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# NEGRO COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP IN A NORTHERN METROPOLITAN CENTER:

## A Study of Its Structure Under Conditions of Rapid Social Change

by

Steven I. Pflanczer

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June

1967

## LIFE

Steven I. Pflanczer was born in Keszthely, Hungary, on March 19, 1926.

He was graduated from the Gymnasium of the Praemonstratensian Canons in Keszthely, Hungary, on May 3, 1944.

On the basis of undergraduate studies completed in Europe, he was accepted for graduate work at Loyola University, Chicago, in February, 1957. He was graduated from the Institute of Social and Industrial Relations (MSIR), Loyola University, Chicago, in June, 1960.

During the academic years of 1959-60 and 1960-61, he was Assistant in Research in the School of Social Work, Loyola University, Chicago. During the academic year of 1961-62, he was a Teaching Fellow in the Department of Sociology, Loyola University, Chicago.

Since September, 1962, he has been Assistant Professor in the School of Social Welfare, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

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# CHAPTER I

## THRIFTY CITY AND ITS NEGRO COMMUNITY

### Thrifty City

> Chicago is the known city; perhaps more is known about it, how it is run, how it kills, how it loves, steals, helps, gives, cheats, and crushes than any other city in the world. Chicago is a new city; it grew to be bigger in one hundred years than did Paris in two thousand. There are men now living in Chicago whose fathers saw it in its infancy and helped it to grow. Because Chicago is so young, it is possible to know it in a way that many other cities cannot be known. The stages of its complex growth are living memories.
>
> Richard Wright. July, 1945[1]

The metropolitan center which for purposes of this study was given the name Thrifty City[2] had no Richard Wrights to roam its streets or to record its ways with the artist's passionate rancor and fascination. Neither did Parks, Wirths, and Redfields send their eager students into its every corner to study "urbanism as a way of life." While some of its citizens in the

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[1]St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis (Torchbook Edition; New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 18.

[2]Thrifty City, Midwest County, and Midwest State are pseudonyms for three major civil divisions in the American Midwest. Thrifty City is a central city and county seat within a standard metropolitan statistical area.

past did not hesitate to think of Athens when they sought comparisons worthy of civic pride, and also Paris might have grown slower than Thrifty City, Athens and Paris remained thousands and thousands of miles away--in more ways than one. Thrifty City is not a known city like Chicago, but the rest of Wright's observations are true of Thrifty City, too. Youth and newness both apply to it. There are men now living in Thrifty City who remember its infancy from their fathers' tales, and getting to know it is well within the reach of those who are willing to try. Both the tales to remember and the story to learn have to do with the youth and newness of a part of the American Midwest.[3]

Thrifty City, in spite of a favorable ecological position and an extensive network of inland waterways, air, rail, and truck lines, did not become the leading urban center of its region. Historically, the city had to share its immediate economic hinterland with another major metropolitan center in close

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[3]In compliance with the convention followed in most community studies, no published source materials are quoted or appear in the bibliography which could lead directly to the identification of Thrifty City. In this chapter, however, the writer is relying heavily upon two publications which have been prepared with his cooperation. The descriptive statistics of Thrifty City's Negro community are used here with the permission of the author and senior authors of those publications.

The other principal source materials which are omitted here consisted of three major semi-processed compilations of census data, of three major historical studies, of two Ph.D. dissertations, and of a technical research report. On the other hand, the "value judgments" which appear in this chapter are based upon personal observations, fugitive promotional tracts, and what seemed to be the "settled opinion" of informants.

proximity. If rivalry has ever existed between the two, however, it is by now settled: Thrifty City is economically secure, proud of its ways, and also tolerant of native sons who make an occasional trip to sample the social and cultural advantages which its neighbor has to offer.

The site of the city had been fashioned into a gently rolling plane by the geological forces of a distant past. Its sharpest topographical features, shore line and river valleys, had been carved by still and running waters. While these natural boundaries became part of the grid-iron pattern of its streets, the relative social psychological isolation of residents on the four "sides" of Thrifty City is probably due more to their ethnic and religious affiliation than to non-consensual ecological influences.

The significance of the continental climate does not go beyond the occasional pleasures and discomforts which the four seasons bring to urban living in the American Midwest. The fertility of the soil is of concern only to suburban gardeners; fauna and flora make claims most upon children and aficionados--customers of special events in the zoo and the planetarium. Named places, which would mean much to others than the people of the immediate "neighborhoods," are few.

Thrifty City experienced its largest increase in population during the 1850's--the decade that followed its incorporation as a municipality--and continued to grow since than at a

decreasing rate until the 1960's. Due primarily to a series of annexations, it is one of the few central cities in the nation's metropolitan areas which managed to grow during the last thirty years. The trend of increasing population is unlikely to continue, however, because all land area in Midwest County is already incorporated and annexations are either resisted by the neighboring communities or present no immediate advantages to the city. A Ph.D. dissertation of some seven hundred pages told the story of past annexations. Whether Thrifty City will pioneer in the largely unexplored art of developing metropolitan government, the author failed to say. Neither did he set a date for the city's entry into the ranks of the giant strip-cities of the future. In the meantime, the adjacent suburbs continue to grow at an increasing rate.

The approximately 100 square miles land area of the city has an estimated population density of about 9,000 persons per square mile. Population density is highest in the central sections where it reaches as high as about 33,000 persons per square mile, to fall to little more than 2,000 in some of the recently annexed areas. By metropolitan standards, however, the city does not appear to be too crowded. The lunch hour crowds and holiday shoppers of the downtown area are relatively small and easy to avoid. Only a few particularly sultry summer evenings betray the roominess of the residential areas when the heat chases the poor and the less affluent into the streets and parks.

About two-thirds of the acreage within the city limits is used for residential purposes. Housing, by national standards, is of high quality. While many of the homes and apartment buildings are considerably older than the census category of "built in 1939 or before" would suggest, people in Thrifty City like to say that their slums "can be left behind in five minutes by car." In 1960,[4] nearly nine of every ten housing units were "structurally sound," and about eight of every ten were in either one- or two-unit structures. The median number of rooms per housing unit was 4.8, and no more than 8.6 per cent of all housing units in the city were "crowded." Finally, slightly less than one-half of all housing units were "owner occupied," and pride in home ownership is high. The exteriors of homes and lawns are well kept, and people insist upon prompt and adequate municipal services. Rents, again by national standards, tend to be high, and renters are expected to care for the property leased to them. While many people fence in their backyards, neighboring is fairly widespread. Upon special request, the Common Council grants permits for block parties if people wish to foster a small town atmosphere in their immediate area of the city.

The majority of the city's people are native midwesterners. In 1960, about eight of every ten residents listed Midwest

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[4]While changes are constantly occurring since 1960, data from the last national census provide the most uniform and precise information for the description of Thrifty City and its Negro community.

State and the North Central United States as their place of birth. During the 1950's, migration and the natural dynamics of births and deaths led to a slight decrease in the sex ratio and the median age. The decrease in the median age occurred with the concurrent increase in the proportion of the city's population above sixty-five and below fifteen years of age. This trend is of about twenty years duration. While Thrifty City compares favorably with other central cities in the country in terms of the usual family statistics of residents, facilities for young people and care for the aged are beginning to present increasing demands upon the resources of the community.

Effective family buying income in Thrifty City's metropolitan area compares very favorably with incomes in the nation's major metropolitan areas. In 1959, the approximately 200,000 families of the city had a median income of slightly more than $6,500. Of all families whose income was reported in 1960, 17.4 per cent had less than $4,000 while 16.8 per cent had an income of $10,000 or more. People say that Thrifty City is a "cash town," service charges and interest rates are either frowned upon or closely scrutinized. The pervasive trait of thrift that characterizes both private and public business transactions suggested the pseudonym, Thrifty City.

The city's system of educational facilities is extensive. Among primary and secondary school children, about twice as many pupils attend classes in public schools as in private institutions. Nearly eight of every ten non-public school students

receive their primary and/or secondary education in schools maintained by the Roman Catholic Church. The school system of vocational and adult education is said to enjoy a national reputation. The local institutions of higher learning consist of several small colleges and two universities. The Catholic university has a virtual monopoly in training the professional middle-class of the city--doctors, dentists, lawyers, and engineers. M.D., PH.D, D.D.S, Ed.D.

In addition to the various activities sponsored by the schools, cultural events are staged by museums, libraries, art centers, the symphony orchestra, repertory theaters, and the numerous special purpose groups and organizations which inhabit a large urban center like Thrifty City. An extensive park system is the pride of city fathers and county officials. Recreational activities and spectator sports range from proch-sitting to riding polo ponies. The local beverage industry sees to it that the thirsty find what they are seeking. Yet the city is far from being boisterous. The style and quality of life in it are its own; the people of Thrifty City want to do, first of all, the right things. Work, and its by-product, money, are essential parts of doing just that.

Thrifty City is the largest industrial center in Midwest State. Although the State is widely known for dairy products and farm employment is shrinking at a slower rate than the national average, manufacturing is more important than agriculture in sketching the economic profile of Thrifty City and its

immediate hinterland. Because about four-fifths of the State's manufacturing employees work within the 100 mile zone area of the city, there is a rather close parallel between the economic fortunes of Thrifty City and Midwest State.

Changes in the general pattern of the national economy tended to favor the economic dominants of other areas during the 1950's. While political officials, businessmen, and civic leaders often make favorable comparisons with similar economic units elsewhere in the country, local rates of economic growth are of concern to many. Some are urging "diversification" instead of relying heavily upon the "durable manufacturing industries" which historically provided the city and its immediate area with a solid economic base. Others prefer such political solutions as "fighting the discriminatory allocation of federal contracts" or "creating a favorable business climate through taxation." In addition to civic virtues and scenic beauty, local associations of commerce and industry are eager to list many "first" and "greatest" accomplishments to lure desirable industries into the general area of the city. Others are looking to aggressive leadership in publicizing the heavy concentration of "trained brainpower" (Ph.D.'s) in the state and the skilled labor force of Thrifty City as the way to assure future economic growth.

Only with minor changes in the rank order of their importance, metalworking (non-electrical and electrical machinery), transportation equipment, food processing industries, printing and publishing are the economic dominants of Midwest State and

Thrifty City. Perhaps it is more pertinent to note, however, that the industries of the area employ a highly skilled labor force than to mention their contribution to the city's total manufacturing payroll or the value added by manufacture. The low spatial mobility of skilled workers tends to create a stable labor force; the absorption of inmigrants and the social mobility of those who hold entrance level jobs in industry are slow. Local rates of employment are more responsive to country-wide ups and downs than to regional changes in business conditions.

The major industrial plants surround, in an irregular pattern, the central business district of the city. The relatively small downtown area, stage of a somewhat belated renaissance in construction and renewal, houses also the major financial establishments, insurance companies, retail outlets, and agencies of local governments. Some of the major department stores and a few small manufacturers seem to pioneer in creating a polynucleated city as they follow the outward movement of people from the central sections. A slowly inching network of expressways may further facilitate the flight of people into the outer metropolitan area--a trend which a rejuvenated downtown and a master plan of urban renewal may or may not stop or reverse in the future. In the absence of new annexations, it is very probable that the city will experience a loss of population during the 1960's.

The people of Thrifty City most readily identify Germans and Poles as the major ethnic groups in their midst. Many feel,

however, that the cultural importance of Germans or the often alleged political influence of the Poles are matters of the past rather than living social forces which shape the community of the day. In 1960, about three of every ten persons in the city were of foreign stock and one of every ten accounted for the foreign born. Among both the foreign born and those of foreign stock, Germans, Poles, Italians, and Austrians were the most numerous. While the people of the city like to think of themselves as honest, industrious, trustworthy, thrifty, etc., the self definitions of the various ethnic groups are so mutually inclusive of such favorable traits that all may have indeed contributed to the felicitous self-image of their fellow citizens. It seems more appropriate to note, however, that ethnic patterns of living tend to turn into mere cultural trivia as successive generations fail to keep the bitter-sweet atmosphere elements of their parents' personal and social existence. In Thrifty City, the social significance of ethnic allegiance is manifest mainly in the politico-ideological componenets of civic life where its community building value is perhaps the most questionable. The idea that the "minority groups may inherit the central city" is just beginning to gain some currency and poses an intriguing problem for those who are concerned about the future of the city.

Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Judaism represent the major religious forces of Thrifty City. It is estimatedthat about two-thirds of the people are "churched." Many of the major places of worship were built by the various ethnic groups,

as their number and affluence increased throughout the decades. Catholicism drew its strength from Germans and Poles, and to a lesser degree from the Irish, Italian, and Central European immigrants of the city. Lutheranism was nourished primarily from the stream of German, Baltic, and Scandinavian immigrants and their descendants. Judaism was and remained the religious heritage of German and Russian Jews and their children. The view is widely held that the ethnic-religious allegiance of its people explains to a great extent not only the marked europeanism of the cultural life, but also the politics of Thrifty City during the past hundred years.

Assisted by the foreign language press, church groups and organizations provided a forum where the foreign born and their children "could have their cake and eat it, too"; participation in the cultural life "of their own kind" also made political organization possible. While ethnicity, religion, and social class are too closely intertwined to assess their relative political importance, today, religion is generally accepted as one of the factors which shape the conservative character of public life in Thrifty City. Some feel that the role of religion is becoming more, rather than less, important and will replace ethnicity as a potential source of political cleavage in the community.

Based upon an old and obsolete charter, Thrifty City has a mayor-council type of government. The office of the mayor is politically weak; he has to lead mostly by persuasion. As the

chief executive officer of the city, the mayor does not have the power of an executive budget, many members of his administration are elected officials, and others can be appointed only with the approval of the Common Council. Most of the governmental powers are controlled by the Common Council, by various boards and commissions of the city. Attempts to strengthen the office of the mayor, however, tend to be sporadic and inconclusive.

Municipal elections are non-partisan, and elected officials control no power of patronage.[9] The people of Thrifty City take much pride in the absence of "machine politics." Amidst local non-partisanship, state, and national political alignments, it happens that "declared" Democrats find it convenient to give an occasional speech in a more hospitable Republican club. The number of "card-carrying" Democrats and Republicans is relatively low in the city, but they participate in the statutory and voluntary organizations of the two major parties which maintain a lively pace of political activism between elections also. While it is said that no votes are "delivered" in Thrifty City, the faith of "true believers" is equally strong in voting blocs and in countercharges that "labor dominates" the Democrats and "businessmen are influential" among Republicans.

Since the fairly recent disappearance of a locally important political movement, the Socialist Party, Democrats easily dominate Republicans in the city. Their advantage on the local scene is more than balanced, however, by the traditional republicanism of the Midwest State legislature. The tensions of city-

state relations are most commonly summed up by the alleged reluctance of legislators from rural areas to provide adequately for the needs of the largest urban center in the state. The state legislature is said to favor Thrifty City's Republican-leaning suburbs, to block the reform of the city charter, and to complicate the attempts of city officials to meet pressing urban needs with the help of federal aid. There are many who feel, however, that the Federal Government has more to offer than the cautious and deliberate city fathers are willing to seek.

If one accepts the rather liberal view that a reasonable test of political corruption is whether or not politicians get rich, then there appears to be no political corruption in Thrifty City. Local politicians--as the saying goes--may have fun, receive or exchange some favors, and even live well, but they do not get rich. This seems to be the majority opinion among the informed observers of the local political scene. Others who use more stringent standards argue differently, and do so with conviction. All seem to agree that "for more money we could get better men."

The politics of the polis, in the sense of understanding the underlying forces which shape the common quality of life in Thrifty City, are difficult to master. There is no definitive study of the local "power structure" whose members could be credited with a vision of a truly civil and urban place. While survey data are relatively easy to produce to show that "Thrifty City is a good place to raise children in," even the most alert

and informed among the inside-dopesters can only tell "the best show in town--today." A hearing in the Court House; a session of the Common Council; a meeting of the School Board; a statement by the Archbishop or the Mayor; a freedom march or picketing--all these and many others may be the "show" of the day. Informants and interviewees alike are more at ease with the notion of a loose aggregate of "interests" than with a "power structure." Even the most inveterate (first-) name-droppers among the devoues of the broader political process seem to follow only narrow and pragmatic political moves; concern with the quality of the social order of the polis tends to dissolve into expressions of a diffuse feeling of local prode. Local pride, contentment, and reluctance to change feed upon a peculiar quality of the city: in spite of nearly one million people in the community, the local great and near-great--men or events--are highly visible, they can be reached, involvement is relatively easy, the individual "can manage" the scene. The major paper, the Thrifty City Journal, covers closely men and events, follows and--as some say--sets the civic agenda, and also keeps the scores.

