.5.[65]

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[63] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

[64] Suburban Factbook, Table 10.

[65] *Ibid.*, Table 1.

Socio-Economic Rank

The 146 municipalities with populations of 2,500 and over in Suburban Northeastern Illinois in 1960 were ranked by socio-economic class. The socio-economic class was derived by giving equal weight to four 1960 census characteristics and then rank communities on a 15-number scale: 1 being the highest and 15 the lowest. Census characteristics utilized were median school years completed, median family income, percentage with annual income over $10,000 and percentage employed in white collar occupations. In all four categories Robbins was ranked fifteenth for a composite socio-economic rank of 15. Only ten other municipalities out of 146 had composite rankings of 15.[66]

Schools

The Village of Robbins is served by three school districts, two of which also serve neighboring all-white communities. Within the three school districts there are seven elementary schools, three junior high schools and two high schools. Four of the seven elementary schools and one junior high school obtain their entire enrollments from Robbins and are therefore all black. The other three elementary schools are located in neighboring all-white

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[66] Ibid, Table 8.

communities and draw students from Robbins.[67]

Housing Characteristics

There were 1,760 total housing units in Robbins in 1960. This total represented a growth of 617 units over the total for 1950. The vacancy rate was 0.93 per cent in 1960 and the average household size was 4.2 persons. Of the 146 municipalities in Northeastern Illinois only seven other suburbs had a vacancy rate less than 1.0 and only one other suburb had a vacancy rate lower than Robbins'.[68]

Of 1,760 housing units in 1960, 27 per cent were built before 1940 and 38 per cent were built after 1950, and 51 per cent were in sound condition with all plumbing. For Northeastern Illinois, 83.4 per cent of the housing were sound with all plumbing, for Chicago 78.5 per cent and for Chicago suburbs 91.0 per cent.[69]

Fifty-eight per cent of the housing units were owner-occupied. Only nine other Chicago suburbs had lower percentages. Median value of homes in Robbins was $10,300. Only two other suburbs had lower median values. For Northeastern Illinois, Chicago, and Chicago suburbs, the median

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[67] Comprehensive Plan: Robbins, Illinois, Preliminary Report 2, 1966.

[68] Suburban Factbook, Table 12.

[69] Ibid., Tables 1 and 13.

value of homes were $18,600, $18,000, and $18,900 respectively.[70]

Economic Base

Robbins has no industry and commercial activity consists of establishments which offer convenience type goods such as food, drugs, gasoline and automotive accessories.[71] In 1963, there were 30 retail establishments in Robbins with total retail sales of $2,228,000. By business grouping, 15 establishments were food stores, eating and drinking places and drug stores. Six were automotive and gasoline establishments, and six were other retail establishments. Average annual sales per establishment was $74,300.[72] The majority of these establishments are black owned.

The community of Robbins, Illinois has been reviewed in terms of its population, socio-economic, occupational, and housing characteristics and, economic base as a prelude to a study of its leadership structure. Community resources such as wealth, industrial strength, skill, and value consensus have a tendency to determine the composition of a leadership

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[70] Ibid., Tables 1 and 14.

[71] Comprehensive Plan, p. 44.

[72] Ibid., p. 40, Summary.

grouping. Moreover, the socio-economic structure of a community is closely related to the effectiveness of a power structure.[73]

This study of influence and power in an almost all-black suburb in a large Northern metropolitan area will attempt to make a substantive contribution to the knowledge of black communities and gain an insight into the nature of black leadership.

Building upon research assumptions and theories relative to black sub-communities and community power structure studies the following working hypotheses will be tested.

Working Hypotheses

I. Leadership Group

A. There is within the Village of Robbins an identifiable structure of leadership.

Corollary 1. The leadership group would be stable and well organized.

Corollary 2. The leaders would be drawn from the dominant economic and professional institutions.

Corollary 3. The leaders would hold positions of importance in the Village's institutional structures and their decisions would have serious ramifications for the Village.

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[73]Presthus, op.cit., p. 175.

II. Base for Leadership

A. Social power in the form of wealth, prestige, knowledge, status and position would be related to the choices for leaders.

Corollary 1. The leaders would be atypical and not representative in socio-economic terms of the entire Village.

III. Degree of Acquaintanceship

A. Within the leadership group there would be closure of the top leaders.

Corollary 1. The top leaders would be acquainted with each other to a higher degree than with other members of the leadership group.

Corollary 2. The top leaders would have more social and committee contact between themselves than with other members of the leadership group.

Corollary 3. There would be a correlation between the number of votes received as top leaders and the number of mutual choices.

IV. Influential Organizations

A. The type of organizations considered to be influential would be those whose functions are primarily social in content. Civic or political interests would be secondary.

B. Churches would be considered to be influential.

V. Salient Issues

A. The types of issues thought to be salient would be <u>welfare issues</u> such as better streets, jobs, or school facilities rather than status issues.

CHAPTER II

LEADERS

Leadership Group Characteristics

This study is primarily concerned with the 27 probable leaders whose names received three or more mentions by the panel of 16 judges. The names of these leaders, their occupations, and the number of votes each received as a "top leader" are listed in Table 3.

TABLE 3

LEADERSHIP GROUP

Name	Votes	Occupation
1. Stafford Jacques	20	Chemist
2. Edward Starks	16	Contractor--Building
3. Marion Smith	15	Businessman--Real Estate
4. Mapel Spearmon	14	Asst. Housing Mgr. (Gov.)
5. George Kimbell	13	High School Principal
6. Violet Malone	13	High School Counselor
7. Ernest Maxey (Mayor)	13	Insurance Executive
8. Rev. George Wright	13	Minister and Barber
9. Eddie Lou Allen	12	Cook
10. Irene Brodie	11	Teacher
11. Rev. W. Cook	11	Minister
12. Myrtle Dunn	11	Businesswoman--Serv. St.
13. Albion Ward	11	Photographer
14. Caleb Johnson (Trustee)	10	Teacher

TABLE 3--Continued

Name	Votes	Occupation
15. Vinson Sanders	10	Radio Station News Dir.
16. Rev. H. Stephens	10	Minister
17. Lois Rayon	9	Neighborhood Service Worker (Govt.)
18. Aaron Stout	9	Police Chief
19. Ester Gladney	7	Businesswoman--Notions Store
20. Roland Lee (Trustee)	6	Trustee--Governmental
21. Rev. G. Brewton	4	Minister and Newspaper
22. Ivory Gladney	4	Contractor--Building
23. James McCrary	4	Businessman--Hardware Store
24. Fannie Ore	4	Businesswoman--Restaurant
25. Azzarine Cooper	3	Youth Officer--Govt.
26. Robert Jones	2	Businessman--Real Estate--Insurance
27. James Jackson	1	Businessman--Package Store

In the 1960 Census there were 3,835 females in Robbins, which was 51 per cent of the population. By eliminating the population under 25 years of age, there were 1695 females and 1600 males in Robbins. This represents the segment of the population from which leaders in this study are selected.

Nine (or 31 per cent) of the leaders are women and hold high positions in the leadership structure. For example, women rank as high as Number 4 and as low as 25. In between, they rank in positions 6, 9, 10, 12, 17, 19, and 24, a rather even dispersal. For the group of 27

leaders, women received an average of 9.3 votes which is equal to the average vote for men.