The political history of Midwest and Thrifty City is a distinguished account of many new and often unorthodox political ideas and experiments which have attracted national attention. In matters of civil rights, the political ethos is embodied in in an impressive array of laws. Enacted in 1895, the state law against discrimination in places of public accomodation and amusement is more stringent than the provisions of the new

federal legislation. The employment practices of Midwest State have been regulated by law since 1905, and those of its contractors since 1959. The state commission on human rights was created by law in 1947. Enacted in 1945, the fair employment law was supplemented by an enforcement procedure in 1957. The so-called restrictive covenants have been unenforceable since 1951. There are state laws against discrimination in setting automobile insurance rates, in public housing, in urban development, in the national guard, and in the operation of the public school system. A law of open occupancy in private housing is an issue of the day. So, for that matter, is the discrepancy between codified legislative wisdom and everyday contingencies of life--northern style.

## Thrifty City's Negro Community

The early chroniclers of the history of Thrifty City have very little to say about Negroes. They mention only briefly runaway slaves, an occasional lynching, and the activities of the Underground Railroad. In the major historical work on Thrifty City, the first indexed reference to Negroes recalls their participation in themunicipal elections of 1866: "a few curses followed several of them as they marched up to the polls." At that time, Negroes accounted for two-tenths of one per cent of the city's population. While their number continued to grow during the decades to follow, they caught the historian's attention again only during the 1930's when their proportion rose to 1.4 per cent of the city's population. By then, ten Negro

physicians, five lawyers, five dentists, and a score of ministers attended to the needs of Negroes in the city. The small Negro community had a Chamber of Commerce, a Business Men's League, and a newspaper. A young branch of the National Urban League, an even younger chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a few Negro social clubs and service organizations were in existence, too.

The territory now occupied by the Negro community became part of the incorporated land area of the city sometime between 1875 and 1892; it acquired its present social identity only during the last thirty-five years. While informants recall small settlements of Negroes on the south and west sides of the city also, for most people the near northwest side is the place where Negroes "always lived" in Thrifty City. Even today, however, not all of the city's Negroes live there.

The exact territorial limits of Thrifty City's Negro community are a matter of definition at any given time and the use of census data permit tracing them with some precision. Taking into consideration only people of an identifiable geographical area, Thrifty City's Negroes were concentrated in seven census tracts in 1940. Following a northward thrust of expansion, the Negro community extended into fifteen census tracts by 1950. Finally, the number of census tracts with one per cent or more Negro population increased to twenty-five by 1960. At none of these dates, however, did all of Thrifty City's Negroes live within the tracts mentioned. In 1960, for instance, the

twenty-five tract area held 88.7 per cent of the city's Negro population. From a sociological point of view, of course, the use of census data overlooks one of the most important definitional components of a community, i.e., community sentiment.

While the city's Negro population increased by 125 per cent during the 1910's and 237 per cent during the 1920's, Negroes accounted for more than one per cent of the population for the first time only by 1930. Informants, whose recollections go back that far, claim that no "Negro problem" existed then. The 1930's saw only a very moderate increase of 17 per cent in the population of Negroes in Thrifty City. During the 1940's, the Negro population more than doubled, and the 1950's saw a threefold increase of Negroes in Thrifty City. In 1960, slightly more than eight per cent of the city's people were Negroes. Recent population estimates reflect a downward revision of earlier expectations which had forecast a doubling of the Negro population during the 1960's.

No description of the Negro community is complete, of course, without attempting to assess at least the territorial segregation of Negroes in Thrifty City. The most basic reason for this is the widespread and vigorous claim of Negroes themselves that their heavy concentration in one part of the city is neither voluntary nor accidental. One way of showing degrees of segregation is to examine the proportion of Negroes within the census tracts of the territorial Negro community. If census tracts in which 75 per cent or more of the population were

Negroes are defined as segregated, then in 1940 none of the city's Negroes resided in segregated census tracts; in 1950, 24 per cent did so; and in 1960, 43.1 per cent of the Negro population within the city limits lived in segregated census tracts. On the other hand, if census tracts in which 50 per cent or more of the population was Negro are called segregated, then in 1940, 59.3 per cent of Negroes within city limits lived in segregated census tracts; in 1950, exactly one-third did so; and in 1960, 83.6 per cent resided in segregated census tracts. Regardless of which of the definitions is accepted, the territorial segregation of Negroes in Thrifty City is on the increase, if the trend of the past twenty years continues. In spite of the expansion of the Negro community from seven to twenty-five census tracts between 1940 and 1960, the number of segregated (75 per cent Negro) census tracts increased from zero to nine, or--to use the other definition of segregation (50 per cent Negro)--from three to twenty-one. Although a more moderate growth of the Negro population is expected during the 1960's, there is no way of knowing how natural growth, in-migration, the continuing outward movement of whites, and eventual expansion will affect the territorial segregation of Negroes in Thrifty City.

The Negro community of Thrifty City occupies a land area of about six square miles. Bisected by a new expressway under construction, it has no distinct topographical features to make it appear different from many other parts of the city. Its location is such, however, that future expansion may occur only in

two directions. While such a trend is already noticeable, the present day expectations of Negroes are, of course, entirely different. The main reason for this is that even the most pleasant sections of the Negro community permit only segregated living. Also, all relative merits of the area tend to disappear quickly when direct comparisons are made between the housing conditions of whites and Negroes who are living in the same city.

Perhaps the most dramatic way to compare the housing conditions of Negroes and whites is to note that in 1960 almost one-third of all "dilapidated" housing in Thrifty City was occupied by Negroes who lived in only 6.6 per cent of all housing units in the city. Also, about three times as many housing units occupied by Negroes were "crowded" (more than one person per room) than was true of all housing units in the city. While proportionately more Negroes than whites lived in substandard housing, about one-third of Negro housing units were owner occupied. The Negro community knows of many valiant if not altogether successful attempts to keep individual buildings and blocks of homes structurally sound and in good order. The odds against success in maintaining and improving entire neighborhoods are heavy. During the 1950's about 60,000 whites left the general area of the Negro community and were replaced by about 40,000 Negroes. According to the 1960 Census, only about one-fourth of all Negroes of five years of age or older lived in the same home since 1955.

The population dynamics of the Negro community are devoid

of easy-to-manage trends. While the unpredictable influence of in-migration may diminish in comparison with the record of the past twenty years, the population pyramid of the Negro community was such in 1960 that its high growth potential is unmistakable. To begin with, the typical (median) Negro in Thrifty City is about ten years younger than the typical white resident. In 1960 43.5 per cent of Negroes, as opposed to 28 per cent of whites, were under 15 years of age, whereas in 1940 the age distribution of the two racial groups was practically identical. Furthermore, the proportion of Negro women in the ages 15 to 44, the child-bearing years, was higher (43.8 per cent) than that of their white counterparts (39.3 per cent). While the 1950's saw an increase in the white birth rate from 22.2 to 25.2 per 1,000 population, the Negro birth rate increased from 37.6 to 42.9 per 1,000 population in the city. The sex ratio of the two population segments was for all practical purposes the same. The relative proportion of older people, of course, has steadily decreased during the past 20 years in the Negro community--which is not true of the white population in Thrifty City.

Since it is not the purpose of these pages to present a detailed description of Thrifty City and its Negro community, but to highlight their major characteristics, the social problems aspects of the latter can be left implicit. One index of problem culture will suffice: three times as many Negro as white families had an annual income of less than $4,000, and three times as many white as Negro families earned $10,000 or more in

Thrifty City in 1959.

The two major economic characteristics of Thrifty City's Negro community are the virtual absence of large Negro-owned business establishments and the predominantly low skill of the Negro labor force. As consumers, Negroes represent a fragmented and diffuse market; their patronage is appreciated without being a factor of special significance for market conditions.

Amidst small shops and stores which open and fold, a savings and loan association, a service establishment, and the Negro weekly, the Thrifty City Beacon, are the three major Negro owned and operated business ventures in the city. They are not really "big business," but they are successful and stable. While funeral homes, bars, barber shops and beauty parlors are the predominant types of Negro businesses, no new major enterprises are emerging. Lack of business tradition and know-how as well as scarcity of venture capital are blamed for the conspicuous absence of more impressive achievements by Negroes in the field of business. Negro businessmen, on the other hand, complain about the ambivalence of Negro clients to patronize their stores. The clients, in turn, object to inadequate service, limited stocks, and higher prices in Negro operated business establishments. The major complaint of Negro real estate men is that they can "sell for whites" in the Negro community but cannot "buy for them" because Negro firms do not handle real estate where whites, who "move out," want to buy.

The professional men and women of the Negro community

"make a more than adequate living" but resent the limitations imposed upon their professional growth and success by a "captive clientele," "general medicine," "petty law" and the like. The few professionals who work for large organizations are keenly aware of the problems involved in obtaining a "supervisory position" or "going beyond mid-management" positions. The two fields in which large numbers of Negro professionals are active are teaching and social work. Only the latter is genuinely open in terms of providing top opportunities for Negro professionals. In 1960, the Census classified 4.4 per cent of the Negro men as opposed to 17.8 per cent of the white men in Thrifty City as professionals and people in managerial positions.

In general, the employment statistics should be read with the notion in mind that 83.8 per cent of Midwest State's Negro population lived in Thrifty City at the time of the 1960 Census. At that time, there were about four times as many clerical and sales workers among white as among Negro men, and the proportion of foremen and craftsmen was twice as high among white as among Negro men in Thrifty City. In a local economy where high occupational skills are at a premium, 38.8 per cent of the white and 66.3 per cent of the Negro men were in the lower occupational categories of operatives, service workers, and laborers. With only minor fluctuations, the rate of unemployment tends to be about three times as high among Negro men as among white men. As to the proportional representation of Negroes in the labor force of major industrial groups, only the primary iron-steel,

transportation equipment industries, laundering and drycleaning establishments had Negroes adequately represented among their workers. The job situation of Negro women was not very different from that of Negro men. Negro women were represented in proportion to their number in the labor force only in the service and less skilled industrial jobs.

Based upon the data of the 1960 census, the general educational level of Thrifty City's Negroes over 25 years of age compares favorably with that of "urban non-whites" in the country. Direct comparison between the median number of years completed in school by whites and Negroes in the city, however, is less favorable: the educational level of the typical Negro adult in 1960 was about the same as that of the typical white adult in 1950. While the gap is steadily becoming more narrow, it is difficult to predict when it will cease to exist. This is particularly true when the relative influence of the college educated segment of the two population groups is kept in view. While the proportion of nonwhites over 25 years of age who attended and/or completed college almost doubled, from 4.5 per cent to 8.3 per cent between 1950 and 1960 in Thrifty City, the proportion of such whites in the city rose from 12.1 per cent to 14.2 per cent during the same period.

The public school system of high school and elementary education is organized on the basis of the so-called neighborhood school concept. Based upon a "visual count of non-white" pupils by school authorities, who do not keep racial data as a matter

of policy, about two-thirds of the schools within the system have non-white students, and about one-fifth of the students are non-white. Of the non-white senior high school students in the city, nine ofevery ten are attending four of 13 schools, in two of which non-whites constitute a majority. Similarly, nine of every ten non-white junior high school students are concentrated in three of 14 schools, and only in one are non-whites slightly short of a majority. Of the city's 117 elementary schools, 19 enroll 88.7 per cent of the non-white pupils. No such information is available on the racial characteristics of the student body in the city's private schools.

While the faculties of the public schools are racially mixed, 86.8 per cent of the city's Negro teachers are employed in the 46 predominantly Negro schools mentioned above. Students are free to transfer to another school if the receiving schools have no "certificate of overload" on file with the Thrifty City Board of School Directors. Teachers may do the same, but the number of teachers who "transfer out" of the predominantly Negro schools is low.

If age, residence requirements, and probable disenfranchisement are taken into account, about four of every ten Negroes in Thrifty City are eligible voters. The numerous voter registration campaigns in the Negro community proceed on the assumption that about the same proportion of eligible voters are not registered and do not vote. The fifty-two predominantly Negro precincts in the city cover one of 20 aldermanic wards in its

entirety, and two more wards to a considerable extent. At the present time, there is one Negro alderman in the Common Council. The predominantly Negro precincts are within the boundaries of three supervisory districts of Midwest County, too. During the last election, two Negro supervisors were elected for the first time, and another Negro candidate was narrowly defeated by his white opponent. Neither the lone alderman nor the two supervisors represent real voting strength on legislative issues, of course, in any other way but through alliance with others. The same is true of the lone Negro assemblyman from Thrifty City in the Midwest State legislature. The only other elected public official among Negroes is on the 15 member Thrifty City Board of School Directors who are elected by a city-wide electorate. While there are some appointed Negro officials in local government, Negroes tend to be critical of both the number and the nature of positions offered to them. As to the strategic importance of Negro votes, many believe that most candidates for major political office can "safely" ignore them--at least for the time being.

In 1959, an enterprising reporter found exactly the same number of churches and bars--35 of each--in a 49-block area of Thrifty City's Negro community. A systematic study reported 127 churches in the entire Negro community. Five years later, a graduate student identified 115. Two factors seem to account for the differences between findings. Some of the old churches in thearea cease to exist as their white members move away, and

some of the storefront churches disappear as their members are unable to build up a viable organization. Both studies are in agreement on the fact that about one-half of the churches have less than 100 members. The religious preference of most Negroes is for some form of Protestantism: Baptist, Church of God in Christ, and Methodist churches are the most numerous among the better established denominations. Depending upon the annual budget (which may or may not be supplemented by regional or national bodies), the size of the congregation, and the training of the minister, the physical plants and facilities for church related activities vary from church to church. While most of the ministers profess to be interested in social action, their involvement in the secular aims of the Negro community appears to be ambiguous if not ambivalent. The churches' hold upon people varies greatly according to the age, education, and political philosophy of the faithful.

As they go about their business or participate in social affairs, Negroes can be seen everywhere in Thrifty City. In and around the industrial sections and the business district, they are part of the swiftly changing scenes of daily living. In some of the other areas of the city, people say, "they are only passing through." Still in others, they are the "cleaning ladies" and handymen who can be seen waiting for the bus, ready to go home in the evening. For most of them, of course, home is the Negro community, a social world where Negroes outnumber whites by far. One of the serious concerns of the few who "move

out" seems to be the fear of "starting a pattern for the block." There already are some Negroes in Thrifty City for whom the fear of having started a new ghetto pattern is very real.

In the absence of the threat of physical violence by whites--a notion that few Negroes care to test, but some claim to"know" is false--the frequently voiced contention that "no white man can understand what it is like to be a Negro" tends to have a very diffuse meaning in Thrifty City. Interviewees and informants alike can recall more or less crude instances of prejudice and discrimination which affect the quality of life for Negroes in the city. To mention only one, when it comes to such simple matters as the purchase of personal service in a restaurant or beauty parlor, which no whites in Thrifty City would approach with anything but the most common discernment and caution, Negroes often have to resort to elaborate and discreet inquiry to see whether the otherwise trivial venture is "safe" for them. The repeated challenge of having to manage such tensions in the course of everyday living tends to produce men and women whose deeply felt personal grievances are numerous and severe. How pervasive and debilitating is the influence of such grievances, seems to be what Negroes claim that whites cannot understand and appreciate. Be that as it may, the results can be more or less crippling for both personal encounter and public deliberation. While such crude warnings by informants as "X is very jumpy" are adequate for meeting at least in part the problems of a formal interview, it is when expressions of abrasive militancy get

into print that the average citizen of Thrifty City becomes appalled and apprehensive. No amount of good will or sense of disciplined objectivity can cope adequately with the social pathology of the Negro community--and the average citizen of the city does not seem to have these qualities. He only knows that there is a Negro problem and perhaps hopes that somebody else will solve it. The knowledge of those who are attempting to bridge the gap between the two racial groups of the city is equally limited, and that is part of the problem. One usually begins to question and listen at the top of the social pyramids, where contacts between the two groups are most frequent. The procedure has its risks and built-in shortcomings, but this is how people "know" what they "know" about the Negro community in their midst.

There is Negro "society" in Thrifty City. People look up to some families and might be suspected of attempts to emulate those in the "blue books." The ladies can tell who counts and who does not, who behaves in the way she does and why. Eligible bachelors are carefully screened, and mothers seek an understanding on whose daughter will have a chance to meet them. Personal care and grooming are at a premium. So also are the hue of one's color and "breeding." Gala affairs display a fair amount of capes and stoles, bare skin, long gowns, and elbow-length kid gloves. The men's demeanor varies from quiet dignity to gallant daring. There are, of course, also rumors and gossip about skeletons in some of the family closets.

There is no country club for Negroes in Thrifty City, neither are they members of the city's major social clubs. People meet and entertain their friends mostly in private homes. The exterior of homes tends to reflect the general character of the neighborhood, modest in the Negro community and mostly new beyond it. The interiors are seldom less than cozy; some are decorated with unerring taste. The host might say that his friends call it "slumming" when they come to visit, but guests are served drinks of quality. Those who may feel guilty of conspicuous consumption do not necessarily show it; others are seriously and openly concerned with the value dilemmas of Negro life in general. The patterns of social participation in civic efforts are diffuse and varied; many are torn between demands made upon their time and energies by family, profession, and the numerous contingencies of Negro life in the city. Whether seen from the point of view of consumership or mores, Thrifty City's Negro "society" tends to reflect the life style of America's middle class within the limiting confines of a segregated social world.

The life of the so-called working and/or lower class Negroes is much more difficult to study and describe. A recent study of census data--based upon the assumption that people whose individual yearly income is less than $6,000, who have a blue collar occupation, and who did not attend college could not be considered middle class--estimated that from 75 per cent to 80 per cent of Thrifty City's Negroes were of the working and/or

lower class. Census data, of course, tell very little about the actual life style of people. In spite of their high visibility in and around the Negro community, the anonymity of the Negro masses is impervious to anything but the most serious commitment and effort to know and share their life experiences. Short of more precise information, Negro officials estimate that about one-third of Negro adults in the city make up the modest membership rolls of the numerous clubs, groups, and organizations in the Negro community. They are the audience at public meetings in the Negro community's church halls or at the larger interracial gatherings in the city's Auditorium. While the two major newspapers of Thrifty City report the visits of prominent Negroes and newsworthy social events of the Negro community, the modest achievements and social ambitions of the so-called average Negro --who is not an agency executive but a steel worker, who is not a doctor or lawyer but a cab driver, who is not a teacher but a casual laborer--are publicized by the Thrifty City Beacon, the Negro weekly. The notoriety of still another segment of the Negro population in the city comes from welfare statistics, crime reports, or from their often unstated relevance for public debates on social problems in the papers. Finally, those who do not get into the papers for reasons of prominence or notoriety are largely an unknown factor in the life of the total community, and their only public reward comes from civic leaders and politicians who occasionally talk about the "good Negro people of Thrifty City."

The purpose of the preceding pages was to acquaint the reader with the major socio-economic characteristics of Thrifty City and its Negro community. The description of the two communities made use of both hard data, i.e., statistics collected by scholars, local agencies, and the Bureau of Census, and what was called the settled opinion of informants. While the objective characteristics reflected by the hard data are the fundamental conditioning factors of life in a community whether, when, and in what manner they are playing such a role depends also upon their perception by those who are both the producers and the products of a community--its people. A case in point is the rapid and sustained growth of the Negro community in Thrifty City since the early 1940's which became a major community concern only about 20 years later when--sponsored by the mayor of the city--a study committee of "over one hundred persons" undertook to examine it. The interracial study committee had made 57 major recommendations concerning problems of acculturation, education and employment, community facilities and programs, housing, problem families and individuals, and law enforcement in the Negro community. In addition, it called for "aggressive, immediate and positive course of purposeful leadership" toward the solution of the problems listed. It was about two years after the publication of that report, in April, 1960, that the writer had decided to study leadership in Thrifty City's Negro community as a scientific problem in sociology. To that end, the first task was the review of the literature of community and minority

community leadership studies.

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# CHAPTER II

## REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

### Introduction

Prompted by his personal interest in minority group relations and by what appeared to be a practical problem of a critical population in Thrifty City, the writer's general aim was to contribute to previously established knowledge about community leadership among Negroes who live in the large urban centers of the United States. Given only personal interest in a relatively broad problem area of sociological relevance and the opportunity to conduct research in a Negro community of manageable size and complexity within a metropolitan area, the review of the literature of community leadership studies had to be approached with the aim of finding out how a contribution or contributions could be made to the knowledge which it already contained. That is, the specific objectives and methodology of this study were sought by examining the literature for the key concepts and the methodological issues of the basic problem, i.e., the study of community leadership.

At the outset, the following topical considerations in the literature appeared to be of major importance: (1) initial analyses and formal definitions of the key concepts of leadership,

community, and power; (2) problems of measurement and methodology in the study of leadership, decision making, and power structure in the local community. In order to keep their discussion within reasonable bounds, a number of practical decisions had to be made about the selection and the order in which what follows is presented in this chapter. First, the literature of leadership, political power, and the ways of governing human collectivities is so vast in scope that no claim can be put forth here to review it even selectively in the manner of traditional scholarship.[1] Second, it is preferable to keep general concerns of conceptualization and speculative analysis separate from operational definitions and problems of measurement. Finally, all three of the key concepts present special problems when applied to minority community, and Negro community leadership studies are discussed separately. In general the aim is to provide a relevant and adequate coverage of the problem content of the literature of community leadership studies for a statement of the specific objectives and methodology of this study.

As a matter of introduction, a brief mention should be made of historical and modern orientations toward leadership. One of the ways to look upon the various historical models of leadership is to subsume them under the "Great Man" theory of history;

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[1]Dahl, for instance, mentions that "...an endless parade of great names from Plato and Aristotle through Machiavelli and Hobbes to Pareto and Weber" could be produced to show that power is an ancient and ubiquitous concept in the literature. See Robert A. Dahl, "The Concept of Power," Behavioral Science, II (July, 1957), 201.

whether within a larger scheme of an inscrutable but benevolent Providence or at the mercy of a luck-thrifty Fate, events and changes made sense because they were man-made--the Great Men made them. Providence or Fate were called upon mainly to explain their origin and disappearance, but the Great Men themselves made History. Cast into such a mold, historical models of military leadership, priesthood, statesmanship, etc., are as many and varied as the fields of endeavor one may wish to examine. Nor are written accounts or "studies" of historical leadership missing. What seems to be lacking is scholarly interest in them by sociologists.

Today, attempts to relate historical models of leadership to the findings of empirical social science are virtually nonexistent. To put it briefly, the Great Man theory of leadership and social change are being challenged, if not discarded all together, by an impersonal theory of change and by a more or less implicit belief in leaders who can be selected and trained to lead amidst the great unfolding of the societal forces of the day. As Gouldner has suggested, leadership tends to be looked upon as a social problem and the general context of its study is strictly contemporary.[2] But interest in leadership phenomena is widespread; social scientists are hardly less interested in them than politicians, public relations men, or the general public.

If the leap from historical models of leadership to the generally technical concerns of empirical social science with

[2]Alvin W. Gouldner (ed.), Studies in Leadership (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), 3-5.

leadership appears rather sudden, it seems that the colloquial currency of the term leader may point to the reasons for it. As Myrdal has observed, the words leader and leadership occur with great frequency in everyday discourse and have a sui generis connotation in the generalized socio-political experience of most Americans.[3] While not exactly household words, leader and leadership tend to fit rather neatly into the thought patterns of people whose practical idealism welcomes change and quite frequently seeks it, too. Leaders are believed to hold the key to progressive change, and leadership is needed to bring about more of it. In the process the term denotes the performance of tasks of often limited and technical scope or becomes a mere accolade, a ceremonial term of civic etiquette without any precise meaning. As a consequence, formal definitions of leaders and leadership are either too general to be useful or become in fact operational definitions of a technical nature. Thus, the differences between common and scientific usage of the term are relatively small because of the currency of the intuitive meaning elements of leadership in everyday use.

## Concepts and Theories of Leadership

Depending upon their general level of sophistication in handling abstract thought, most people are at ease with the three

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[3]Gunnary Myrdal, An American Dilemma (Twentieth Anniversary Edition; New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 709. Se also Arthur Hillman, Community Organization and Planning (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1950), 180-1.

major dimensions of the concept of leadership. The first is indexed by outstanding achievement of "leading" qualities as attributes of people. The second major general index of leadership is status, achieved or assigned, and recognized as superior by others. Finally, leadership can be indexed by a special, more or less permanent, creative outcome of relationship between people, the leaders and the led, or the leaders and their followers. Conceptual analyses in the general literature of leadership follow rather closely these three major dimensions of the common sense notion of leading.[4]

Most forms of leadership through outstanding achievement are used only descriptively by sociologists. Two special forms of it, however, are quite commonly mentioned in the literature: natural and charismatic leadership represent two such polar types of leaders who by the sheer power of their ability provide meanings and motivations to others in a manner which, in a sense, is the purest form of leadership. Leadership based upon status, on the other hand, introduces the common distinctions between formal and informal leaders, between "real" leaders and headmen. By far the most complex analytical considerations concern the leader-

[4]For illustrative examples of general literature, see: G.L. Warren, "Social Planning and Social Leadership," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930); Ordway Tead, The Art of Leadership (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1935); Wayne McMillen, Community Organization for Social Welfare (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945); Henry Clay Lindgren, Effective Leadership in Human Relations (New York: Hermitage House, 1954).

follower relationship.[5] The central problems are the processes of leader selection or emergence, the roles which leaders are expected to play, and the criteria which leaders use in putting into effect their rights and obligations. The relative symmetry of the leader-follower relationship is decisive in differentiating between democratic and non-democratic forms of leadership, between leadership and domination. According to Pigors, "Any person many be called a leader during the time when, and insofar as, his will, feeling, and insight direct and control others in the pursuit of a cause which he represents."[6] Followers are those, of course, who accept this type of direction and control by others. Pigors formally defines leadership as "...a process of mutual stimulation which, by the successful interplay of relevant individual differences, controls human energy in the pursuit of a common cause."[7] Domination is, on the other hand, "...a process of social control in which accepted superiors assume a position of command and demand obedience from those who acknowledge themselves as inferiors in the social scale."[8] The intuitive precision of these definitions is usually further enhanced by considerations of the degree of the leaders' dependence upon their followers and also upon other or non-followers, of the

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[5]Harry C. Bredemeier and Richard M. Stephenson, The Analysis of Social Systems (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1962), 372-5.

[6]Paul Pigors, Leadership or Domination (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935), 16.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., 48.

scope of the leaders' control over the lives of their followers, and finally, of the sense of legitimacy that leaders may foster in their followers about the exercise of leadership which the latter are experiencing.

The above are the principal considerations in the literature which enter into the general conceptual analysis of leadership. These notions are well within the reach of the average layman, but they are also part of more technical approaches to the study of leadership. If technical concerns with leadership are taken to mean empirical studies by social scientists, then psychologists have to be credited with pioneering in the field.

Jennings, in An Anatomy of Leadership,[9] credits Terman with the first empirical studies of leadership. Terman's seminal effort to study men of genius has led to an impressive if not too conclusive array of studies which attempted to unveil the mysteries of leadership by dissecting the persoanlity of leaders. This so-called personality trait approach has produced a voluminous literature which has been summarized again and again.[10] One of

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[9]Eugene E. Jennings, An Anatomy of Leadership (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), 147-69. The chapter, "Heroes Without Traits," is actually a review of leadership studies from the somewhat polemic point of view of Jennings.

[10]The most frequently quoted reviews of the literature are: William O. Jenkins, "A Review of Leadership Studies with Particular Reference to Military Problems," Psychological Bulletin, XLIV (January, 1947), 54-79; Cecil A. Gibb, "The Principles and Traits of Leadership," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLII (July, 1947), 267-84; Ralph M. Stogdill, "Personal Factors Associated with Leadership: A Survey of the Literature," Journal of Psychology, XXV (January, 1948), 37-71; F.H. Sanford, "Research on Military Leadership," Psychology in the World Emergency, ed. J.C. Flanagan (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1952), 17-74.

the most often quoted summarizers is Cecil A. Gibb, and one of his summations is used here rather extensively.[11] According to Gibb, there are

> at least three possible theories of leadership. One looks upon leadership as a unitary trait that will characterize leaders wherever they may be found. It is necessary for this theory that all kinds of leaders in all kinds of situations and cultures reveal this trait, and that only leaders should do so. Clearly, no such unitary trait has been found.[12]

While this theory has very little standing in the scientific community of scholars today, it still provides a rather frequently used shortcut to the understanding of leadership by laymen. Personnel of service projects in large bureaucracies and communities, who are often called upon to run leadership institutes, may be suspected of accepting this general orientation to leadership, too.

> A modification of the unitary theory may be called the constellation-of-traits theory. Its assertion is not that there is a unitary trait of leadership, but that in each leader there can be recognized a pattern of traits which constitutes his leadership capacity. In this case the pattern may be conceived to vary from the leader in one situation to the leader in another. But it is like the former theory in finding the why of leadership in the personality of leaders. It usually concludes that there is a basic personality pattern for leaders. The elements of this pattern are usually said to be those same traits which the unitary trait theory regards as characteristic of leadership.[13]

Beyond the easy logic of the assumption that if one trait will not explain leadership then a combination of several traits

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[11]Cecil A. Gibb, "Leadership," Handbook of Social Psychology, ed. Gardner Lindzey (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1954), II, 877-920.

[12]Ibid., 913.

[13]Ibid., 914.

may perhaps do so, the constellation-of-traits theory shows the influence of considerations which have been summarized by Gouldner under the general heading of "The Situationist Critique."[14] The gist of the situationist critique is that circumstances or situations are just as important in explaining leadership as the personality characteristics of the leaders themselves. To what extent the importance of situations escaped the attention of the trait theorists is, in a sense, a moot question. Because their work has been conducted in many different situations and with people of widely disparate characteristics, it seems possible that concerns with techniques of measurement made them oblivious to the larger context of their problem. Be that as it may, the problem of what to treat as a residual category in a discrete study of leadership is not easy to solve. For instance, Hunter--to quote an author of considerable influence--explicitly states that "psychological motivation" must remain residual in his efforts to study leadership and power relations in Regional City.[15] Thus, while Hunter was fully aware of the wider matrix of leadership phenomena, he was not able, so to speak, to do justice to all factors involved in it. Hunter's approach to community leadership may nevertheless be viewed as representative of the so-called interactional theory of leadership. Gibb has summarized it as follows:

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[14]Gouldner, Studies in Leadership, 25-49.

[15]Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953), 4.

> Any comprehensive theory of leadership must incorporate and integrate all of the major variables which are now known to be involved, namely, (1) the personality of the leader, (2) the followers with their attitudes, needs and problems, (3) the group itself both as regards (a) structure of interpersonal relations and (b) syntality characteristics, (4) the situations as determined by physical setting, nature of task, etc. Furthermore, any satisfactory theory must recognize that it will not be these variables per se which enter into the leadership relation, but it is the perception of the leader by himself and by others, the leader's perception of those others, and the shared perception by leader and others of the group and the situation with which we have to deal.[16]

Within the interactional frame of reference, the concept of leadership has emerged from the work of psychologists and social psychologists as an omnibus term of empirical social science. Through the widespread and compelling use of operationalism, both emergent and status derived leadership have been studied in small groups of kindergarten pupils, in task oriented military crews, and among the personnel of a wide variety of large scale organizations. While the resulting substantive knowledge is considerable, the findings and conclusions of most studies are directly applicable only to situations which are exactly the same or closely approximate the situations in which the original studies have been conducted. One of the major characteristics of these studies is that most of them have been conducted with closed groups in which all participants and the problem-solving or decision-making role of leaders could be studied in terms of either theoretically derived or institutionally set criteria. Work with closed groups in contrived laboratory situations and in closely

[16]Gibb, Handbook of Social Psychology, II, 914.

circumscribed but real life settings, however, made possible the shift in the analytical focus of leadership studies from traits to status--a development which has brought the study of leadership clearly into the theoretical purview of sociologists. Mediated by the preoccupation with the basic dynamics of social interaction in the works of Homans,[17] Bales,[18] and others, leadership appears as a status set of differential responsibilities within social systems.

## Community and Social Structure

The social system of interest in this review is the community. As reflected by the literature of community leadership studies, the concept of the community appears to be the least problematical among the theoretical concerns of students who have undertaken studies of community leadership. One of the major reasons for this may be that community studies have had an independent and distinguished development in sociology. Few indeed are the topical areas within the discipline in which classic studies can be listed with greater ease than in the sociology of the community. This in turn may be due to the fact that communities are the most natural, accessible, and complete forms of "society" which constitute the subject matter of sociology. It is perhaps for these reasons that most students of community

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[17]George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1950).

[18]Robert F. Bales, Interaction Process Analysis (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1950).

leadership propose a brief formal definition of the concept--and proceed to describe the community of their choice for study. As a guide to formal definitions, the authors refer their readers to a critical review of sociological definitions of the community by Hillery[19] and to a paper by Hollingshead[20] on the community sociology. The definitions stipulate usually three definitional components for the term: people, geographical area, and "community sentiment." That is, communities are territorially based social systems of people who are conscious of a shared way of life. The way of life, in turn, must be inferred, in most studies of community leadership, from a summary account of the basic socio-economic characteristics of the community and its people. The more leisurely description of the "axes of life"[21] must be telescoped into a single chapter in order to leave room for the analysis of leader behavior.

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[19]George A. Hillery, Jr., "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement," Rural Sociology, XX (June, 1955), 111-23.

[20]August B. Hollingshead, "Community Research: Development and Present Condition," American Sociological Review, XIII (April, 1948), 136-46. See also Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Some Logical and Methodological Problems in Community Research," Social Forces, XXXIII (October, 1954), 51-7. Harold F. Kaufman, "Toward an International Conception of Community," Social Forces, XXXVIII (October, 1959), 8-17.

[21]Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, I, 385. "Staying Alive, Having a Good Time, Praising God, Getting Ahead, Advancing the Race." Also Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929), 8. "Getting a living, making a home, training the young, using leisure, engaging in religious practices, and engaging in community activities.