This finding of a high percentage of women in the leadership structure is supportive of Barth who found 44 per cent of Seattle's ghetto leadership structure to be female.[2] However, the finding contrasts sharply with Burgess, Hunter, Thompson and Matthews. In Durham, North Carolina only 7 per cent of the leaders were female and for four communities in the South, Matthews found 9 per cent of the leaders to be female.[3] Thompson reported, ". . . only a few Negro women in New Orleans may be classified as "top" community leaders."[4]

Table 4 lists the leaders by mutual choices, that is, the number of votes they received from other leaders included in the leadership group. It should be noted that three women are tied for third place in the ranking.

The leadership group as a whole holds memberships in 11 of the 18 organizations considered "most influential." The 18 men who participated in this study averaged 1.9 memberships per organization while the 9 women averaged 2 memberships per organization. It is hypothesized that this

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[2]Barth, op.cit., p. 72.

[3]Burgess, op.cit., p. 102 and Matthews, op.cit., p. 180.

[4]Thompson, op.cit., p. 25.

TABLE 4

MUTUAL CHOICES

Name		Votes
1. Kimbell	(5)*	9
1. Smith	(3)	9
2. Jacques	(1)	8
3. Dunn	(12)	7
3. Malone	(6)	7
3. Spearmon	(4)	7
4. Allen	(9)	6
4. Maxey	(7)	6
4. Starks	(2)	6
4. Ward	(13)	6
4. Wright	(8)	6
5. E. Gladney	(19)	5
5. Stout	(18)	5
6. Brodie	(10)	4
6. Johnson	(14)	4
6. Ore	(24)	4
6. Rayon	(17)	4
6. Stephens	(16)	4
7. Cook	(11)	3
7. I. Gladney	(22)	3
7. Sanders	(15)	3
8. McCrary	(23)	2
8. Cooper	(25)	2
9. Lee	(20)	1
9. Brewton	(21)	1
9. Jones	(26)	1
9. Jackson	(27)	1

*Rank in Leadership Group, Table 1.

generally higher position of women in the leadership structure of Robbins is probably due to the nature of their participation in the organizational activities of this community.

Based upon his study and the small number of female leaders, Mathews noted that in the political realm the long-accepted notions about the matriarchial character of the black subculture again was cast in doubt. But, matriarchy is said to be a characteristic only of working class blacks and the leaders are overwhelmingly middle class.[5]

Furthermore, Thompson related that black women in New Orleans rarely initiate, stimulate, coordinate or direct the activities of the black masses in the solution of major social problems. They have played a secondary or supportive role.

The findings in Robbins and Seattle seem to indicate that black women in the North differ from their Southern sisters in assuming and being accepted in leadership roles.

Age Characteristics

The median age for the Village of Robbins in 1960 was 20 years. Moreover, 50.5 per cent of the population was under 19 years and 61.6 per cent was under 29 years. Hence, the age group over 30 years of age makes up 38.4 per cent of the population. The leaders of Robbins are drawn from the group over 30 years of age.

The findings related to age distribution of leaders

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[5]Matthews, op.cit., p. 180.

are again supportive of Barth's findings in Seattle and differ from the findings of Burgess, Hunter, Matthews and Thompson. For example, in Robbins, the mean age of the 27 leaders is 46 years; the range is from 32 to 67.

The mean age for black leaders in Seattle was 44.8 years,[6] but in Atlanta, it was 54.3 years.[7] In Durham, it was 53.7 years and in New Orleans it was 55 years.[8] For four communities in the South, Matthews found leaders' mean ages ranged from 51 to 61 years.[9]

Thompson suggests that leadership is not a matter of age but of class and social position and as will be shown later, the leaders in Robbins are middle class. However, there is an almost ten-year difference in mean age between leaders from Northern black communities as compared to Southern black communities. This phenomena is believed to be related to migration.

In the study of four Southern communities, Matthews stated that potential leaders among young blacks tended to migrate. Further, the Northern black community was viewed as a system of migration where in-migrants arrive, come to terms with the community in some fashion and begin to move

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[6]Barth, op.cit., p. 72. [7]Hunter, op.cit., p. 121.

[8]Burgess, op.cit., p. 102. [9]Matthews, op.cit., p. 184.

from the crowded points of entry in the black areas of the city to the more desirable areas on the periphery.[10]

Due to the need for workers in defense industries during World War II migration to Seattle was substantial with the black population increasing 313.5 per cent in a ten-year period.[11] The impact of migration upon the black leadership structure of Seattle was revealed when only 11 per cent of the leaders were locally born; 60 per cent coming on gradually from the South.[12] The black leadership structure of Seattle which existed prior to the great influx was disrupted and almost destroyed by the impact of the migrants.[13]

For Atlanta's 19 black leaders, only 3 were born locally, 5 were born in smaller communities in Georgia, and 11 in other states.[14] Further, as reported by Wilson, most of Chicago's black leaders were born in the South.[15] In Durham, 55 per cent of the black leaders were born outside of North Carolina.[16]

Robbins follows the pattern of the above-cited black

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[10]Thompson, op.cit., p. 27. [11]Barth, op.cit., p. 70.

[12]Ibid., p. 73. [13]Ibid., p. 76.

[14]Hunter, op.cit., p. 122. [15]Wilson, op.cit., p. 11.

[16]Burgess, op.cit., p. 103.

communities. The majority of Robbins leaders have migrated to the community; only 4 leaders (15 per cent) are locally born. Fourteen (52 per cent) were born in the South; 6 (22 per cent) were born in Chicago; and 3 (11 per cent) were born elsewhere in the North. The path of migration to Robbins is illustrated thusly: 14 (52 perccent) came to Robbins from Chicago, 5 (19 per cent) directly from the South, and 3 (11 per cent) from elsewhere in the North. It appears that Robbins, as in other communities, attracts blacks of leadership quality rather than developing them locally. Moreover, this pattern of leadership migration tends to support Wilson's theory of migrants leaving the ports of entry for more desirable areas on the periphery.

Only in New Orleans were most of the leaders born locally. Some came from other Southern communities but none came from outside of the South. Thompson explained that New Orleans is an old, tradition-oriented city with many established individuals and families that serve as the source for leaders.[17]

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[17]Thompson, op.cit., p. 28.

Length of Residence

The leaders resided in Robbins over varying lengths of time. However, 23 out of 27 (85 per cent) had lived in Robbins over 10 years. Of the remaining 4, 3 had resided in Robbins from 6 to 10 years and only one leader had lived there less than 5 years. The breakdown was:

All of their life	3
Over 20 years	11
11 to 20 years	9
6 to 10 years	3
Less than 5 years	1
	27

Twenty-three out of 27 (85 per cent) owned their own home and the same number were married. There were no leaders who had not been married.

Occupation Characteristics

As listed in Table 1, the occupations of leaders fall into the following categories--11 (40 per cent) of the leaders in Robbins are self-employed and 14 (52 per cent) are professionals. The self-employed leaders supervise an average of 10.8 employees. Some professionals also supervise employees. The leadership group as a whole supervises 380 employees. One leader supervises 100 employees, while others supervised 80, 75, 45, 34, and 15 employees. Nine other leaders also supervise some employees.

Similar to Burgess in Durham, North Carolina, and unlike Hunter in Atlanta, there is no significant correlation between the number of persons supervised and the leadership ranking of the leader supervising.[18]

It is evident that most of the leaders' occupations locate them in the institutional structure of Robbins. Thirteen of the 27 leaders are engaged in business. The businesses are building contractor, insurance, real estate and photography. Others are proprietors of a service station, hardware store, notions store, package store, restaurant, newspaper, and barber shop.

Of the fourteen professionals, 4 were ministers, 2 teachers, a junior high school principal, a high school counselor, a chemist, an assistant manager of a housing project, a police chief, a radio station news director, a youth officer, and a politician.

Several of the leaders play dual roles. For example, the Mayor and 2 of the 6 village trustees are included in the leadership group. The Mayor by profession is an insurance executive and one of the trustees is a teacher. Moreover, of the 4 practicing ministers, one, in addition publishes a newspaper and another owned and operated a barber

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[18]Burgess, op.cit., p. 105.

shop. For all indicators of Robbins' economic and social base these leaders hold the top positions in the community.

Twenty-five of the 27 leaders are either self-employed entrepreneurs or professionals. If power within a community derives in part from high positions in its economic or political structure, the members of this leadership group possess such power. Moreover, the representation of the professionals reflects the stability of social structure.

The leadership structure of Seattle's black community compares favorably with Robbins'. In Seattle, 50 per cent of the black leaders were professionals, and 52 per cent were self-employed. The self-employed leaders averaged 3 employees under their supervision and only 2 leaders supervised more than 10 employees. These findings differ greatly from those of Atlanta where Hunter found the top leader supervising 1,800 workers and 11 others supervised 25 or more workers.[19]

Hunter categorized the occupations of black leaders in Atlanta in the following manner. Nineteen (56 per cent) of the leaders were professionals, 11 (32 per cent) were commercial enterprisers, bankers and insurance operators.

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[19]Barth, op.cit., p. 72.

The professionals were a lawyer, a doctor, 4 educators, 6 ministers, and 7 social workers.[20]

In Durham, North Carolina's black community, the black leaders were fairly evenly distributed between business and the professions. However, they represented only 23 per cent of the total leadership group. The remainder were salaried employees of larger firms.[21]

In New Orleans, Thompson found that black ministers constituted the largest segment of the leadership class.[22] This finding was substantiated by Matthews in 4 Southern communities. Black preachers and ministers accounted for 34 per cent of black leadership in the South. The next closest categories were school teachers with 12 per cent, and farmers and businessmen with 11 per cent.

The pre-eminence of preachers among black leaders was explained by Prothro as resulting from the fact that the ministry was one of the few professions that included members in almost every black community. Further, where potential leaders were scarce, the mantle of leadership may fall to a local preacher by default.[23]

We have seen that ministers make up 15 per cent of

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[20]Hunter, op.cit., p. 116. [21]Burgess, op.cit., p. 102.

[22]Thompson, op.cit., p. 34. [23]Matthews, op.cit., p. 180.

the leadership group of Robbins; 6 per cent in Seattle; 18 per cent in Atlanta; 13 per cent in Durham; and 34 per cent in the 4 cities of Matthew's study.

The black minister, Wilson observed, is of greater significance in cities where black politicians lack an independent base of power, that is, where the politician must rely on the support of other non-political groups. However, the greater the degree of professionalization in any black community in terms of professional politicians and other professionals, the less the activity and the narrower the role of lay leaders including ministers.[24]

Education

The educational achievement of leaders in Robbins is relatively high. For the leadership group, the average number of school years completed is 14 years and 24 out of 27 (88 per cent) have graduated from high school. Ten of the leaders have earned a baccalaureate degree, and 7 of the 10 have studied beyond the bachelor's degree.

The significance of this information is that, as recorded in the 1960 Census, the number of persons in Robbins who had completed high school was 556 of 17.1 per cent of

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[24]Wilson, op.cit., p. 299.

the population over 25 years of age.[25] Of more significance is the data on the college-educated. In 1960 there were 51 persons in Robbins who had completed 4 or more years of college.[26] Based upon these data the proportion with a college degree who are recognized as leaders is 20 per cent.

The phenomenon of high educational achievement of black leaders is repeated in other studies. In Seattle, black leaders averaged 16 years of school.[27] In New Orleans, all of the black leaders had attended high school and 65 per cent had received college degrees. Moreover, more than half held one or more graduate degrees.[28] This relatively high percentage of college degrees for New Orleans' black leaders is not surprising in light of Thompson's study of a black leadership class which was composed of successful representatives of the ministry, lawyers, union leaders, businessmen, teachers, and doctors.[29]

Durham, North Carolina had within its black leadership structure a high number of persons with college degrees. Only one leader had no formal education, and three others attended but did not complete college.[30] For the

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[25]Comprehensive Plan, Table 4, p. 30.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Barth, op.cit., p. 73.

[28]Thompson, op.cit., p. 30.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Burgess, op.cit., p. 102.

31 black leaders the median years of education was 17 and the mean years was 15.3.[31] Both figures are understandable because of the location of a black college in Durham. In fact, the study reveals that 6 college administrators or faculty members are part of the leadership group as are 4 attorneys.[32]

For the 95 leaders Wilson interviewed in Chicago, "most were college educated, and many had professional or graduate-school education."[33]

Income

The average income from all sources in 1966 for the leaders in Robbins was $13,192. Twenty-four out of 27 reported having an income over $5,000 per year. Of the 24 leaders who reported income, 7 had an income between $5,000 and $7,499 a year; 5 had an income between $7,500 and $9,999 a year; 9 had an income between $10,000 and $20,000 a year; and 3 had an income over $20,000 per year.

For the Village of Robbins, in 1959, the median income per family was $4,491.[34] The leaders' income in 1966 was nearly three times as much. Moreover, in 1959, 70

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[31]Burgess, op.cit., p. 102. [32]Ibid., p. 103.

[33]Wilson, op.cit., p. 11.

[34]Comprehensive Plan, Table 5, p. 32.

families had income over $10,000.[35] If these figures were held constant, 15 of the leaders, or 21 per cent of those in this income bracket were leaders. For the black leadership class of New Orleans, only the youngest families had income of less than $5,000 a year. The large majority had incomes of $7,500 a year and over, and a few ". . . acknowledged annual incomes of $20,000 or more."[36]

Summary

The following illustrates the socio-economic characteristics of the leaders of Robbins in contrast with the socio-economic characteristics of the entire Village:

	Robbins	Leadership Group
Median Age	20 years	46 years
Median School Years	8.7 years	14 years
Average Income	$4,491	$13,192
Total White Collar Workers	293 or 16.3% of population	26 or 96% of leadership group
Professional, Technical and Kindred	65 or 3.26% of population	14 or 52%
Managers, Officers, Proprietors	66 or 3.31% of population	11 or 40%
Clerical	162 or 8.13% of population	1 or 4%

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[35] *Ibid*.

[36] Thompson, *op.cit*., p. 30.

The evidence strongly indicates the members of the leadership group represent the substantial element of the community--an economic and educational elite. Against the background of the community, the leadership group is 2.3 times as old as the community as a whole.