The vivid descriptions of communities produced by the social-anthropological field tradition have provided essentially the same information on what sociologists are describing in the manner of their own methodological preferences: the social structure of communities.

> The term "social structure" refers to the organized relations of groups and categories of people identified within a given society according to kinship, sex, age, division of labor, race religion, or any other criteria stressed as differentiating people in role, status, access to resources, and authority. This structure establishes durable relations that hold groups of people together for certain purposes and separate them for others. Such a social structure may persist over many generations. Its continuance depends upon its ability to cope with historical changes that involve absorption of new groupings and relations of men without fundamental change in the structure of society of a kind that involves major transfer of power.[22]

Taken from an often quoted essay by Lynd, this brief description of the general notion of social structure refers to most of the major analytical components in terms of which communities can be defined and studied: social categories, collectivities, groups, and institutions. Minor variations in phrasing aside, there is substantial agreement among sociologists on the meaning of these terms. The definitions which follow are intended to fix the meaning which will be attributed to them throughout this study.

After the usage of Merton, "social categories are aggregates of social statuses, the occupants of which are not in social interaction. These have <u>like</u> social characteristics--of age, sex,

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[22]Robert S. Lynd, "Power in American Society as Resource and Problem," Problems of Power in American Democracy, ed. Arthur Kornhauser (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1959), 229.

marital condition, income, and so on--but are not necessarily oriented toward a distinctive and common body of norms."[23] On the other hand, social collectivities are defined by Merton as "people who have a sense of solidarity by virtue of sharing common values and who have acquired an attendant sense of moral obligation to fulfill role-expectations."[24] While both social categories and social collectivities fail to meet the criterion of social interaction, Merton adds that "having like statuses, and consequently similar interests and values, social categories can be mobilized into collectivities or into groups."[25] The distinguishing characteristic of the latter is that members of groups are in interaction with each other.

None of the relevance of the distinctions proposed by Merton is lost by accepting Martindale's definition of a group "as a set of standardized arrangements among a plurality of people for the solution of a specific set of common problems."[26] Martindale defines institutions, on the other hand, "as the standardized solutions to collective problems which men apply in their group activities."[27] These definitions, in turn, make it possible to

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[23]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), 299.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid., 299-300.

[26]Don Martindale, "The Formation and Destruction of Communities," Explorations in Social Change, eds. George K. Zollschan and Walter Hirsch (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1964), 69.

[27]Ibid.

define a community as

> a set or system of groups sufficient to solve all of the basic problems of ordinary ways of life. As a way of life, a community is complete in two senses: it comprises a set of groups sufficient to carry a plurality of people through all the routine problems of an ordinary year and through the cycle of an ordinary life from birth to death.[28]

As Martindale sees it, a theory that accounts for the manner in which groups find stable solutions to collective problems which are mutually consistent and result in closure--the adoption of a formula binding upon their various activities--provides an adequate explanation for how communities develop and disappear.[29]

Careful reading of the preceding definitions cannot fail to alert the reader to the fact that the above quoted authors have made use of two different theoretical idioms in defining their concepts. While the grouping of scholars into schools of thought is not always easy or even fair, it can be said with accuracy that Merton is a functionalist and Martindale's approach is closer to that of the so-called conflict theorists. Functionalism and conflict theory, in turn, derive from two distinguished schools of social-philosophical thought about the nature of social order, i.e., the question of how societies and communities cohere. Dahrendorf states the relationships very concisely:

> Generally speaking, it seems to me that two (meta-) theories can and must be distinguished in contemporary sociology. One of these, the integration theory of society, conceives of social structure in terms of functionally integrated systems held in equilibrium by

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[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid., 87.

> certain patterned and recurrent processes. The other one, the coercion theory of society, views social structure as a form of organization held together by force and constraint and reaching continuously beyond itself in the sense of producing within itself the forces that maintain it in an unending process of change.[30]

Whether the social-philosophical counterparts of these (meta-) theories are expounded as utopianism-rationalism,[31] collectivism-individualism,[32] conservatism-radicalism,[33] aristocratic-democratic criticism,[34] or elitism-pluralism,[35] no researcher who wishes to study community leadership structures can state his assumptions and objectives without coming to terms with the problems of value consensus vs. conflict of interests and of stability vs. change which the two theories imply. It is not easy to take sides, however, for there are three alternatives to consider. One may hold the view that functionalism and conflict theory are

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30 Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959), 159.

31 Ibid., 157.

32 Don Martindale, "The Roles of Humanism and Scientism in the Evolution of Sociology," Explorations in Social Change, eds. George K. Zollschan and Walter Hirsch (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1964), 452-90.

33 Gerhard E. Lenski, Power and Privilege (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966), 22-23.

34 William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), 21-38.

35 Robert Presthus, Men at the Top (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 3-32.

mutually exclusive in their approach to communities, and therefore either one or the other should guide empirical inquiries. It is possible to claim that both are serviceable but for different purposes and the choice between them depends upon which of the complementary aspects of social reality--consensus or conflict --one wishes to study. And finally, an attempt can be made at moving toward a synthesis by reconciling the two theories. Whether in data-free debate or in critical discussion of empirical findings, each of these three alternatives has its proponents and opponents. Their quarrels constitute--what Presthus calls--the normative debate in the literature of community leadership.[36]

What are the substantive issues of the debate? Although it is fairly accurate to say that the controversy is largely between sociologists and political scientists, the answer to this question is outlined here by contrasting the normative positions of elitists and pluralists rather than by emphasizing the interdisciplinary aspects of the debate. In either case, of course, some degree of oversimplification is inevitable.

While both elitists and pluralists agree that the leaders of communities tend to constitute groups or strata, i.e., identifiable segments of status hierarchies of social stratification, the former rather than the latter are more apt to use the analytical construct, leadership structure, in their studies. Since the hypothesis of whether a group--which by definition must have

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[36] Ibid.

a structure--does exist is amenable to empirical verification, the controversy seems to thrive upon methodological differences of opinion about the initial identifiaction of the members of leadership groups.[37]

With the exception of Dahrendorf--who claims that it is at best an unexamined notion--both elitists and pluralists take leadership strata to be minorities, constituting perhaps no more than one per cent of the population of a given community. In general, Machiavelli, Mosca, and Michels are most commonly cited in support of the view that "rulers" constitute minorities.[38] As to the size of leadership structures, it seems to be related to the size of communities but the degree of relationship is seldom specified. In general, the size of a community is more commonly held to be indicative of the type rather than of the size of its leadership structure: a pluralist leadership structure is more likely to exist in a large rather than in a small community.

To elitists, leaders tend to be members of the upper stratum of unidimensional systems of social stratification who "circulate" mainly through individual upward mobility and tend to disappear as a stratum mostly through wars and revolutions. According to pluralists, leaders usually belong to the upper strata

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[37]See below, pp. 49-61.

[38]"Not all authors state as clearly as Machiavelli how small, exactly, these groups are: 'In any city, however it may be organized politically, no more than 40 or 50 men attain real power.'". Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, 195.

of multi-dimensional systems of social stratification and members of leadership structures tend to emerge and disappear amidst the dynamics of competition between groups which constitute the community. Further confusion ensues when the notions of elite and leadership elite are introduced without specifying whether the latter is merely a part of the former or the two are the same. In addition, it is difficult to see why pluralistic elites are preferable to a single elite when the members of the former may constitute a single leadership group whose behavior can negate any meaningful distinction between pluralism and elitism.

Finally, elitists look upon leaders as a naturally or spontaneously evolving stratum which meets enduring and vital system needs for order and consensus, whereas pluralists see leaders as technical prerequisites for group formation and the ensuing reconciliation of competing interests. In spite of their obvious interests in processes, both are occasionally accused--erroneously --of finding "static" leadership structures.

Since the research objectives and/or hypotheses of elitists and pluralists are locked into two different sets of metasociological assumptions about communities, it is hardly surprising that their studies of community leadership tend to lead to different findings. In general, the purported theoretical significance of these studies is seen in the attempts to answer the question of whether the processes of community decision making follow the culturally prescribed ideals of democracy--which calls for leadership (pluralism?) and abhor domination (elitism?).

While there is nothing wrong with theoretical frames of reference derived from contemporary theories of democracy, the difficulty of developing a more satisfactory theoretical framework for the explanation of how communities evolve, maintain, and change a given form of social order through leadership--a more basic question--is due to the generally unsatisfactory conceptions of power which both elitists and pluralists must use. Since the normative debate is essentially about who shall have power, it cannot be resolved without answering the questions of who exercises power and what are the nature and consequences of a given system of inequality which the exercise of power creates in communities.

## The Concept and Measurement of Power

In the social sciences, the notion of power is a legacy of man's age-old preoccupation with realizing his will despite the resistance of others. Whether in matters of statecraft or in social interaction of more limited scope, phenomena of power took many forms, and attempts to analyze them only slowly evolved into specific ways of study. As with the study of leadership, the ways or methods of studying power were a function of the prevailing forms of scholarship of the times. In a sense, the great leaders of the past were the most powerful men of their day, and what was said about the literature of the Great Man theory of leadership is equally valid for the early, classic studies of power.

Today, Max Weber's conception of power is called upon most frequently by sociologists when the need is felt to claim some continuity of thought between classic forms and more recent efforts to study power.[39] While his classification of traditional, legal-rational, and charismatic authority is of continued utility, taxonomic schemes of broad sweep and social philosophical orientations of macrocosmic concern with the manifestations of power are generally frowned upon today. This, in turn, does not mean that basic issues are easy to ignore. Basic orientations toward power, as a category of social analysis, are quickly identified by critics as assumptions which authors of specific studies may have failed to make explicit. The usual stipulation is that basic assumptions have to be justified--preferably--in empirical terms. A case in point is the so-called zero-sum theory of power that Parsons[40] has identified in The Power Elite by C. Wright Mills. The same orientation was known as the scarcity theory of power to Lynd,[41] who in turn has referred to the theory of the two heaps of a fixed number of stones by Ritchie. Regardless of the name that one may prefer to accept, this theoretical orientation assumes that those who have more power do so because others

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[39] H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (Galaxy; New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), 159-264.

[40] Talcott Parsons, "The Distribution of Power in American Society," World Politics, X (October, 1957), 123-43.

[41] Lynd, Problems of Power in American Democracy, 9.

have less of the finite amount of power that is available to members of a social system at any given time. Because of the implied emphasis upon the distributory function of power, it becomes very important to learn, of course, which members or groups of a given system have more or the most power. It also follows that in relatively stable systems more or less permanent power structures may develop which investigators may almost inevitably find--since they have assumed their existence. Thus, the actual use of the zero-sum theory of power is bound to raise some thorny issues of methodology.

Another main version of basic orientations toward power holds that the integrative function of power is just as important as its distributory function. Among others, Bierstedt,[42] Parsons,[43] and Lynd[44] prefer to look upon power as a social resource and general facility which performs important functions in and on behalf of social systems. To Bierstedt, for instance, power is a social phenomenon par excellence: "Power supports the fundamental order of society and the social organization within it, wherever there is order. Power stands behind every association and sustains its structure. Without power there is no organization and without power there is no order."[45] In its most general form,

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[42]Robert Bierstedt, "An Analysis of Social Power," American Sociological Review, XV (December, 1950), 730-38.

[43]Parsons, World Politics, X, 123-43.

[44]Lynd, Problems of Power in American Democracy, 1-45.

[45]Bierstedt, American Sociological Review, XV, 735.

this conception of power leaves open the question of where the power centers reside in society and thereby remains free, at least initially, of the methodological problems associated with the zero-sum theory of power.

Inasmuch as these basic orientations toward power have led to the study of concrete social systems, they have generated models of power arrangements or power structures. Miller has identified a five-fold typology of power structures: (1) a pyramidal structure centering in one person; (2) a pyramidal structure centering in a tightly knit group of persons; (3) a stratified pyramidal structure of policy makers; (4) an institutional ring or cone structure of power; and (5) a system of segmented power pyramids.[46] No doubt, others could be devised by combining elements of the models proposed by Miller. Whether as speculative heuristic devices or as precipitates of empirical work, however, models of power structures remain controversial. In opposition to Mills[47] and Hunter,[48] whose work was seminal in stimulating interest in the study of power structures, Bell,[49] Riesman,[50] and

[46]Delbert C. Miller, "Democracy and Decision Making in the Community Power Structure," Power and Democracy in America, eds. William V. D'Antonio and Howard J. Ehrlich (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961), 60-70.

[47]C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).

[48]Hunter, Community Power Structure.

[49]Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960), 43-67.

[50]David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950).

Galbraith[51] are the most widely quoted authors who have either rejected or offered modified versions of unitary models of power arrangement in communities. In general, preoccupation with models tends to be more akin to basic orientations toward power than to the more technical concerns which impede the study of community power.

While basic orientations toward power and models of power structure provide broad interpretive schemes for social analysis, the analytical utility of the concept of power depends upon the clarity with which its definitional components can be identified and upon the precision with which power can ultimately be measured. Both of these concerns are present in the literature.

In addition to the descriptive-discursive consideration of the concept by Max Weber,[52] Bertrand Russell,[53] and others,[54] sociologists most often quote Goldhamer and Shils, Bierstedt and Bay as the authors who have attempted to identify the major dimensions of the concept of power. Goldhamer and Shils[55] distinguish among force, domination, and manipulation as the major forms

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[51]John Kenneth Galbraith, American Capitalism: The Concept of Countervailing Power (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952).

[52]Gerth-Mills (eds.), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1938).

[53]Bertrand Russell, Power: A New Social Analysis (London: Allen & Unwin, 1938).

[54]See, for instance, Robert Strausz-Hupe, Power and Community (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1956).

[55]Herbert Goldhamer and Edward A. Shils, "Types of Power and Status," American Journal of Sociology, XLV (September, 1939), 171-82.

of power. Power may be legitimate and illegitimate, unilateral or bilateral, direct or indirect. Unsuccessful power acts may be followed by substitute power acts or by sanctions. Power holders can be identified through status judgments which in turn can be traced through deference gestures. Status judgments are either total or segmented, either true or false; deference gestures are either specialized or non-specialized, either genuine or spurious. Goldhamer and Shils hold that "...a person may be said to have power to the extent that he influences the behavior of others in accordance with his own intentions."[56] Bierstedt, on the other hand, finds it useful to distinguish power from prestige, influence, dominance, rights, force, and authority.[57] Perhaps more importantly Bierstedt identified "...a combination of numbers (especially majorities), social organizations and resources"[58] as the principal bases of power. Drawing upon a variety of sources, Goldhamer-Shils and Bierstedt among them, Bay[59] distinguishes between independent and dependent power, between power as potential and the exercise of power, between power subject, power object, and power agent. Not counting many marginal and near-scholastic distinctions which are useful mainly in polemic analysis, the

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[56] Ibid., 171.

[57] Bierstedt, American Sociological Review, XV, 730-38.

[58] Ibid., 738.

[59] Christian Bay, The Structure of Freedom (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958).

preceding abstracts include a fairly exhaustive list of the principal conceptual components of power. Bay's "final power concept" is perhaps a good example of what speculative efforts can produce as a matter of formal definition: "Power (influence) is an individual's capacity for attaining or advancing values by way of affecting with his own behavior the behavior of others. Exercise of power (influence) is the process of attaining or advancing values by affecting the behavior of others."[60]

Formal definitions of power, of course, do not necessarily provide guidelines for the measurement of power. Concern with measurement is centered upon the amount of power, and there are several more or less related attempts in the literature to identify the measurable aspects of power. Goldhamer and Shils suggest that "the amount of power exercised by an individual may be measured either by the ratio of his successful power acts to all of his attempted power acts or by...the number of actions..in each of any number of selected types of behavior, over which control is realized (or potential); and the number of persons so controlled."[61] Lasswell and Kaplan distinguish among the weight, the scope, and the domain of power as the principal components of the notion of the amount of power: "The weight of power is the degree of participation in the making of decisions; its scope consists of the values whose shaping and enjoyment are controlled;

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[60] Ibid., 258.

[61] Goldhamer-Shils, American Journal of Sociology, XLV, 176-77.

the domain of power consists of the persons over whom power is exercised."[62] According to Simon, "...observations of the distribution of values and of attitudes regarding legitimacy constitute two significant kinds of indirect evidence about the distribution of power. A third, of critical significance, are the expectations of the participants in the power situation."[63] March distinguishes among three general types of measures in the literature: measures of attributed influence, measures of opinion change, and measures of influence attempts.[64] French proposes a basic mathematical model of social power.[65]

While most, if not all, of these proposed measures of power have been put to use in one form or another, the measurement of power remains a challenging technical problem. As March has pointed out, "...one can find few serious attempts in the literature to relate formal definitions of influence either to measurement methods or to the main body of social science theory."[66]

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[62]Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 77.

[63]Herbert A. Simon, "Notes on the Observation and Measurement of Political Power," The Journal of Politics, XV (November, 1953), 516.

[64]James G. March, "An Introduction to the Theory and Measurement of Influence," The American Political Science Review, XLIX (June, 1955), 431-51.

[65]John R.P. French, "A Formal Theory of Social Power," Psychological Review, LXIII (May, 1956), 181-94.

[66]March, The American Political Science Review, XLIX, 450-51.

With the exception of especially devised technique studies in which processes of power or influence appear to be "stripped down" to the bare essential indices of social interaction, fine distinctions--such as between power and influence[67]--tend to become operationally unworkable in most situations in which the practical and social significance of precision through measurement is the most obvious and desirable. Even though categories of power acts and of influence attempts can be devised with no more than usual difficulties, the process of data gathering is often experienced as tedious and meaningless by those--the subjects of a study--whose cooperation is vital to the undertaking of producing quantitative measures of power. Hence the use of crude ad hoc measures--the unwelcome results of a serious dilemma faced by many students of power who are forced to abandon rigorous attempts at measurement for the sake of conducting a study which, for eminently legitimate reasons, appeals to them. Indeed, a modicum of familiarity with the selection and gathering of empirical indices makes clear that such a simple term as "a successful power act"--which may stand for anything from a barely perceptible nod of the head to a complicated maneuver of managing an issue in a large parliamentary body--is not only deceptively simple but also difficult to obtain. No desk-bound community leader

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[67] See, for instance, "...'Power' and 'influence' are in this book synonymous terms. I believe this is the most confusion-proof way of relating the two terms to one another, given the wide overlap in their usage, in scientific journals as well as in everyday language." Bay, The Structure of Freedom, 248. Footnote.

can recall how many issue-relevant phone calls he has placed during the life-time of a three-months old controversy, let alone say which or how many of the conversations in question have been "successful influence attempts or power acts"--to his mind. The subjective perspectivism of the participants aside, the natural history of specific leadership processes is a complicated sequence of acts and events which is not easy to master by particpants or by outsiders in such open systems of interaction as a community.

## The Methodological Controversy of Community Leadership

The general pattern of activities which a careful student of community leadership would consider before beginning this study has been summarized many times.[68] The primary task is, of course, the identification of community leaders. While direct observation of leadership processes is seldom possible for such purposes, the observations of others about leaders and leadership could be collected by going from person to person in a relatively small community. Ideally, everyone in the community could be interviewed. In a larger community, it is possible to devise ways in which the

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[68]Robert A. Dahl, "Hierarchy, Democracy, and Bargaining in Politics and Economics," Research Frontiers in Politics and Government, Brookings Lectures, 1955, ed. Stephen K. Bailey, (Washington, D.C., 1955), 45-69. Peter H. Rossi, "Community Decision Making," Administrative Science Quarterly, I (March, 1957), 415-43. Howard J. Ehrlich, "Power and Democracy: A Critical Discussion," Power and Democracy in America, eds. William V. D'Antonio and Howard J. Ehrlich (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961), 91-123. Linton C. Freeman et al., "Locating Leaders in Local Communities: A Comparison of Some Alternative Approaches," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (October, 1963), 791-98.

time consuming and expensive process of talking to everyone may be shortened. One of such ways would be the identification of people who know more about power and powerful leaders in the community than others. One could begin the inquiry with a few "obvious" leaders, who in turn would designate others, and the search would end when it appears that all persons of consequence and power have been accounted for because no new leaders are named by the select aggregate of informants. The "obvious" leaders could be pointed out by knowledgeable old-timers, newspaper editors, social scientists, and the like in the community. Persons of similar qualifications could screen and reduce also the resulting list of leaders to a manageable size for purposes of intensive study. Still another way of locating community leaders would be to compile an exhaustive list of office holders or a similar list of people whose active involvement in resolving issues in the community is known. The list of positional or issue leaders would contain people who could reasonably be expected to exercise power in the community, or who have demonstrably done so in the past. Any one of these methods, or a combination of them, could lead to the identification of an aggregate of community influentials. As reflected by the literature, the problem of identifying the subjects of community leadership studies is slowly being pushed into quasi-metaphysical heights by way of methodological controversies.[69] Because the different methods tend to identify different

[69]For the most comprehensive and frequently quoted criticism, see Herbert Kaufman and Victor Jones, "The Mystery of

types of community leaders, there is a voluminous literature on the relative merits of one method as opposed to another. The basic problem is far from being settled.

Direct observation as the principal technique of identifying community leaders appears to be left to anthropologists, and their work is seldom quoted in the literature. Sociologists and political scientists prefer the statistical method and the technique of interviewing to the comparative ways and observational techniques of anthropologists. Preference for the statistical manipulation of interview data, however, is not without serious problems.

The question of whom to interview about leaders in the community could most satisfactorily be answered by sociometric surveys if the generally required size of the sample in such surveys were not to make the procedure prohibitive under all but the most exceptional circumstances.[70] Neither is any substantial

Power," Public Administration Review, XIV (Spring, 1954), 205-12. Robert E. Agger, "Power Attributions in the Local Community: Theoretical and Research Considerations," Social Forces, XXXIV (May, 1956), 322-31. Robert A. Dahl, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model," American Political Science Review, LII (June, 1958), 463-69. Nelson W. Polsby, "The Sociology of Community Power: A Reassessment," Social Forces, XXXVII (March, 1959), 232-36. Nelson W. Polsby, "Three Problems in the Analysis of Community Power," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1959), 796-803. Raymond E. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power," American Sociological Review, XXV (October, 1960), 636-44.

[70]Frank A. Stewart, "A Sociometric Study of Influence in Southtown," Sociometry, X (February, 1947), 11-31. Frank A. Stewart, "A Study of Influence in Southtown: II," Sociometry, X (August, 1947), 273-86. Frank A. Stewart, "Some Sampling Problems in Sociometric Surveys," Sociometry, XI (November, 1948), 301-7.

agreement in sight on a valid and reliable sociometric criterion to be used in asking for the nomination of community leaders by informants in the sample.[71] While it seems definitely unreasonable to demand that interviewers know in each and every instance what a specific question really meant to those who were asked to answer it,[72] the multi-dimensionality of community leadership, as a term that can denote a key status for layman and specialist alike, is admittedly troublesome from the point of view of devising questions or instructions for interviewees. It is hardly such an important problem, however, as some of the critics make it appear to be, for sociometric nomination is a mere technique of identifying subjects to whom independent criteria of leadership must be applied if they are to be studied as leaders at all. Of the two questions, whether sociometric nomination means mere reputation of leadership, and whether reputed leaders should meet independent tests of leadership, the latter is the more important and challenging.[73] Be that as it may, the unique advantage of a community-wide sociometric survey is the possibility of subsequent statistical analysis of data without a number of questionable assumptions about subject selection which either cancel out statistical work or make it of dubious value in studies based upon

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[71]Polsby, Social Forces, XXXVII, 233. Wolfinger, American Sociological Review, XXV, 638-40.

[72]Gardner Lindzey and Edgar F. Borgatta, "Sociometric Measurement," Handbook of Social Psychology, ed. Gardner Lindzey (Cambbidge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1954), I, 443.

[73]Ibid.

other methods.

An alternative method to the community-wide sociometric survey is provided by the use of a modified sociometric technique.[74] Usually, it consists of the selection of a number of "obvious" leaders, or simply of people who are known to be knowledgable about leadership in the community. Leadership nominees obtained from these informants through a chain-referral type procedure are contacted until closure occurs, i.e., until no "new names" are proposed as leaders to the investigator. Subsequently, the resulting aggregate of leadership nominees is either reduced in size or treated in its entirety as a quasi-sociometric group whose members are interviewed about each other as community leaders.[75] Obviously, this method involves a number of assumptions and practical decisions which are open to criticism. First, the method makes generous use of selection procedures based upon expert judgments by informants as opposed to randomness--which seriously impedes subsequent statistical analysis.[76] Second, the generally used selection procedures are conducive to premature closure of initial leadership list that is difficult to avoid or to remedy.[77] Third,

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[74]For a critical comment on sociometric leadership studies see, James E. White, "Theory and Method for Research in Community Leadership," American Sociological Review, XV (February, 1950), 50.

[75]Lindzey-Borgatta, Handbook of Social Psychology, I, 407-8.

[76]W. Allen Wallis and Harry V. Roberts, Statistics: A New Approach (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956), 117.

[77]Polsby, American Sociological Review, XXIV, 798.

the expertness of informants and eventual panel members is difficult to specify in terms of clear-cut criteria.[78] Fourth, the method is conducive to the discovery of a more or less cohesive clique of leaders and thereby prejudges an empirical problem, i.e. the existence of a power structure.[79] Fifth, the use of experts suggests that the personnel and the ways of power structures are shrouded in secrecy which only inside-dopesters can penetrate.[80] Finally, the method deals primarily with leadership reputations and shares the difficulties inherent in devising satisfactory sociometric criteria to identify community leaders. Whether taking them one by one or as a general indictment of the method, these objections or critical considerations are serious, indeed. On the other hand, it seems possible to argue that the major weakness of the method constitutes its real strength: face validity.[81] Most critics of the method have a peculiar reluctance to admit or seem to belittle the value of systematic efforts to find out how people in a given community arrive at settled opinions about their immediate social environment and act upon such

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[78] Ibid., 796-97. See also the caustic comment that the reputational method "...is little more than a methodologically elaborate variant of the older procedure of asking insiders--city hall reporters, politicians, and so on--for a quick rundown on the local big shots in order to identify potentially useful interviewees." Wolfinger, American Sociological Review, XXV, 637.

[79] Dahl, American Political Science Review, LII, 464. Wolfinger, American Sociological Review, XXV, 637-38. Polsby, Social Forces, XXXVII, 232.

[80] Polsby, American Sociological Review, XXIV, 796-97.

[81] Harry R. Dick, "A Method for Ranking Community Influentials," American Sociological Review, XXV (June, 1960), 395-99.

more or less flimsy evidence. Yet this is what the reputational method is attempting to accomplish based upon the observation that interviewees act upon their knowledge of reputations and they are quite willing to continue to do so since they feel free to change their minds about others--if and when proven wrong. The inherent circularity of the process of identifying community leaders and the multi-dimensionality of their conceptually stipulated role notwithstanding, the reputational method appears to least prejudge the proclaimed subject matter of most community leadership studies. At any rate, the present day utility of the reputational method seems to depend more upon the applicability of alternative ways of identifying community leaders than upon one's ability to meet specific objections against a widely used procedure.

An alternative to the reputational method is a census of institutional and quasi-institutional power positions in the community under study.[82] A supposedly exhaustive and authoritative list of leadership positions is compiled or adopted and people who happen to occupy those positions are taken to be the subjects of the study. If the number of leadership positions is too large, a sample of adequate size and composition may be drawn. The basic assumption of this method is that the most fruitful way of identifying the power structure of communities is to study people who seem to have an obviously ascertainable power base. It is assumed

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[82]Miller, Power and Democracy in America, 44-60.

that the personnel of community power structures is recruited primarily from the ranks of formal institutional leaders which may or may not in a given case force a distinction between an institutional and residual conception of community leadership. In general, the proponents of this method are in a position to stipulate a fairly compelling conceptual scheme that provides for an institutionalized power structure of society, a societal power complex of decision makers, and institutionalized power structure of the community, and a community power complex of active leaders.[83]

This method seems to be the most vulnerable to criticism in the initial task of compiling a list of leadership positions.[84] Even if the problem of deciding which positions to include can be handled satisfactorily--no doubt, to the satisfaction of local or institutional experts--the method makes no provisions for emergent or non-institutional centers of power. In admittedly extreme cases, it overlooks the expectations of power subjects who may question the legitimacy of institutional power centers and seek a different type of leadership. Neither is it entirely clear how a uniform list of leadership positions could be applied to two or three communities whose structural chracteristics are very dissimilar without encountering serious difficulties in interpreting the findings comparatively.[85] Finally, it is also possible

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[83] Ibid., 38-43.

[84] Ehrlich, Power and Democracy in America, 98-118.

[85] For such studies, see Delbert C. Miller, "Industry and

that a generic list of leadership positions may produce, for instance, a business dominated power structure[86] for the simple reason that most large communities tend to have more business executives than bishops, university chancellors, labor leaders, etc.

What a locally appropriate list of leadership positions would assure to test adequately is the community-wide involvement of institutional leadership in issues--provided, of course, that a satisfactory range of representative issues were available for study.[87] This is important because issue-involvement is proposed

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Community Power Structure: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City." American Sociological Review, XXIII (February, 1958), 9-15. William H. Form and William V. D'Antonio, "Integration and Cleavage Among Community Influentials in Two Border Cities," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1959), 804-14.

[86]For studies which claim that businessmen play a predominant role in community power structures, see Hunter, Community Power Structure, 113. Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown in Transition (New York: Harcourt-Brace and Co., 1937), 74. Delbert C. Miller, "Decision Making Cliques in Community Power Structures: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," American Journal of Sociology, LXIV, (November, 1958), 299-309. Miller, American Sociological Review, XXIII, 9-15. Roland J. Pellegrin and Charles H. Coates, "Absentee-Owned Corporations and Community Power Structure," American Journal of Sociology, LXI (March, 1956) 413-19. For views which dispute the predominance of businessmen in community power structures, see, Daniel Bell, "The Power Elite--Reconsidered," American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (November, 1958), 238-50. Polsby, Social Forces, XXXVII, 232-36. Polsby, American Sociological Review, XXIV, 796-803. Wolfinger, American Sociological Review, SSV, 636-44. Robert O. Schulze, "The Role of Economic Dominants in Community Power Structures," American Sociological Review, XXIII (February, 1958), 7-9. Dahl, American Political Science Review, LII, 463-69.

[87]Rossi, Administrative Science Quarterly, I, 432-37.

as the principal independent index of community leadership. However, if only a limited number of ad hoc issues can be examined, then the reputational method seems preferable because the reputed relevance of certain people for the study of leader behavior promises less wasted efforts than a no more judgment-free compilation of power positions of others whose participation in resolving issues is merely stipulated by virtue of their occupancy of those positions.

In general, issues can be involved in the study of community leadership in two different ways. One can follow the natural history of a single issue in the community and study the behavior of leaders who are involved in resolving it. Such a study of issue leaders demands no more than being in the community when the issue breaks, and gaining access to the private and public deliberations of leaders who are handling it. A more complex problem arises when a series of issues are to be used as an independent test of leader behavior, that is, when issue-involvement is applied as a test to people who have been designated as leaders by any one of the methods which have previously been mentioned.[88] Immediately, several problems have to be faced. How many issues should be examined? Should they be spent or active issues in the community? Are controversial issues to be preferred to routine matters of decision making which have only a limited appeal to

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[88]Ernest A.T. Barth and Stuart D. Johnson, "Community Power and a Typology of Social Issues," Social Forces, XXXVIII (October, 1959), 29-32.

people, rather than arouse the entire community? If and when specific steps are taken, on what grounds can the practical decisions of the investigator be justified? As reflected by the literature, no student of community leadership has spent more than a few years in the community of his interest, and issue-tests tend to be more or less at the mercy of prevailing conditions during the span of the studies.[89] In general, the issue-career approach is the most widely accepted companion method of the reputational method of community leadership. While the joint use of these two methods tends to assure more valid and reliable studies of community leadership, it does not answer the major criticisms which can be leveled against them as independent approaches to the study of leadership.

It is part of the methodological controversy that surrounds the study of community leadership that the various methods of identifying subjects for study tend to intrude upon the definition of community leadership. The term is rather ill-defined in the literature. It would seem, however, that only the reputational method is able to identify what the observational insights of the layman propose as community leadership.[90] The layman's

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[89] "The blame for the neglect of decisions as a major research focus must be placed to a large degree on the nature of the phenomenon itself. Most of the issues in which we are most interested ordinarily entail a settlement process in which complicated chains of choices are made by a large number of decision-makers." Rossi, Administrative Science Quarterly, I, 432.

[90] For a test of this proposition, see Robert O. Schulze and Leonard U. Blumberg, "The Determination of Power Elites," American Journal of Sociology, LXIII (November, 1957), 290-96.

notion assumes that community leadership is an "open" and residual category of behavior rather than being an exclusive domain of the formal, institutional leaders of the community. Community leadership has to do with endeavors in addition to, or outside of, the established and institutionalized channels of doing things in the community. It means differential responsibility for creative efforts, which the formal machinery of a social system with its special purpose articulation of means and ends is ill equipped to handle. It does not seem necessary to invoke the democratic ethos of community development as an ideological end to see that this is the average layman's view. When a researcher begins to compile a list of formal leadership positions, he already may be well on his way to study something other than what he had set out to study. His list may not contain all community leaders--potentially or otherwise. He may miss--to mention only the most common examples--some mid- or upper-mid-echelon businessmen and professionals, and also some intelligent housewives with energies to spare whose formal position is seldom part of institutional leadership lists in any community. On the other hand, a good case could be made for the claim that role performance in formal

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The findings of Schulze and Blumberg that "...the composition of the community's power elite, as defined by reputation, differs significantly from that defined on the basis of superordinate positions in either the local economic or the political-civic institutions. However, the use of different panels of persons who may be assumed to be reasonably (although not similarly) knowledgable does not produce significantly different results..." (p.296) is looked upon by Polsby as a general indictment of the use of panels. Polsby, American Sociological Review, XXIV, 797.

leadership positions is statesmanship, executive behavior, or some other form of "professionalism" rather than community leadership. The contention is that "professional leaders" are community leaders if and when they are acting on behalf of the community in other than their official capacity and outside of the formal institutional channels of the community.