Further, the leaders are 1.6 times as educated; have 2.9 times as much income, and are overwhelmingly white collar--96 per cent for the leaders versus 16.3 per cent for the whole Village. These factors indicate the leaders have high prestige and status. The group is composed of persons who are successful and who have arrived in terms of occupational and social position. In addition, due to the economic base of Robbins, the leaders occupy key positions in the institutional structure of the community.

It would appear, then, the credentials for leadership in Robbins, with few exceptions, would include relatively long residence, a high income, high educational attainment, and a white collar job.

The studies of black leaders in other communities confirm the general findings of this study. In two Northern communities, black women play a more active role than their Southern counterparts; and ministers in the South are more likely to be named as leaders than in the North.

As hypothesized, there is in Robbins an identifiable

structure of leadership. The leaders are "power wielders" and "decision makers" in the sense in which the terms are used by Hunter and Mills[37]--they hold positions of importance to the Village's institutional structure and their decisions have serious ramifications for the community.

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[37]Mills argues that power resides principally in the realms of economic, political, and military organization, and suggests that the structure of the "power elite" is related to the rate and nature of social change in a society at any given time. C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite.

CHAPTER III

BASES FOR LEADERSHIP

The occupations and social and economic background of the persons named as leaders in Robbins indicate they are overwhelmingly middle-class. This finding is in agreement with findings of other studies of black leadership. As indicated earlier black leaders in Atlanta, Chicago, Durham, North Carolina, New Orleans, Seattle, and four Southern communities were decidedly middle- and upper-class. The leadership group in Robbins is primarily composed of persons who have gained a measure of success in occupational and social positions. From the data on Robbins, it can be seen that the composition of its power structure is closely related to the socio-economic structure of the community. As in other studies community resources such as wealth, industrial strength, skill, energy and value consensus tend to determine the composition of a community's leadership elite.

The social and economic structure of the community provides the framework within which leaders function, but community power is thought of as ". . . the network of

influences among persons and organizations involved in community issues or projects."[1]

It has been suggested by Rossi that citizens are not equal and it is the inequality of status, wealth, prestige, knowledge, competence, office and function which is at the base of power. It is important therefore to look for the bases for power among leaders--to "look for the attributes of people or social position which can yield effective influence."[2]

In order to provide a more comprehensive explanation of leadership in Robbins, we will look at individual attributions of the leaders of Robbins by analyzing the reasons they gave for making their choice for leaders. As a corollary we will discover the basic values and norms for leadership as viewed by the leaders. The vote justifications are classified in Table 5. Each respondent was given a listing of leaders and a sheet on which he could register the reason for his choice of leader. The leader could only indicate for the leaders he chose and could vote in as many categories as deemed appropriate. The first category,

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[1]William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, Industry, Labor and Community (New York: Harper & Bros., 1960), p. 434.

[2]Peter H. Rossi, "Theory, Research and Practice in Community Organization," Social Science and Community Action, ed. Charles R. Adrian (East Lansing, Michigan: Institute for Community Development and Services, 1960), p. 12.

TABLE 5

REASONS GIVEN FOR SELECTION OF LEADERS
BY OTHER LEADERS IN POLL

Leader	Institutional Position: Occupational	Institutional Position: Political	Institutional Position: Civic	Personal Attributes	Organizational Activity & Civic Service
Violet Malone (5)*	9	4	11	10	11
Edward Starks (2)	9	6	9	10	11
Rev. Wright (5)	9	2	10	9	10
Stafford Jacques (1)	7	10	4	11	7
George Kimbell (5)	9	-	9	10	9
Marion Smith (3)	5	7	0	5	8
Mapel Spearmon (4)	4	1	8	7	9
Irene Brodie (7)	10	-	4	8	6
Albion Ward (7)		2	9	6	9
Myrtle Dunn (7)	-	6	8	4	7
Lois Rayon (9)	1	4	7	6	7
Rev. Cook (7)	6	-	4	8	6
Caleb Johnson (8)	4	5	5	4	6
Vinson Sanders (8)	6	2	7	4	5
Aaron Stout (9)	6	4	3	6	5
E. L. Allen (6)	-	1	7	5	10
Ernest Maxey (5)	3	9	3	4	3
Esther Gladney (10)	3	2	4	6	6
Rev. Stephens (8)	5	1	5	4	5
Fannie Ore (12)	2	2	4	3	3
Ivory Gladney (12)	3	1	3	2	3
Roland Lee (11)	1	4	2	3	2
Rev. Brewton (12)	1	2	-	1	2
James McCrary (12)	1	2	-	1	2
Robert Jones (14)	1	1	-	1	2
A. Cooper (13)	-	-	-	-	2
J. Jackson,Sr. (15)	-	1	-	1	-

*Rank in Leadership Poll, Table 1.

Institutional Position, includes family status, business and professional positions, political office, and civic or associational positions. The second, Personal Attributes, includes courage, special training or experience, poise, individual status, intelligence, honesty, morality, respectability, dignity, and reliability. The third, Organizational Activity, includes performance, reliability, activity, number of organizational memberships, degree of service, and success in fulfillment of responsibility.[3]

Table 6 sums up the votes by category and clearly indicates the leader's predilection for leadership qualities.

TABLE 6

TOTAL VOTES BY CATEGORY

Bases	Votes	Per Cent of Possible Maximum Vote (270)
Organizational Activity and Civic Service	169	63
Personal Attributes	150	55
Civic Position	132	49
Occupational Position	104	39
Political Position	83	30

By far, the most highly thought of leadership base is organizational activity and civic service. The vote for

[3]Burgess, op.cit., p. 81.

it is twice that of political position. What is significant is that the top two categories are Organizational Activity and Civic Service and, Personal Attributes. The institutional positions rank, in descending order, Civic Position, Occupational Position, and Political Position. In this instance the top two choices are not directly related to bases of power that can be used to influence others in order to obtain more power. But, rather, are related to personal characteristics. It would indicate that prestige, competence, performance, service and knowledge are the most important leadership bases in Robbins. In addition, as already noted, most of the leaders possess such resources as wealth and office.

This conclusion is further substantiated by leaders' answers to the question, "Suppose a person wanted to become a leader in this community--could you give me your ideas about what he would have to do?" Twenty-five of the 27 leaders answered the query.

A sampling of the answers are "working with all organizations that are working for the improvement of the Village of Robbins," "by working with various committees supporting worth-while projects . . . projects that would benefit the community."

Further thoughts on how to become a leader in Robbins

were to "show concern for the life of the Village by becoming active in some group." To "manifest a knowledge and concern for the problems of the Village."

Several other suggestions were to "work hard, show an interest in the Community, make a contribution." And, ". . . be identified with all of the worth-while civic, political and religious efforts for the advancement of the community." The comments can be summed up generally by one which stated a potential leader would have to ". . . have to take to heart the concerns of the Village."

It appears, then, the most highly thought of base for leadership in Robbins is Organizational Activity and Civic Service for the benefit of the community. At best, this leadership base is not powerful in itself, but it would afford access to sources of local power.