Critics who reject the reputational method do so, at least in part, because they claim that such general role of community leadership either does not exist or cannot satisfactorily be demonstrated to exist.[91] Hence their preference for issue-leaders whose role is easier to establish--a procedure that makes general leaders analytically a residual category.[92] Presumably, these critics would accept attempts to demonstrate the existence of a leadership structure only if an adequate sample of issue-leaders could be assembled--which is virtually impossible because of the difficulties of assembling an adequate sample of issues. It also follows, of course, that any demonstration of the existence of a power structure--which most students have set out to do--becomes, to say the least, controversial.

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[91] See, for instance, Wolfinger, American Sociological Review, XXV, 638-39. Polsby, Social Forces, XXXVII, 233.

[92] For typologies, see A. Alexander Fanelli, "A Typology of Community Leadership Based on Influence and Interaction Within the Leader Subsystem," Social Forces, XXXIV, (May, 1956), 332-38. Orrin E.Klapp and L. Vincent Padgett, "Power Structure and Decision-Making in a Mexican Border City," American Journal of Sociology, LXV (January, 1960), 400-6.

Amidst a sizable crop of leadership and power structure studies, the methodological controversy continues, presumably, under the protection of these two general principles: (1) within reasonable limits, investigators may define their concepts as they see fit to serve their purpose; (2) often, it is not the best policy to force research problems into the mold of safe and established techniques of study. Efforts to study leaders of Negro communities, of course, are not outside of the path of the controversy.

## Studies of Negro Community Leadership

Since inequality based on race seems to be the abiding condition of concern to Negroes, leadership for equality-achievement seems as essential. While the literature of Negro leadership studies contains accounts of a slow differentiation of leadership roles, race leaders lend a unique continuity and steady reference point to the understanding of newly emerging forms of leadership. A summary review of the historical models of leadership among Negroes by Oliver C. Cox is a good case in point.

> Negroes, probably more than any other group of Americans, have had an abiding common cause. We shall consider as leaders of the Negro people those who, through their energy and insight, have become advocates of means and methods of dealing with this common cause and whose advocacy has been significantly accepted by the group. These leaders have invariably thought of themselves as way-showers and as having responsibility for determining the destiny of the people.[93]

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[93] Oliver C. Cox, "Leadership Among Negroes in the United States," Studies in Leadership, ed. Alvin W. Gouldner (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), 228.

Cox has subsumed under this general definition Negroes as well as whites who have served that common cause. Consequently, his list of leaders includes insurrectionists, favorite slaves, underground workers, and abolitionists from the days of slavery. He treats as leaders of Negroes the white educator-missionaries, Negro and white politicians, and symbolic accomodation leaders like Booker T. Washington from the period of Reconstruction. From the years after 1915, he discusses the leadership styles of W.E.B. DuBois and of the Negro nationalist, Marcus Garvey.[94]

Cast in the general mold of historical analysis, the early studies of leadership among Negroes are part of sociological interest in social movements and in the general typology of Negro leadership. Taxonomic concerns derived from them are largely the content of the work of Bond,[95] Frazier,[96] Winston,[97] Greene,[98] and Johnson.[99] No doubt, there may be some others, but these are the most frequently quoted sources in the literature.

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[94] Ibid., 229-41.

[95] Horace M. Bond, "Negro Leadership Since Washington," South Atlantic Quarterly, XXIV (April, 1925), 115-30.

[96] E. Franklin Frazier, "The American Negro's New Leaders," Current History, XXVIII (April, 1928), 56-9.

[97] James Winston, "Studies in Negro Leadership," American Journal of Sociology, XXXVII (January, 1932), 595-602.

[98] Harry W. Greene, Negro Leaders (Institute, West Virginia West Virginia State College, 1936).

[99] Guy B. Johnson, "Negro Racial Movements and Leadership in the United States," American Journal of Sociology, XLIII (July, 1937), 57-71.

It seems that the general idea of race leadership and a basic classification of minority leadership styles among Negroes had been well established before 1940. To quote only two examples, Frazier[100] had thought of the functional leadership typology as early as 1928, and Johnson[101] had developed the typology of gradualist and revolutionary leadership by 1937. Attempts at typology of leaders and leadership styles, of course, continue even today. Myrdal's classification of accomodation and protest leaders is so basic that it cannot be ignored.[102] The spurious-genuine, positive-negative leadership scheme devised by Cox, on the other hand, is very seldom used explicitly.[103] In general, these typologies tend to rely upon a holistic understanding of a generalized posture of Negro leaders in race relations--their goals, strategies, and tactics. While most of the resulting classifications describe race or minority leadership styles rather than a more generic typology of leadership, Cothran and Phillips[104] have attempted to apply Stouffer's innovator-influential dichotomy to Negro leaders in a crisis situation. Pfautz,[105] on the other

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[100] E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951), 547.

[101] Johnson, American Journal of Sociology, XLIII, 57-71.

[102] Myrdal, An American Dilemma, 720.

[103] Cox, Studies in Leadership, 268-71.

[104] Tilman C. Cothran and William Phillips, Jr., "Negro Leadership in a Crisis Situation," Phylon, XXII (Summer, 1961), 108-9.

[105] Harold W. Pfautz, "The Power Structure of the Negro Sub-Community: A Case Study and a Comparative View," Phylon, XXIII (Summer, 1962), 156-66.

hand, has preferred a simple and general classification of integration, middle-of-the-road, segregation oriented leadership. Burgess[106] has used the classic subdivisions of political science: radical, liberal, moderate, and conservative. Such other categories--used among others by Thompson[107]--as race man, Uncle Tom, race diplomat, and black supremacist show that there is a large supply of evocative and descriptive labels currently in use to characterize leadership styles among Negroes.

Ideally, typologies presuppose independent measurement of certain basic characteristics of leaders. As reflected by the literature, most typologies in use are broadly descriptive and are based upon the more or less systematized impressions of investigators, upon the self-ratings of the subjects and upon the judgments of occasional experts who are asserted to know the leaders under study well. Of course, if and when such categories as power leader and lesser leader are introduced, they are applied operationally in the same manner to Negro and white community leaders.

While many of the typologies could be traced to classic studies of Negroes in general by DuBois,[108] Myrdal,[109] Frazier,[110]

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[106]Elaine M. Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960), 178-86.

[107]Daniel C. Thompson, The Negro Leadership Class (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), 58-79.

[108]W.E.B. DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania, 1899).

[109]Myrdal, An American Dilemma.

[110]Frazier, The Negro in the United States.

Davis and the Gardners,[111] Drake and Cayton,[112] and to the newly reissued collection of essays by Thompson and Hughes,[113] studies whose principal subject matter was leadership and leader characteristics among Negroes are relatively few in number. Some of these have already been mentioned, others could only nominally be considered part of the literature that is immediately relavant for the purposes of this study.[114]

Such a study of only marginal interest here is the analysis of the socio-economic characteristics of about 3,000 Negroes (leaders by virtue of outstanding achievement!?) whose names have appeared in Who's Who in Colored America in 1950.[115] On the other hand, the article by Edwards, which describes the characteristics of 116 Negro leaders from twenty-one rural communities in Georgia, can be looked upon as the beginning of systematic concern

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[111]Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941).

[112]Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis.

[113]Edgar T. Thompson and Everett C. Hughes (eds.), Race, Individual and Collective Behavior (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958).

[114]See, for instance, H. Smythe and L. Chase, "Current Research on the Negro: A Critique," Sociology and Social Research, XLII (January, 1958), 199-202. Wilson Record, "Negro Intellectuals and Negro Movements: Some Methodological Notes," The Journal of Negro Education, XXIV (Winter, 1955), 106-12. Hugh Smythe, "Negro Masses and Leader Characteristics: An Analysis of Current Trends," Sociology and Social Research, XXXV (September-October, 1950), 31-7.

[115]Thomas P. Monahan and Elizabeth H. Monahan, "Some Characteristics of American Negro Leaders," American Sociological Review, XII (October, 1956), 590-6.

with Negro leadership in community settings.[116] Parenton and Pellegrin have reported the problems of Negro leadership in Bertrandville, Louisiana where potential leaders are hampered by vulnerability to economic sanctions in the community.[117] Ottenberg's study of Shrimp Creek, an unincorporated Negro community in coastal Georgia, told the story of traditional leadership by Baptist deacons who through informal social controls "rule" the community and resist attempts to replace them amidst a changing economic base and increasing urban influences.[118] Killian and Smith have studied Negro protest leaders of a bus boycott and desegregation in Tallahassee, Florida.[119] Relatively recent events have provided the background also for the work of Cothran and Phillips who have studied the issue-leaders of school desegregation in Little Rock, Arkansas.[120] These last two studies show increased awareness of the problems involved in studying community leadership and belong to the large group of power structure

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[116]Vinson A. Edwards, "Negro Leadership in Rural Georgia Communities: Occupational and Social Aspects," Social Forces, XXI (October, 1942), 90-3.

[117]Vernon J. Parenton and Roland J. Pellegrin, "Social Structure and the Leadership Factor in a Negro Community in South Louisiana," Phylon, XVII (First Quarter, 1956), 74-8.

[118]Simon Ottenberg, "Leadership and Change in a Coastal Georgia Negro Community," Phylon, XX (Spring, 1959), 7-18.

[119]Lewis M. Killian and Charles U. Smith, "Negro Protest Leaders in a Southern Community," Social Forces, XXXVIII (March, 1960), 253-7.

[120]Cothran-Phillips, Phylon, XXII, 108-9.

studies which came into being since the mid-1950's.

For purposes of this study, four Negro community leadership studies have been selected to carry the burden of whatever comparisons can be made between their findings and the findings of this study. These published reports include Hunter's pioneering work in the Negro community of "Regional City,"[121] the study of Barth and Abu-Laban in "Pacific City,"[122] the work of Pfautz in Providence, Rhode Island,[123] and the study of the Negro leadership of "Crescent City" by Burgess.[124] Two additional studies,

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[121]Hunter, Community Power Structure. For reviews, see: Anonymous, A.L.A. Booklist, XLIX (July, 1953), 531. Laurence T. Heron, Chicago Sunday Tribune, July 12, 1953, Part 4, 4. Anonymous, National Municipal Review, XLII (July, 1953), 372-3. C. Wright Mills, Social Forces, XXXII (October, 1953), 92-3. William C. Chilman, The Social Service Review, XXVII (1953), 443-6. Louis Smith, Journal of Politics, XVI (February, 1954), 146-50. Harry L. Miller, Adult Education, IV (May, 1954), 167-76. Herbert Kaufman and Victor Jones, Public Administration Review, XIV (Summer, 1954), 205-12. Floyd Hunter, The Nation, CLXXIX (August, 1954), 148-50. Donald S. Strong, American Political Science Review, XLVIII (1954), 235-7. Jack London, The American Journal of Sociology, LX (March, 1955), 522-3. Peter H. Rossi, Administrative Science Quarterly, I (Spring, 1957), 415-53.

[122]Ernest A.T. Barth and Baha Abu-Laban, "Power Structure and the Negro Sub-Community," The American Sociological Review, XXIV (February, 1959), 69-76.

[123]Pfautz, Phylon, XXIII, 156-66.

[124]Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City. For reviews, see: Eugene S. Richards, Sociology and Social Research, XLVII (April, 1963), 347-8. S.C. Ratcliffe, The Sociological Quarterly, IV (Summer, 1963), 284-5. James Q. Wilson, The American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII (September, 1962), 268-9.

one by Wilson[125] and another by Thompson,[126] share with the above four a general interest in community leadership among Negroes, but Wilson and Thompson tend to follow a more fluid pattern in presenting their findings and conclusions that makes direct comparisons difficult. It is needless to say that the relative strengths and weaknesses of these studies appear to be more or less the function of the sides taken in the methodological controversy that has arisen around the study of community power structures.

An additional problem is that all three of the key concepts--leadership, community, and power--which have been selected for purposes of organizing this review of the literature require special caution when applied to the study of Negro community leadership.

Granted that leadership--in an interactional frame of

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[125]James Q. Wilson, Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960). For reviews, see: Milton S. Byam, Library Journal, LXXXVI (February, 1961), 585. Saul D. Alinsky, The Nation, CXCII (February, 1961), 174-5. Allen D. Grimshaw, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCXXXV (May, 1961), 234-5. John H. Hicks, Social Order, XI (June, 1961), 289-1. Elaine M. Burgess, Social Forces, XL (October, 1961), 95-6. Herbert Garfinkel, The American Political Science Review, LV (December, 1961), 934-5. Wallace S. Sayre, Science Quarterly, LXXVII (March, 1962), 149-50.

[126]Thompson, The Negro Leadership Class. For reviews, see: J.E. Nordskog, Sociology and Social Research, XLVII (July, 1963), 494-5. Straughton Lynd, Commentary, XXXVI (September, 1963), 253-4. Thomas H. Clancy, America, CIX (November, 1963), 668. Elliot M. Rudwick, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCL (November, 1963), 207-8. James Q. Wilson, The American Sociological Review, XXIII (December, 1963), 1051-2.

reference--denotes an asymmetrical relationship which is strongly affected by the perception of the ties between leaders and followers, Negroes are increasingly infusing the notion of community leadership with the value of popular mandate by raising the question: whom is he leading? The question points to the difference, merely implied or real, between Negro leaders and Negro leaders of Negroes. In this context, Negro leader means any Negro who has achieved a higher than average status in his field and upon whom whites traditionally, in the South as well as in the North, bestowed the honorific title of Negro leader which they could subsequently honor of misuse more or less at will. The prototype of this leadership concept can be traced to the role expectations of the so-called pet-Negro system of the South.[127] Its evolution into uncle-tomism, of course, is well known.[128] A Negro leader of Negroes, on the other hand, is any Negro whom a sizable group of other Negroes are following regardless of his status beyond the confines of the Negro community. The prototype of this leadership role is to be sought, no doubt, among the natural leader-race men in the days of slavery.

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[127]"The Pet Negro, belov-ed, is someone whom a particular white person or persons wants to have and to do all the things forbidden to other Negroes. It can be Aunt Sue, Uncle Stump, or the black man at the head of some Negro organization." Zora Neal Hurston, "The 'Pet Negro' System," American Mercury, LVI (May, 1943), 594.

[128]Irving Kristol, "A Few Kind Words for Uncle Tom," Harper's, CCXXX (February, 1965), 95-9.

If and where accomodation is the prevailing philosophy of race relations, the distinction between Negro leaders and Negro leaders of Negroes may in fact correspond to the distinction between interracial and intraracial leaders.[129] The white community bestows interracial leadership status upon a number of Negro leaders, and the Negro community grants intraracial leadership to those Negro leaders who became leaders of Negroes by acquiring a group of followers.[130] Under conditions of accomodation, race relations are normally handled by interracial leaders in the total community. While the intraracial leadership status of community leaders may be challenged in both communities, this is more likely to occur in the Negro community. Few indeed are the white community leaders who find themselves derided as "so-called leaders" because, let's say, they have built a music hall or a fountain for the community instead of increasing welfare payments to the poor. The white community leaders' field of opportunity tends to be made of needs whose satisfaction is of the order of "frostings on the cake," whereas Negro community leaders are expected to grapple with more basic necessities of a given social order. This becomes quite evident when Negro leaders cannot document their leadership claims through achievements in the form

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[129]For a definition of intraracial and interracial leaders, see Thompson, The Negro Leadership Class, 6.

[130]For a definition of "accepted leaders," see Drake-Cayton, Black Metropolis, Vol. II, 741. Also, Wilmoth A. Carter, The Urban Negro in the South, (New York: Vantage Press, 1961), 210.

of a fait accompli because what they have achieved is not what the people of the Negro community have wanted.

The analytical implications of the distinction between Negro leaders and leaders of Negroes appear more clearly when the concept of power is introduced into the discussion of community leadership among Negroes. This has to occur in two ways. First, it occurs because Negro communities are usually minority communities, and Negro community leaders are minority leaders. As Schermerhorn has observed, "...power relations furnish the chief agency through which minorities are differentiated...power relations set the basic frame within which acculturation, discrimination, prejudice, etc. do or do not take place."[131] Second, power must be introduced into the conceptual set of analysis because power may be one of the attributes of community leaders.[132] In view of the two system referents--the Negro and the white community--which have to be considered in determining the power position of Negro community leaders, the distinction between Negro leaders and leaders of Negroes forces the issue whether followers are as crucial to the definition of community leadership in minority communities as the distinction seems to imply that they are. This is a question of considerable theoretical and practical importance. If followers, as an index of power base, are taken to be an

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[131]R.A.Schermerhorn, "Power as a Primary Concept in the Study of Minorities," Social Forces, XXV (October, 1950), 55.

[132]See Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 203-4, for brief discussion of the descriptive use of the term, power leader.

essential ingredient of the concept of community leadership, then community leadership may be devoid of meaning in minority communities unless leaders can generate enough power to be recognized as partners in the overall power relationship of the total community. Until they do, the community will demonstrably have no meaningful leaders. On the other hand, if a popular power base is not a sine qua non condition of leadership--as it does not seem to be in the white community--then it is possible to look upon leadership and power structures as distinct and successive developments in the Negro community.

The full theoretical implications of this problem are nowhere to be found in a systematic form in the literature, perhaps because the shift from accomodation to open and organized protest as the prevailing form of race relations and all of its attendant problems of a very practical nature, represent relatively new developments. While it is relatively easy to use such descriptive phrases as "the old accomodating leaders with their borrowed power base," and "the new protest leaders who are their own men, and who do not wish to be counted in," etc., the dichotomy is not easy to account for in a changing community where the new leaders are merely emerging and the old leaders did not altogether fade away. Generally speaking, "resolutions" of action groups and race relations manuals[133] rather than formal social

[133]See review of John Dean and Alex Rosen, A Manual of Intergroup Relations (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955), by James B. McKee, "Community Power and Strategies in Race Relations: Some Critical Observations," Social Problems, VI

science literature pinpoint the problems of community power structures and community leadership.

Finally, the sociological definitions of the Negro community also appear to be in need of greater precision. It is legitimate to raise the question of whether a loosely defined descriptive solidarity of Negroes, who live in one or more segregated clusters of the total community, constitute a community. Similarly, if a popular power base is the aim of new Negro leaders in order to bring about integration, is this aim compatible with the "desegregation now" of Negro communities.[134] The literature of community leadership is virtually silent about these problems, unless one accepts James Baldwin's notion that the lot of Negro leaders is to work their way out of their jobs.[135]

In the literature reviewed here, two terms are used--sometimes interchangeably--to designate the social units of Negroes in large urban centers whose leaders are studied: Negro community and Negro sub-community. Wilson and Thompson, for instance, use Negro community whereas Hunter, Barth and Abu-Laban,

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(Winter, 1958-59), 195-203. Also, Joseph S. Roucek, "Minority-Majority Relations in Their Power Aspects," Phylon, XVII (First Quarter, 1956), 24-30.

[134]See, among others, Morton Grodzins, The Metropolitan Area as a Racial Problem (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958), and Oscar Handlin, "Is Integration the Answer?" Atlantic, CCXIII (March, 1964), 49-54.

[135]James Baldwin, Notes of a Native Son (Paperback ed.; Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955) 59.

pfautz, and Burgess prefer the term Negro sub-community.[136]

To Wilson and Thompson, Negro community seems to mean a community of interests in equality-achievement which Negroes share with each other. In this usage, Negro community refers no less to a locus of residence and a shared way of life than to an interest group whose aims transcend territorial boundaries and existing social relationships inasmuch as segregation and prevailing patterns of behavior in the local community conflict with the interests of Negroes in equality-achievement. As an interest group, the Negro community is self-contained in the sense that the specific concerns with inequalities which constitute it derive their meaning and emerge--by definition--from the views and activities of its members. That is, the Negro community depends--for its existence--upon an empirically open and indeterminate range of relevant ends-means problems which Negroes identify and attempt to solve in response to situationally given inequalities in the local community. The Negro community consists of Negro civic life which is geared to the normative expectations of integration, i.e., the end of inequalities based upon race. This is essentially the pluralist view: an internally pluralistic community of Negro groups which is only one of the groups of a larger community.

In the other four studies, on the other hand, the urban population clusters of Negroes are called sub-communities, i.e.,

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[136] See above, pp. 80-1.

functional parts of larger communities. To Hunter, Barth and Abu-Laban, Pfautz, and Burgess, Negro sub-community means a territorially based social unit whose relationship to the larger community is viewed in the analytical perspectives of functionalism. As an applied systemic term of functional analysis, however, Negro sub-community implies a differential part of the larger community, i.e., a part whose structural characteristics reflect degrees of functional autonomy within a given pattern of interdependence between the Negro sub-community and the larger community. Therefore, appropriate use of the term seems to imply that the Negro church, Negro business, Negro college, Negro political ward, etc., be regarded as the institutional structure of the sub-community although they assure only limited functional autonomy which the members of the segregated sub-community may wish to relinquish rather than to increase. In other words, the autonomous or semi-autonomous institutional structure developed by the segregated Negro population of the larger community is looked upon as the Negro sub-community although the needs of its members actually are met within a dual system of larger community and sub-community institutions. This is essentially an elitist view of the functionally integrated community and its parts.

## Summary

This review of the literature of community leadership was undertaken in view of a social scientific study of Negro community leadership in a northern urban center. As reflected by the

literature, the social scientific significance of Negro community leadership studies must be sought in their contributions to the knowledge of majority-minority relations within a democratic social order. Present social scientific knowledge provides only a broad theoretical frame of reference within which both substantive and methodological issues of fundamental nature impinge upon the definition of research problems. In the absence of authoritative substantive theory and methodological consensus, it appears more appropriate and necessary to aim at exploration rather than at testing, to pursue research objectives rather than more exacting predictive hypotheses. Programmatic exhortations about comparative studies notwithstanding, extant studies of Negro community leadership do not map out either substantive or methodological patterns with enough precision to make more ambitious projects possible. Therefore, the research objectives of this study must be stated within the limitations of existing theories and in the light of previous efforts by others.

As a case study in Negro community leadership, this study must be justified, first of all, by the limited number of similar works in the literature. Hunter and Burgess have studied southern communities, whereas Barth and Abu-Laban, and Pfautz have dealt with Negro communities in the two opposite and uppermost corners of the northern part of the country. Beyond probable regional differences, the general structural variability of communities would provide sufficient justification for additional case studies even if the theoretical formulations and methodology

of these four studies had been strictly comparable and beyond criticism. Further justification for this study derives from the fact that it attempts to improve upon both the theoretical and methodological orientations of previous studies, and its objectives can be stated accordingly.

# CHAPTER III

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH DESIGN

### Statement of the Problem

Political theories of modern democracy--the most commonly used frames of reference for studying phenomena of power--exhibit a normative preference for widely shared power within communities for they are concerned about the uses and abuses of power by monolithic power structures which may escape formal institutional controls. Sociologists, who may not wish to confront such a normative dilemma directly, do not fare any better, however, for they have a problem of their own: is power the only or merely the major dimension of community systems of social stratification?[1] Ultimately, the practitioners of political science and sociology must confront each other, of course, for multidimensional systems of social stratification may provide an adequate framework for finding a plurality of power structures and unidimensional systems of social stratification may lead to the discovery of monolithic power elites.[2] In the United States, scholarly

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[1]For a recent attempt at a theory of social stratification based upon power, see Lenski, Power and Privilege.

[2]For a good example of what interdisciplinary debate can produce in terms of both substantive issues and professional acrimony, see Thomas J. Anton, "Power, Pluralism, and Local Politics," Administrative Science Quarterly, VII (March, 1963), 425-57.

tradition favors pluralism for widely based and shared power appear to assure that competing numerical minorities of rulers cannot dominate the similarly divided numerical majorities of ruled. In other words, the inherent status inequality between leaders and led--a consequence of the necessary division of labor--is more or less expected to produce leadership rather than domination. Whether this is, indeed, the case in a given community represents a genuine empirical problem. Therefore, the point to be made here is that pluralistic theories--as frames of reference--may be used for the study of both majority and minority communities since the substantive content of the pluralist-elitist controversy constitutes a fruitful scientific issue of community leadership studies. The generalizing function of such studies, of course, derives from the structural variability of communities of the same kind.

A problem of different dimensions is encountered, however, when the relationship between a majority community and a minority community is considered from the point of view of leadership requirements in the latter. Since minority communities--such as the Negro communities of large urban centers--have less power by definition than the majority communities within which they find themselves, the question can be raised whether the advantages which a pluralistic social order may provide for them internally are of equal value to them in their external relationships with

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and an exchange between R.A. Dahl and T.J. Anton, Administrative Science Quarterly, VIII (September, 1963), 250-68.

the majority community? Or to put it in a different way, do minority communities need monopolistic power elites rather than pluralistic leadership structures to be successful in their relationships with majority communities, and is it the lack of the former type of leadership that Negroes refer to when they say that "there is no Negro leadership to speak of"?

This is the basic problem that this study intends to explore. In its most general form, the problem rests upon the assumptions that Negro community leadership is a function of minority status, and--as suggested by Schermerhorn--that power is a primary concept in the study of minorities.[3] For stating the general theoretical significance of majority-minority relations, in turn, Bierstedt may be quoted:

> ...Writers on the Negro in the United States, for example, and especially Myrdal, have insisted that there is no such thing as a Negro problem, that the problem is actually a "white" problem. In a sense, of course, this is only a manner of speaking, but there can be no doubt that the problem, whether Negro or white, would have a dramatically different impact upon American life if (a) the Negro population were not so large as it is, (b) the Negro population were not so small as it is, (c) the white population comprised not a majority but a dominant minority, (d) the Negro population were the same size but comprised a dominant minority, (e) Northern whites were not a majority and Southern whites not a minority, and so on through many diverse combinations. Whatever the way in which the issue is phrased, it is easy to agree that there is something about majorities which causes and creates minority problems and that a knowledge of the nature and characteristics of the former may contribute to an understanding of the latter.[4]

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[3]See above, p. 84.

[4]Robert Bierstedt, "The Sociology of Majorities," American Sociological Review, XIII (December, 1948), 702.

Based upon this stipulated, general variability of majority-minority relations, an attempt is made to develop a general hypothesis that, in the form of a compendent set of propositions, specifies the research objectives of the study. Although no conclusive evidence can realistically be expected in support of the hypothesis, its individual propositions refer to theoretically relevant generalizations about community power structures. In this sense, the study raises more questions than it answers, but this is a legitimate function of research. This is particularly true of community leadership studies which require an extensive effort to produce findings of general validity even at times when the rate of social change is slower than it is today. Due to the complexity of its subject matter, the study is limited to structural analysis, i.e., Negro community leadership is explored in terms of status and not in terms of value consensus and motivations; interest is restricted to power arrangements as functions of leadership status and not as functions of the subjective intentions of power agents.

The research objectives of the study--to be specified below--are sought within a general pattern of inquiry which has been established by others. The common characteristic of the studies of Hunter, Barth and Abu-Laban, Pfautz, and Burgess[5] is that they are power structure studies, i.e., the authors atipulate the presence of a leadership stratum in the communities under study and see as their initial task to identify those members of the

[5]See above, p. 80.

leadership stratum who have power to formulate top policy through decision-making. So does this study, too. In addition, Hunter and Burgess recognize the methodological necessity to provide some form of issue-test, i.e., they combine the reputational method of identifying the subjects of their study with the documentation of issue-tested leader behavior. So also does this study. The substantive issues and methodological problems generated by this twofold aim amount to a special way of studying communities, inasmuch as the attempt is to show how community leaders take into account, use, and develop the social resources of communities for purposes of shaping policies which provide the formal rules for the processes whereby the members of the community live and the community does or does not exist.

## Theoretical Framework

Based upon the cumulative experience of previous studies of community leadership, the specific objectives of this study can be identified within the following theoretical framework.

For purposes of a community leadership study, the most fundamental distinction that one can make about the members of a community is that some belong to its elite whereas others constitute its non-elite. Depending upon one's position with regard to the dimensions of systems of status inequality, it is possible to identify in variable terms an elite and non-elite, or several elites and non-elites. As to the general meaning of elite, "... the term has come to mean merely the highest ranking segment of

any given social unit. Whether a class or total society, ranked by whatever criterion one chooses."[6] In addition to the local variability of elites in communities, the variability of their interests presents another basic problem. In that sense, it is possible to talk about a strongly integrated, consensual elite and weakly integrated, conflicting elites.

It is a basic assumption of power structure studies that the top leaders of a community are recruited from its elite or elites. For purposes of this study, it is assumed that the institutional and associational elites of a community provide, through active participation in community issues, the members of its top leadership structure. That is, both the institutional and the parapolitical structures of voluntary associations[7] in the community contribute to the leadership stratum which provides the personnel of the leadership structure of the community. The personnel of the leadership structure, in turn, constitutes an elite based upon community power, i.e., a power elite.

The conception of community leadership--that is implicit in these assumptions--refers to a residual area of endeavors in the sense that community leaders are expected to assume differential responsibility for certain goals outside of the institutional ways of doing things in the community.[8] Of course, such a

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[6]Lenski, Power and Privilege, 78-9.

[7]Scott Greer and Peter Orleans, "The Mass Society and the Parapolitical Structure," American Sociological Review, XXVII (October, 1962), 634-46.

[8]"The Community power-complex is composed of permanent or

conception of community leadership involves a distinction between social and political power even though decision-making by community leaders ultimately is a political process. Whether the social order of the community is defined and redefined primarily through the exercise of legitimate political authority is at issue here only to the extent, however, that leaders from other institutional sectors than the political, as well as leaders of voluntary associations, also can make policy which affects the entire community. Sociologists, rather than political scientists, seldom fail to look upon voluntary associations as parapolitical groups, i.e., "...on-going organizations, based on the routine of everyday life, which represent an area of autonomous social value, and can represent that value in political terms if necessary."[9] Pluralists within both disciplines, indeed, assign a positive role of mediation to such groups: numerous and independent intermediate groups, which vigorously interpret the needs of non-elites to the institutional elites, tend to assure constant and orderly change, and a dynamic social order.[10]

Within this framework, the term leadership structure

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temporary organizations, special interest associations, and informal groups which act in matters of general community concern and which are not normally handled by the functioning of local institutions." Miller, Power and Democracy in America, 39.

[9]Greer and Orleans, American Sociological Review, XXVII, 635.

[10]For a theoretical statement that emphasizes the importance of intermediate groups, see Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society, 21-115.

refers to an analytical construct that is helpful in accounting for the activities of the constituent groups of a community as their leaders attempt to create and resolve a more or less indeterminate range of issues. The variability of the extent to which leaders of various groups are drawn into interaction with each other by various issues in various communities is the basic reason and justification for the study of community leadership structures. Since leaders of several groups may participate in the creation and resolution of an issue and leaders of a group may participate in several issues, the structural characteristics of community leadership may vary from community to community as well as at different times in the same community. Consequently, inter- as well as intra-community comparisons can be made in terms of a continuum, based upon the relative closure of community leadership structures, which ranges from monopolistic power elites to issue-bound participants in a mere ecology of games.[11] Thus, the primary objective of community leadership studies is to identify relevant leadership strata and provide an adequate description of the types of leadership structures which the former contain in specific communities.

Within the theoretical framework here proposed, community leadership structures emerge and maintain themselves in response to community issues. In this study, by a community issue is meant any aspect of the prevailing social order about which two or more groups in the community "agree to do their disagreeing."[12]

[11]For operational procedures aimed at specifying the nature of the continuum, see below, pp. 105-6.

[12]Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian, Collective

Or, as suggested by Burgess, an issue is "a point of debate among groups at variance with one another."[13] It is held to be an essential part of the definition of a community issue, however, that it must be known to the public rather than to be a point of debate which collateral agencies or groups are quietly seeking to resolve in private deliberations. That is, issues are assumed to evolve within the general context of public events and to find their solution through negotiations and/or direct action. Furthermore, just as grievances and social problems--regardless of the intrinsic merit of the claims advanced in support of their correction--cannot be regarded as issues until proponents and opponents confront each other with alternative solutions, by solutions of issues are meant policy positions which remain in or are put into effect when the protagonists cease to concern themselves with the issues. That is, the solutions of issues are not equated with the solutions of problems or grievances which are at issue--unless evidence can be produced that all parties to the issue regard the solution as such.

As a corollary to the role assigned to issues in the study of community leadership, it is important to maintain a distinction between leadership and the exercise of power. Essentially, the distinction hinges upon the difference between the ability to see what changes in policy ought to be made and the ability to make them. That is, while leaders may set goals, point to problems, or

Behavior (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), 225.

[13]Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 180.

expose grievances, it takes power leaders to transform these into issues which, in turn, may lead to changes in policy as decisions are made through the exercise of power. Another way of stating the distinction is to say that leadership may pinpoint needs but it cannot stop there for changes in policy, which satisfy needs, are functions of power.

An important methodological consequence of the above distinction is that just as top and lesser leaders in a given leadership stratum within the logic of the reputational method, power leaders represent post hoc analytical categories within an overall study design which combines the reputational method with issue-tests of community leader behavior.