We hypothesized the base for leadership in Robbins would be social power in the form of wealth, prestige, knowledge, status and position. This proposition is substantiated by the research. But a further explanation of this phenomenon is that the focus of activity of leadership must be directed towards the betterment of the community.

Acquaintanceship and Cliques

While power and influence may rest on various bases or resources--status, wealth, prestige, knowledge, competence, office and function--these bases are not themselves power unless they are utilized in organized association with one another. As Hunter concluded, "the power of the individual must be structured into associational, cliques, or institutional patterns to be effective,"[4] In the study of Atlanta's black community, Hunter demonstrated that the top leadership group tended toward closure in two ways. First, almost all of the leaders were known to each other (90 per cent knew each other well or at least socially). Secondly, his sociometric data revealed a correlation between the number of votes received as a top leader and the number of mutual choices.[5]

Similarly, in Seattle, Barth analyzed the black community's structure for closure and found evidence of a "leadership clique." He found 7 "top leaders," who were distinguished from other leaders by superior educational attainment, shorter length of residence and by sex, all but one being a man. All 7 owned their homes and 4 were self-employed.[6]

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[4]Hunter, op.cit., p. 6. [5]Ibid., pp. 118-119.

[6]Barth, op.cit., p. 73.

Acquaintanceship among Seattle's black leaders was also very high with 93 per cent knowing each other "well" or "socially." This held true for the top 7 leaders. The findings in Seattle confirmed Hunter's findings in Atlanta.[7]

Barth further demonstrated indications of a "closed" top leadership group in two ways. First, was the well known correlation between sociometric leadership rating and the number of reciprocated choices. The top 7 received an average of 7.9 votes while the remaining leaders averaged 2.0 votes. The second indication was the relationship between the actual number of mutual choices and the total number of possible choices. For the top 7 black leaders of Seattle with 21 possible mutual choices, 13 (or 62 per cent) were made. The one major differentiating characteristic of the top 7 black leaders was the degree to which they participated with others in organizational committee activities. Their participation average with other leaders was 1.5 times as much as the contacts for the remaining leaders. The participation supported the contention that the top leaders attained their top position because they were active in organizational activity.[8]

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[7]Barth, op.cit., p. 74.

[8]Ibid., p. 74.

The "Top Eleven Leaders"

In an attempt to determine whether or not there is any "leadership clique" among black leaders in Robbins, a special analysis was made of 11 persons mentioned as leaders by one-half or more of the 27 people interviewed and who received one-half or more of the mutual choices.

These 11 "top leaders" are slightly distinguished from the other leaders by: superior educational attainment--14 school years for the leadership group versus 14.9 school years for the 11; younger age--46 years old for the group and 43.3 years for the 11; higher income--$13,192 for the group and $13,590 for the top leaders; and, most importantly, longer time in the community--8 top leaders have lived in Robbins over 20 years. The 11 top leaders are comprised of 7 males and 4 females--roughly the same percentage as that for the leadership group as a whole.

Acquaintanceship among the 27 leaders in this study is very high with 98.5 per cent of the leaders reporting knowing each other "well" or "slightly." Among the top 11 leaders, all but one reported that they knew each of the others well.

The correlation between sociometric leadership standing and the number of reciprocated choices achieved as a leader holds for the top 11. They received an average of

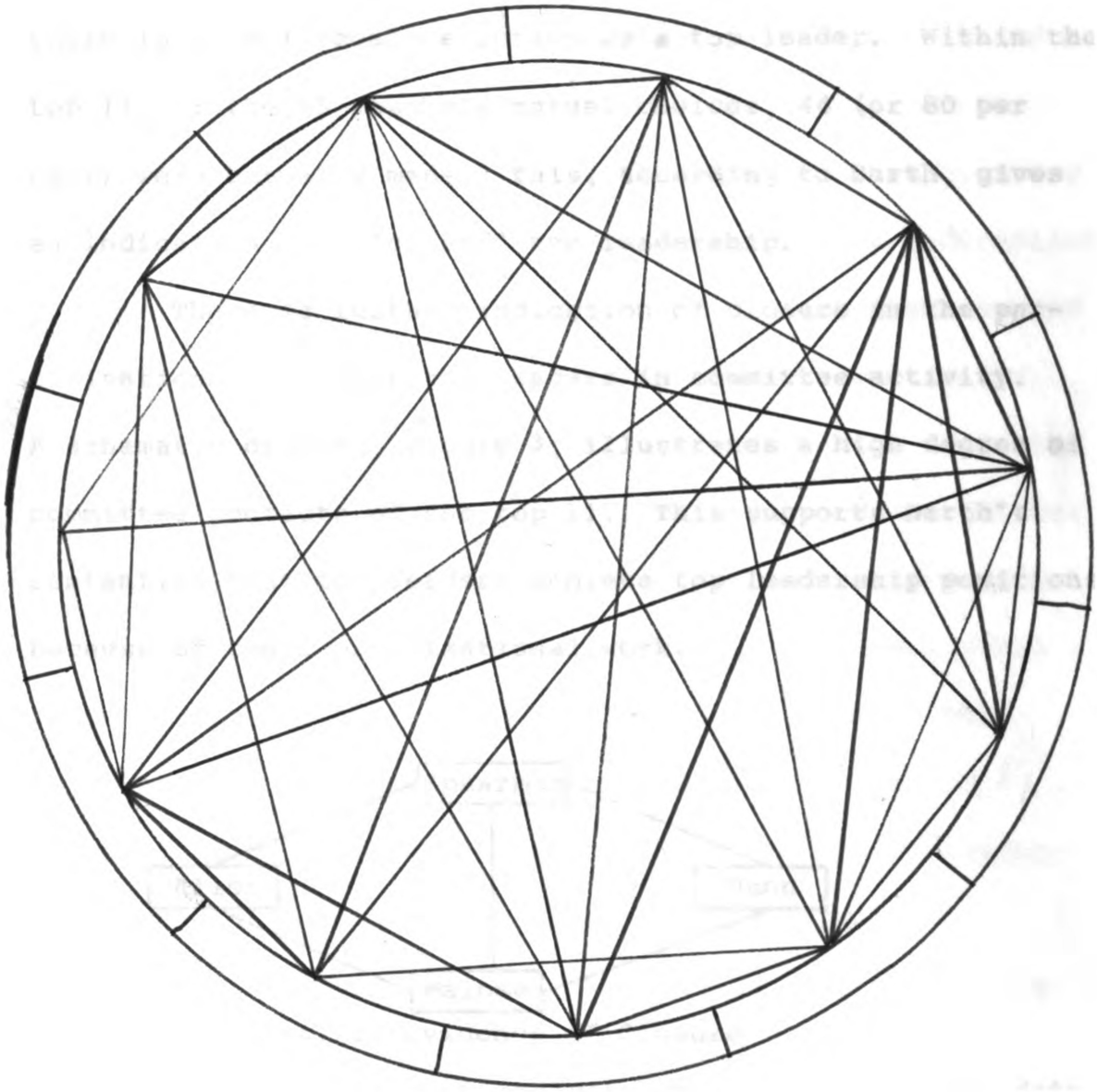

Fig. 2--Mutual Participation in Committees--"Top Eleven"

7 such choices whereas the remaining leaders averaged 3.

A mutual choice is defined as the instance in which there is a reciprocal selection as a top leader. Within the top 11, of the 55 possible mutual choices, 44 (or 80 per cent) were actually made. This, according to Barth, gives an indication of a "closed" top leadership.

There is further indication of closure in the participation with other top leaders in committee activity. A schematic drawing, Figure 3, illustrates a high degree of committee contacts of the top 11. This supports Barth's contention that top leaders achieve top leadership positions because of their organizational work.

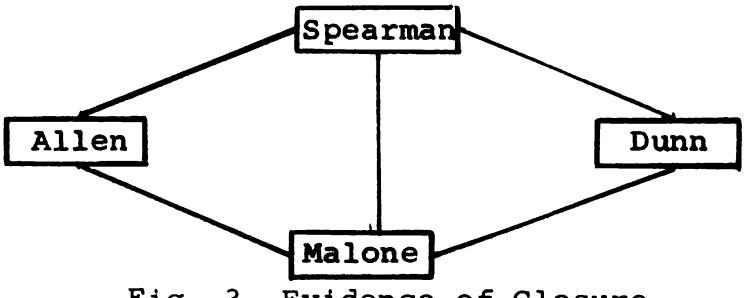

Fig. 3--Evidence of Closure

Several different analyses were applied to the data on black leaders in Robbins in order to discover more definitive evidence of leadership closure. For example, mutual choices were schematically drawn in search of constellations or concentrations of reciprocal votes. What became evident, rather, was a dispersion among the top 11.

No one, two, or three members of the top 11 appeared to be pivotal. The only indication of an "in group" appeared with respect to the four female members of the top 11 and their mutual choices. Figure 2 illustrates this point.

From this information it is concluded that by using criteria established in other studies, there are indications of closure--such as large percentage of mutual choices--and committee contacts. But, because the "Top Eleven" is the only logical cutting-off point in delineating the possibility of a "clique" makes it seem improbable that one exists. If the number were smaller it would have more credence; but to say that 40 per cent of the leadership structure makes up a clique is not acceptable. Hence, in spite of the "evidence" it is believed that a leadership clique or closure of top leadership does not exist among the leadership group in Robbins.

Acquaintanceship on the other hand, is clearly established as being very high.

CHAPTER IV

INFLUENTIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Formal organizations as well as less formal but relatively stable cliques offer mechanisms through which community decision-making may be channelled. For instance, institutions, social classes, associations, power and leadership groupings and other enduring units comprise the social structure of a community. The social structure of which institutions and other such units are a part also reflect the power relations in a community. While power may rest on various bases or resources--wealth, knowledge, prestige--these bases are not themselves power unless they are utilized in organized association with one another. We shall look at Robbins to discern what organizations are thought to be influential and concerned with durable interests in the community.

In other studies, black leaders of Seattle and Atlanta nominated organizations that were similar in two respects. First, was the number of organizations of the Greek letter variety. Close to one-third of the nominated organizations were of this type. However, the indications

were that organizations of this type played a relatively minor role in decision-making activities.

In both Atlanta and Seattle, the top two organizations were local branches of national organizations. In Atlanta the two top organizations were the NAACP and the YMCA. In Seattle, the top two were the Urban League and the NAACP.[1] The high ranking of national groups reflects the fact that many of the problems affecting black people locally have national significance and are handled best by national associational groupings.

An interesting finding in Seattle is that only one black church was mentioned although two ministers are listed in the top ten leaders. However, 6 of the top 7 organizations in Seattle are directly concerned with interracial relations and race betterment; only one is an organization which had business as its principal interest; and although union membership was widespread, only one union was mentioned and was low in influence. It was concluded that in Seattle the major concern of the black community and its leaders were minority status and group protest.[2]

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[1]Hunter, op.cit., p. 125 and Barth, op.cit., p. 75.

[2]Barth, op.cit., p. 75.

Influential Organizations in Robbins

Table 7 lists organizations the leaders in Robbins consider more influential in initiating and supporting projects within the community.

TABLE 7

INFLUENTIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Name	Votes	Type
Volunteer Fire Dept.	19	Municipal
Anti-Poverty Council	12	Civic
NAACP--Robbins Branch	11	National
Celebration League	8	Civic
Jr. Women's Fire Dept.	8	Civic
Village Activities Guild	8	Civic
Great Hope Baptist Church	7	Religious
Suburban Federal Credit Union	7	Economic
Alpha & Omega No. 121 F&AM (Masons)	6	Social
Senior Boosters Scholarship Club	6	Civic
United Citizens Party	5	Political
Ministerial Alliance	5	Protest
Senior Women's Fire Dept. Aux.	4	Civic
Good Shepherd Lutheran Church	3	Religious
Bethel AME Church	2	Religious
Pride of Robbins Temple 915 (Elks)	2	Social

It is interesting to note that although the Volunteer Fire Department rates highest with the leadership group no member of the leadership group is a member of the Department. However, most of the organizations, 6 out of 16, were devoted to civic betterment and uplift. Three were churches, 2 were social groups, and one each of a

national group, protest group, political party, and economic organization.

Two organizations, the Ministerial Alliance and Operation Breadbasket should be noted. In the Spring of 1967 there was a fire in one of the elementary schools in Robbins and the school was damaged. In the Fall when the new school year began, the damaged part of the school had not been repaired. The Ministerial Alliance--a group of black ministers--called a successful boycott of classes in the school. This action caused a furor in the community.

Operation Breadbasket is the economic arm of the late Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Council. Its primary functions are to obtain business opportunities and jobs for black people and, where black people are already employed, obtain fair treatment in promotions and training.

The Ministerial Alliance is listed as an influential organization and garnered 5 votes. Operation Breadbasket, on the other hand, is not listed nor was it added to the list by either the 16 informants or the 27 leaders. Two leaders listed membership in Operation Breadbasket. It should be noted that a membership drive was taking place at the time of this study.

The majority of influential organizations are

community oriented. By far the most influential is the Volunteer Fire Department and 5 of the next 6 are civic organizations concerned with civic betterment and uplift. What is of added interest are the Ministerial Alliance and Operation Breadbasket.

The significance of the Ministerial Alliance and Operation Breadbasket in Robbins is the nascent manifestation of the more militant activist attitude prevalent among black people. This activity could have interesting implications in the future for the community and the leadership group.

From all indications, most of the organizations considered most influential are those which have a strong community orientation and interest.

In the study of Chicago, Wilson commented that the black man in the North had the ability to create and sustain organizations of some kind. In Chicago's black community there was a plethora of organizations at all social levels and their principal function was social. Civic or political purposes were secondary.[3]

In Robbins, the converse is true and the reason could be that in Robbins, black citizens control the

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[3]Wilson, op.cit., p. 307.

community and thereby are more concerned about it. In Chicago, black people are classically powerless and would turn their attention to social activity.

CHAPTER V

THE ISSUES

In the study of black politics in Chicago, Wilson distinguished two categories of issues. For convenience, the categories are called welfare issues and status issues. Welfare issues are those which bring tangible improvement to the community or individuals in it through the provision of better services, living conditions, or positions. Examples of welfare issues in Chicago's black community are the provision of more and better schools, construction of more low-income public housing, location of a branch hospital in the black community, an increase in black political representation, and an increase in the supply of housing available to black people.

The other category, status issues, is concerned with the integration of black people into all phases of the community on the principle of equality. Black people would be granted the opportunity to obtain the services, positions or material benefits of the community on the basis of principles other than race. The principles include the ability to pay and personal achievement or

qualification. Examples of status issues are integration of public schools, desegregation of private hospitals, and open-occupancy in the real estate market.[1] Seventeen specific issues are listed by Wilson. The issues fell into 6 general categories: Housing; Police; Employment; Education; Medicine; Business. The 17 issues were almost evenly divided between welfare issues and status issues.[2]

In the study of black leaders in Seattle, the question was asked: "What, in your opinion, are two of the major issues before the Negro community--either immediately, past or current?"[3]

It was apparent that the issues of concern to the black leaders of Seattle were those associated with problems of interracial relations, the effects of minority group status, and attempts to change the existing social structure of the community.[4]

The issues of relevance to the black leaders of Seattle and frequency of mention were: Minority Housing--33; Civil Rights Legislation--17; Concentration of Minority Children in Schools--11; Park and Recreational Facilities in Minority Residential Areas--4; Discrimination in Employment

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[1]Wilson, op.cit., p. 185. [2]Ibid., p. 15.

[3]Barth, op.cit., p. 74. [4]Ibid., p. 75.

and Career Counseling for Children--4; Police Brutality--1; and Unity in Action within the Sub-Community.[5] Using the Wilson criteria the issues in Seattle are four welfare issues--housing, parks, police brutality, and unity. The other three issues are status issues.

In Durham, North Carolina, the issues identified by black leaders were: Better Housing Facilities; Financial and Job Security; Better Facilities and Academic Standards in Schools; Better Recreation Facilities; Desegregation of the Schools; Desegregation of other Local Facilities; Better Communication with White Community; More Community Spirit and Participation; Better Medical Facilities; and other programs--better streets, school transportation, street lighting, etc.[6] To use Wilson's criteria there are 7 welfare issues and 4 status issues. The status issues are job security, desegregation of schools and other public facilities, and better communication with whites. It should be noted that 3 of the 4 status issues are directly issues of race relations. Needless to say the question of race has a bearing upon most of the issues presented. In the study of black leaders in New Orleans, Thompson found

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[5]Barth, op.cit., p. 75.

[6]Burgess, op.cit., p. 86.

3 major issues. They are citizenship, earning a living, and education.[7]

The concept of citizenship includes equal protection of the law, equal rights of political participation, and equal access to public facilities.

Equal protection of the law is further defined to include inequalities in housing, economic opportunities, transportation, education, segregation, arrest, court procedures, and punishment for crimes.[8]

The study of issues in New Orleans is more involved than other studies. For instance, there is a discussion of the relative ranking of issues. The black leaders of New Orleans are unanimous that first-class citizenship meant equal economic rights. There is difference of opinion, however, as to the importance of economic discrimination relative to other forms of discrimination.

According to Thompson, about 20 per cent of the black leaders rank economic discrimination as the number one problem of black people in New Orleans. About 5 per cent rate economic inequality below certain other forms of discrimination. The overwhelmingly majority of black leaders, 75 per cent, see the problem of earning a living inextricably interwoven with all other facets of the black

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[7]Thompson, op.cit., p. 5. [8]Ibid., p. 81.

man's status in American society. Some find it difficult to say which form of racial discrimination could be given priority.[9]

The issues in New Orleans as they relate to blacks and as presented by Thompson are, using Wilson's criteria, status issues, because of the emphasis put on the principle of equality as the key to the solution of problems.

In Robbins, the 27 leaders were asked to list the two most important issues. The type of issues and the frequency of mention are listed in Table 8.

TABLE 8

CRUCIAL ISSUES

Issue	Votes
Housing	10
Economic Activity (industry--business district--jobs)	9
Recreation	9
Education	8
Village Improvements	8
Concern with Youth	5
Village Politics	3
Library	3
Lack of Programs--Unity	2
Lack of Doctor--Hospital	1

[9]Thompson, op.cit., pp. 120-121.

From Table 8 it is apparent that most of the issues of concern to the leaders identified in this study are those inextricably concerned with problems reflecting the socio-economic structure and physical condition of Robbins.

The issues mentioned most mirror the problems confronting Robbins. Older housing is a problem which plagues the Village as does lack of recreational facilities. The U.S. Census of Housing reported 58 per cent of the housing units in Robbins are considered in sound condition; while for the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) 88 per cent are classified as being in sound condition. Similarly, Robbins percentage of deteriorated housing was 23 per cent with the Chicago SMSA having 9 per cent deteriorated housing.

The category, "Economic Activity" reveals a concern for the lack of an economic base. Members of the leadership group mentioned plans to bring in industry, a shopping center and a centralized business district. Under "Village Improvements" were improved streets, lighting, alleys, and other physical improvements. "Concern for Youth" includes juvenile delinquency and job programs; and "Village Politics" displays a dissatisfaction with the incumbents in political office.

Using the Wilson criteria, issues in Robbins are

all welfare issues, that is, they look to tangible improvement of the community or replacement of some individuals in leadership in order to provide better services and living conditions. Status issues, those which seek the integration of black people into all phases of the community on the principle of equality, are precluded within Robbins because of its all-black population.

Some of the issues in Robbins are issues in other black communities. Housing, employment, and education are common issues for black people in Chicago, Seattle, Durham, New Orleans and Robbins. Parks and recreation are issues in Seattle, Durham and Robbins. And, the issue of health services and medically related topics are issues in Durham, Chicago, and Robbins. Where Robbins differs from the other cities is on the issue of police and police behavior. All of the police in Robbins are black.

Education, however, is one issue which does have racial overtones. Robbins is served by 3 school districts which also serve neighboring white communities. Segregated education has been a continuing source of contention throughout the communities served by the school districts, but is beyond the scope of this study.

The commonality of issues throughout black communities are a direct consequence of the second-class role and

status of black Americans in American society. Therefore it is not surprising to find that black people and their condition are very similar no matter where they live. The obviously significant difference is that racial antagonisms within Robbins are eliminated because of its all-black composition.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As hypothesized there is an identifiable power structure in Robbins. Members of the leadership group hold high positions in the economic and political structure of the community. And, because of the socio-economic structure of the community, they are the economic dominants who either control or have access to the scarce resources of money, skill, and status.

The leaders constitute a small proportion of the community and are not representative of it in social terms. On the average, when compared to the rest of the community, leaders are 26 years older and have 5.3 years more education. Whereas median income for the community is $4,491, for the leaders it is $13,192. Further, 16 per cent of the population are white collar workers while 96 per cent of the leaders are in that category. What we find is an elite who possess more of the skills and qualities for leadership.

When Robbins is compared with the leadership studies of other black communities, there are more similarities than differences. On the question of participation of women

in the leadership structure, it is noted that both Robbins and Seattle have a high percentage of women in the grouping. This is in contrast to Atlanta, Durham, New Orleans and four Southern communities studied by Matthews. A readily apparent distinction is a North-South dichotomy. One explanation for this difference is that the high ranking and percentage of black women in the leadership is their organizational activity in the community. This conclusion was further strengthened by leadership bases which served to highlight the most highly thought-of base as Organizational Activity and Civic Service.

The leadership structure of Robbins and Seattle are, again, similar in regards to the ages of leaders. In Robbins the average age of black leaders is 46 years; in Seattle it is 44.8 years. The black leaders in Southern communities, on the other hand, are at least 10 years older. In Atlanta the average age is 54.3 years; Durham 53.7 years; New Orleans 55 years; and for four Southern communities it ranges from 51 to 61 years. A possible explanation for difference in age between Northern and Southern communities is the factor of migration. It was noted that young black Southerners with leadership potential were more apt to migrate North. With an average age of 46 years and with many leaders having resided in Robbins 10 or more years--

many over 20 years--they were relatively young upon coming to Robbins and would support that proposition.

There are other instances of similarity in the studies of black leadership. For instance, in Robbins, 52 per cent of the leaders are professionals, in Seattle 50 per cent are professionals, and in Atlanta 56 per cent are professionals. The self-employed in Robbins and Seattle make up, respectively, 40 and 52 per cent.of the leadership structure. This rather high dominance of professionals in the leadership structure is due, in part, to the lack of "economic dominants" in the usual sense. In many studies, leadership structures are heavily weighted with economic dominants. In the case of Robbins with its lack of industry and large businesses, the professionals and self-employed are, in effect, the economic dominants of the community. They have control of, or have access to whatever wealth, skills, expertise, and resources available in the community.

Another finding of similarity with other studies is the role of black ministers as leaders. It had been conceded that the clergy was the principal source of black leadership. In areas where black politicians lack an independent base, the black minister can play a significant role. In areas where there is an absence of leaders such

as in some Southern communities, the mantle of leadership falls upon the clergy. Information from the studies of black communities tends to support this proposition. In Robbins, ministers make up 15 per cent of the leadership structure, in Atlanta 18 per cent, in Seattle 6 per cent, in Durham 13 per cent, and for four communities in the South 34 per cent.

In the over-all analysis, the leadership structure of Robbins is decidedly middle- and upper-class. In this regard it is the same as the black leaders of Atlanta, Chicago, Durham, New Orleans, Seattle and four Southern communities.

In comparing the findings of studies of black communities where black people are in control with communities which are not black-run marked differences begin to appear by the types of organizations thought to be most influential by the black leaders.

In Robbins the most influential organization is the Volunteer Fire Department. This might be an aberration because of the size of the town and the importance of the Fire Department to the well-being of the Village. It could be a sacrosanct local institution because of the large role it plays in the life of the community. Moreover, the Village is quite proud of its Fire Department and it has a good reputation.

The difference is more apparent in other areas of comparability. In Robbins civic organizations represent 38 per cent of the organizations nominated as influential. This is double the next highest nominated organization--churches at 19 per cent; Social organizations represent 13 per cent of the organizations listed.

In Seattle, on the other hand, 52 per cent of the organizations listed are social. The next highest, at 15 per cent, is national organizations, followed by civic organizations, at 12 per cent and religious at 8 per cent.

In Atlanta, 40 per cent of the organizations are local branches of national ones. Next highest at 30 per cent are social organizations.

The Hunter study in Atlanta was published in 1954 and the Barth study in Seattle was published in 1959. Therefore, it is not too surprising to find that protest organizations did not make the list of influential organizations in view of the revolutionary movement of black Americans towards racial equality. Yet, even in Robbins, there is evidence that protest groups are present--although of unknown strength.

The significance of the municipal organization and the high percentage of civic organizations is the focus and concern for the health and well-being of the community.

The community belongs to black people and it is only natural their attention is focused towards uplift of the community. This is contrasted to other black communities which are really sub-communities of larger white-controlled communities. Hence the power and control of the community is not shared with blacks and, being powerless, they turn their attention to other interests.

This theme of greater sense of community and commitment is reinforced in the bases for leadership in the community. In Robbins the attribute most highly thought-of for leadership is Organizational Activity and Civic Service. This attribute is most evident in that 63 per cent of the votes cast are for this leadership quality. The next highest category is Personal Attributes by 55 per cent. The leaders of Robbins were asked the reason for their choice of leaders and were given the opportunity to select from five bases. Included under the category Organizational Activity and Civic Service were performance, reliability, activity, number of organizational memberships, degree of service, and success in fulfillment of responsibility. The overwhelming vote for Organizational Activity clearly demonstrates the predeliction for activity in and for the community.

In the search for evidence of a leadership clique

there are superficial signs that one exists. One of the more distinct clues is the amount of contact between the "top eleven" at committee activity. Further, it is hypothesized that high committee activity is another prerequisite for leadership status.

It is in the area of important issues in the community that the most dramatic difference is evident between a black community which is self-run and those sub-communities where blacks are powerless.

In analyzing the most salient issues in black communities, there is a strong commonality in the type of issues prevailing. The issues of housing, education and employment are raised in Robbins, Chicago, Seattle, Durham and New Orleans. The only difference is in the direction of the interest. In bi-racial communities the housing issue is related to availability and accessibility to black people. The questions of segregation and open occupancy play the dominant role in this issue. Obviously in an all-black community, segregation and open occupancy are not the problems--the problem of housing is related to the question of quality of housing available which then is a problem of economics rather than race.

There is a large amount of poor quality housing in Robbins. This has been caused in large part by the policies

of banks and lending institutions which refuse to lend money to blacks. Hence much of the early housing in Robbins was done on a piecemeal basis. Also, black people have been forced to live at the lower end of the economic scale and what money was available went for basic survival items such as food and clothing.

Employment and Education also are issues in all five communities and here the concern has similar causes--segregation and discrimination. In employment employers by and large are white and their living and paying practices would affect a black man no matter where he lived.

Education also has similarity in root causes. The problem without question relates to quality education and integrated education. In Robbins, however, the problem was directed more to quality education in lieu of integrated education due to Robbins' geographical location and school district boundaries. Robbins shares its school districts with surrounding all-white communities. There is some integrated education but the concern is also for quality education in the all-black schools.

In black sub-communities the emphasis is the same; quality education in all-black schools, but, the opportunity for integrated education is greater in theory only. Other issues such as the lack of parks and recreational facilities,

availability of medical facilities, and the establishment of businesses are directly related to the black man's status in a minority group that has been systematically and deliberately deprived of all opportunity to participate in American society. It is only natural that the consequences of such denial is reflected in the communities in which black people live.

The area which is not an issue in Robbins but is in other communities is police behavior. Robbins has an all-black police force which could explain why police brutality and police harassment fail to become issues.

The greatest difference between black communities which run their own affairs and black communities which do not is in areas of community involvement and community concern. In Robbins where this condition exists, black leaders are overly concerned with the community in which they live. They are handicapped in the amount of good they can do by the economic condition of the people.

It is the finding of this study that given the condition of choice black people will select leaders who have a background and economic standing similar to leaders in most communities. In this instance the leaders hold high positions in the institutional and social structure of the community. Moreover, they possess more of the

qualities of leadership including the necessary ingredients of education, interest, time and energy.

It has been demonstrated here the black leaders in Robbins are a product of the community. And, the community is a product of the racial conditions in the Country.

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