As to the central concern of community leadership studies to explore phenomena of social power, attempts to look upon power as an explanatory variable of social order and change are based upon three, theoretically important observations of social life. First, the bases of potential power--wealth, numbers of people, and social organization--which the constitutive groups of communities have, tend to vary. Second, the "power of the individual must be structured into associational, clique, or institutional patterns to be effective."[14] Third, the exercise of power is only probable from issue to issue, i.e., the scope of issues varies.[15]

[14]Hunter, Community Power Structure, 6.

[15]"The scope of conflict is an aspect of the scale of political organization and the extent of political competition. The size of the constituencies being mobilized, the inclusiveness or exclusiveness of the conflicts people expect to develop have a

These observations are compatible with the definition of power, as provided by Max Weber: "In general, we understand by power the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action against the resistance of others who are participating in the action."[16] While this definition, in turn, does not demand by itself a pluralist view of large social units, neither does it seem to impinge upon such a definition of communities.

When applied to Negro populations of large urban centers--conceived of as internally pluralistic communities of Negro groups--the preceding theoretical framework appears useful for the purposes of studying Negro community leadership. Within this framework, a specific Negro community can be viewed as consisting of Negro elites and non-elites. More specifically, it can be stipulated that the institutional and associational elites--a leadership stratum--of the Negro community provide, through active participation in community issues, the members of its top leadership structure. Furthermore, the structural variability of Negro community leadership and power can be used as an explanatory variable of social change. In order to take into account the special,

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bearing on all theories about how politics is or should be organized. In other words, nearly all theories about politics have something to do with the question of who can get into the fight and who is to be excluded." E.E. Schattschneider, The Semisovereign People (New York: Hold, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), 20.

[16]Gerth and Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, 180.

minority status of Negro communities, of course, it is important to recognize analytically the variable independent-dependent or segregated-integrated nature of Negro institutional and associational structures as bases of community power. The central consideration is, however, that the Negro community is seen as only one of the groups which constitute the larger community.

## Research Objectives and Hypothesis

As indicated by its title, the purpose of this study is to explore the changing structural characteristics of Negro interracial leadership in a northern, urban community. As stated above, the theoretical significance of the study is seen in the problem of whether a monopolistic power elite rather than a pluralistic leadership structure is required by a minority community from the point of view of its relationships with the majority community within which it finds itself. The exploration of the problem involves two major tasks. First, it is necessary to provide an adequate description of the type of interracial leadership structure in the Negro community under study. Second, a hypothesis must be developed, in the form of a compendent set of propositions, that is relevant to the problem as stated. In view of the complexity of the problem, both tasks require a related set of concepts and attendant operational objectives.

The first set of concepts relates to the task of describing the relevant leadership structure of the Negro community. Since leadership structure refers, in general, to patterned, or

non-random, relationships between people who make decisions which affect and bind a given social unit, by an interracial leadership structure is meant patterned, or non-random, relationships between people whose issue-tested leader behavior, which affects the relationship between the Negro community and the larger community, can be established at least at two distinct points in time, or from one issue to another. Inasmuch as it can realistically be assumed that policies or decisions concerning the relationship between the Negro community and the larger community are in effect, revised or created, the research objective is not whether an interracial leadership structure exists but what the nature of such a given structure is. This, in turn, cannot be determined without identifying an interracial leadership stratum, i.e., a sociological quasi-group of interracially active Negro leaders in the community.[17] Within the theoretical framework of the study, members of this stratum are recruited from the institutional and associational elites of the Negro community, and they are designated by the name of leadership nominees. The top leadership reputation of these principal subjects of the study, however, is considered in the light of a methodological hypothesis based upon a finding in the literature that "...the use of different panels of persons who

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[17]For the origin of this concept, see "In New Haven, as in other political systems, a small stratum of individuals is much more highly involved in pplitical thought, discussion, and action than the rest of the population. These citizens constitute the political stratum." Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (Paperback Ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 90.

may be assumed to be reasonably (although not similarly) knowledgable does not produce significantly different results."[18] The hypothesis itself states that there is a positive and statistically significant correlation between the sociometric rank order of top leadership nominees established by the leadership and white friend nominees whereas the ranking accomplished by the neighborhood leader nominees is significantly different from both.[19] The theoretical relevance of the hypothesis derives from two considerations. First, the so-called periphery hypothesis of Kurt Lewin states that minority leaders tend to lead from the periphery of their respective social worlds.[20] Second, pluralist theorists are not entirely clear on whether associational elites might not be led to uphold the interests of institutional elites rather than to oppose them as contrary to the interests of non-elites.[21] In

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[18]Robert O. Schulze and Leonard U. Blumberg, "The Determination of Power Elites," The American Journal of Sociology, LXIII (November, 1957), 296.

[19]For operational definitions of leaderships, neighborhood leader, and white friend nominees, see below, pp. 131, 136, 147.

[20]Kurt Lewin, "The Problem of Minority Leadership," Studies in Leadership, ed. Alvin W. Gouldner (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 192-94.

[21]See, for instance, "Since independent groups seek to maintain their position by checking one another's power as well as the power of higher elites, the interaction of these groups helps to sustain access to decision-making processes in the larger society." Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society, 81. But, "The flaw in the pluralist heaven is that the heavenly chorus sings with a strong upperclass accent." Schattschneider, The Semisovereign People, 35.

addition, physical proximity in neighborhoods can be looked upon as an important source of associational activity and of the related emergence of new leaders. To sum it up, the hypothesis represents an important analytical step toward the identification of top and lesser leaders--which is of direct relevance to an adequate description of the type of leadership structure in the Negro community.

The objective of identifying and describing the type of leadership structure in the Negro community is sought in terms of a continuum of structural variability of community leadership in general. The definition of the continuum, of course, must meet the criteria of community leadership used in this study. Consequently, adequate sets of data have to be developed to show whether the top leadership nominees have higher than average socio-economic status and overlapping membership in the institutional and associational elites of the Negro community. The theoretically limiting cases of the continuum are represented by "all issues being decided by the same leaders" and "each issue eliciting the active participation of different leaders." Since the upper end of the continuum--conceived of as an informal but monopolistic group of decision makers, or power elite--is of central importance to the study, the description of the Negro community's leadership structure must involve an examination of the group characteristics of its potential members as identified through the reputational method. To that end, Merton's criteria for groups--interaction, self- and social definition of membership--are applied to the

selected top leadership nominees of the Negro community: whether they know each other, worked together, see each other and are seen by others as leaders.[22] Finally, the descriptive study of the top leadership structure includes consideration of the potential power bases--wealth, numbers of people, and social organization--in the Negro community.[23]

The common characteristic of the research tasks related to the first objective of identifying and describing the leadership structure of the Negro community is that they deal with potential leaders and power inasmuch as leadership reputation cannot be equated with leadership without providing additional proof. Within the overall research design of the study, such additional proof is sought through the issue-test of leader behavior. That is, the data obtained through the use of the reputational method are looked upon as preparatory to the identification and analysis of the Negro community's real leaders and leadership structure. While those data, within limits, are descriptive of the community under study, their primary purpose is to help explore the basic problem of the study rather than to serve as independent leads to additional descriptive and analytical details about the community.

The second major objective of the study is seen in the development of a hypotheses--a set of propositions--relevant to an empirical exploration of the problem of the study. The

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[22]Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, 286.

[23]Bierstedt, American Sociological Review, XV, 738.

hypothesis, of course, is locked into a set of theoretically relevant assumptions. First, it is assumed that Negro communities constitute only one of the groups of large urban centers and may be opposed on issues by all other groups in the communities within which they find themselves. Second, Negro communities are minority communities and their leaders are recruited from independent as well as dependent institutional and associational elites.[24] Finally, community leadership is a function of elites as a source of orderly change only to the extent that the social structure meets the proximate needs of the community's non-elites. In the light of these assumptions, the following propositions refer to the research tasks involved in the analysis of the data obtained for the issue-test of leader behavior in the study.

> Conceived of as only one of the groups in the community, the relative amount of power of the minority community conditions primarily the choice by its leaders among the strategies of independent action, balance of power politics, cooperation with allies, and co-optation to call into question prevailing policy which defines majority-minority relations in the community.

The proposition asserts that strategies are a function of power. The strategies listed in the propositions refer to a continuum of alternative plans of action based upon the scope of issues in view of desirable outcome. Since the scope of issues is seldom known prior to the actual creation of issues, and since it cannot often be predicted with certainty how many and how powerful groups may ultimately get involved in them, there is--so to speak--room for

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[24] For operational indices, see pp. 110-11.

leadership in exercising power. Inasmuch as the amount of power in the minority community is held to be relative only to the probable scope of issues, there are several alternative ways of action open to leaders--and all seem to favor a power elite. First, practical control of all existing power in the minority community by a power elite could result in optimum performance even in the case in which that power must be looked upon as finite and opposed by the equally finite power of all other groups in the community. Amidst the flux of issues in community life, such a disciplined minority group could obtain substantial concessions--for services rendered--in all but the most oppressive and machiavellian worlds. Second, an equally good case should be made for the role of a power elite in the development of the internal power bases of a minority group which wishes to pursue its ends through other strategies than co-optation into the majority power structure of the community. Third, situations which involve socialization of issues, i.e., the enlargement of the scope of issues by one or the other of the protagonists also seem to point to power elites rather than to other types of leadership structures: the inherent control and attendant reliability of power elites makes them desirable allies as well as balance of power politicians of consequence. Finally, in cases in which a minority group is strong enough to adopt the strategy of independent action, undisputed control of the group's inner resources is virtually a sine qua non of success. This seems to be so for the tactical power of a group is supplementary to its inherent power regardless of the adequacy

of strategic choice in a given situation.[25] The importance of tactics is particularly obvious with regard to independent action since the minority group may have to compensate for an unfavorable balance of inherent power if opposed by all other groups in the community.

> The relative amount of power of the minority community rather than the tactics adopted by some or all of its independent and/or dependent groups conditions the success of minority community leaders to call into question prevailing policy which defines majority-minority relations in the community.

Tactics represent specific ways of acting in the step-by-step process of decision-making against the will of anticipated opponents whose characteristics and reactions condition both strategy and tactics. Tactics aim at preventing opponents from using their inherent power to full advantage as well as at inflicting costs upon them which they cannot or may not wish to pay. Just as strategic choices, the selection and effective use of tactics are functions of community leadership.

The proposition that strategies rather than tactics tend to condition the outcome of issues is based upon several observations of social reality. First, the availability of superior human and material resources tend to favor majorities rather than minorities with regard to the definition of issues for purposes of both public relations and negotiations. Experienced personnel, research facilities, and access to media of mass communication

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[25]For definitions of inherent and tactical bargaining power, see Alfred Kuhn, Labor (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1956), 128-30.

play an important role in preventing opponents from using their inherent power to full advantage. Second, tactics must be legal or meet at least general standards of fair play, and both of these tend to be determined or interpreted in favor of majorities. Finally, to be effective, tactics must impose greater costs upon opponents than upon those who use them or the general public. Action tactics, such as boycotts, picketing, sit-ins, etc., often inflict severe costs upon minority leaders and rank-and-file, and they may affect more seriously the general public than opponents such as public officials, for instance.

The unfavorable balance of cumulative strategic and tactical resources in terms of power, skills, and costs, which characterizes minority groups in general, is further affected by the dual institutional and associational structure of the Negro community, conceived of as only one of the groups of a large urban center. The dependent-independent or integrated-segregated dichotomy of the Negro community's institutional and associational structures means that the calculus of strategic and tactical involvement in issues must take into account to what extent probable participants are free of institutional and associational ties controlled by whites and to what extent they have to account for their actions to superior appointive powers or to periodically active electorates in the larger community. In addition to possible doubts about the effectiveness of certain tactics, dependent institutional and associational leaders in the Negro community may have structurally conditioned reasons for not espousing them

in certain situations. The so-called leadership styles which shy away from direct action tactics, for instance, are not always mere matters of personal judgment but may be due to structural ties within racially mixed groups. Be that as it may, disagreements on tactics appear to be of particular importance whenever protagonists in an issue are polarized exclusively along racial lines. While Negro-white cleavage may not be permanent on all issues, it may be brought about on purpose by opponents in a specific instance of community conflict.

The above propositions assert that minority status, by limiting the choices among strategies and tactics of decision-making, tends to lock the groups of a community into relatively stable configurations of relationships in which the outcome of decisions is a function of power. While power relationships conceived in this manner explain that majorities can and do dominate minorities, the propositions do not state how a minority group can realize its will against the resistance of a majority which consists of <u>all</u> other groups in the community. Without such an explanation, of course, power can hardly be anything else but a general principle of domination. Insofar as power relationships in the <u>local</u> community are concerned, an explanation may be sought in the socialization of issues <u>beyond</u> the confines of the territorial community. That is, a strategically and tactically weak minority group may attempt to realize its will against the resistance of all other groups in the community if the power of other groups, which are exogenous to the community, can be brought to

bear upon the prevailing policy of local majority-minority relations. The notion that some issues of majority-minority relations may not be amenable to solutions in the local community or, if so, only with the help of groups from outside the local community appears to be obvious. That a disadvantaged minority rather than a powerful majority tends to seek help elsewhere and abandon localism in decision-making seems equally so. In applying these notions to Negro communities of large urban centers, however, the dual nature of their institutional and associational structures must be taken into consideration.

> Contingent upon strategic and tactical disadvantage, the relative proportion of independent and dependent power agents in the minority community conditions the willingness of its leaders to enlarge the scope of issues beyond local groups for purposes of affecting prevailing policy which defines majority-minority relations in the community.

That is, a minority leadership structure which rests upon predominantly independent bases of power is more likely to seek and/or take advantage of non-local help than a predominatly dependent one whose members tend to be restrained by structural ties within the racially mixed groups. While dependent power agents may appreciate the advantages of enlarging the scope of issues in such a manner, they may have to work toward that end only with great circumspection or not at all. Of course, that a predominantly dependent minority leadership structure may cling to exclusive localism in decision-making is a possibility, too.

The preceding discussion relies heavily upon the observation that the power of a minority group is a commodity in short

supply and, therefore, it requires careful management. Indeed, a power elite with internal monopoly over decision-making concerning external relationships appears to provide the best competitive advantage for a minority group within an internally pluralistic community of groups. Theoretically, however, a power elite can perform such essential leadership functions only if the institutional and associational structures of the minority community meet the proximate needs of its non-elites. When this condition is not met--as it seldom is in the Negro communities of large urban centers--the above propositions must be applied to a different set of contingencies concerning majority-minority relations in the community. That is, individual groups in the minority community may attempt to create issues of majority-minority relations and thereby produce changes in the leadership structure of the minority community.

The purpose of the hypothesis, which follows, is to apply the predictive content of the preceding propositions to majority-minority relations in the absence of a power elite in the minority community. Its function within the research design of the study is to make possible the interpretation of data produced by the issue-test with regard to the leadership nominees identified by the reputational method.

> In the absence of a power elite, which controls decision-making as a function of power, leaders of independent rather than dependent groups in the minority community may attempt to change prevailing policies of majority-minority relations without being able to compensate through tactics for the loss of power due to their uncoordinated activities, unless a wide ranging and sustained series of related

> issues--some of which may acquire a larger scope than the groups originally involved--forces a new alignment of opposing groups in the community.

The hypothesis refers to a special case of majority-minority relations in which the conventional strategies of competition for advantage between the groups of the community and the minority community--considered as only one of those groups--are not operative, for the institutional and associational structures of the minority community do not meet the proximate needs of its non-elites. Dissatisfaction with unmet proximate needs by non-elites results in loss of power on the part of existing leaders when extant and/or newly emerging groups in the minority community engage in uncoordinated attempts to create issues for purposes of changing prevailing policies of majority-minority relations in the community. The minority community has a changing leadership structure; it appears to have no strategy but tactics which may lead to revolutionary changes in majority-minority relations. Revolutionary changes may take the form of guerrilla warfare and crowd behavior--the unconventional strategy and tactics of the desperately disadvantaged underdog in a fight.

The proposition that attempts to create issues are more likely to be made by independent rather than by dependent groups needs no further explanation, for the former rather than the latter are more free to do so by definition. That new independent groups may be formed for the explicit purpose of challenging the status quo--including the programs of the minority communit's dependent groups--is equally evident. When this occurs by forming

a new chapter of a group which is active and/or powerful in another community, of course, the probability of socializing the issues beyond the groups of the local community tends to increase in the long run.

The proposition, on the other hand, that the tactics of individual groups cannot effectively compensate for the loss of power involved in uncoordinated or independent action seems to be valid on the ground that the groups and voluntary associations of the minority community are usually formed and equipped to promote special interests within that community rather than to affect directly its relationship to the majority community. That is, their function is to help formulate general strategy for the minority community rather than to substitute their own strategy for it. Even if this were not so without exceptions, independent action by a single group, or a small coalition of groups, involves loss of power, for it tends to create a divided leadership structure in the minority community and to decrease the number of potential allies in the majority community. Division in the minority community provides tactical advantage to opponents in the majority community who may claim "confusion about whom to deal with," may play one group against another, and may offer the implementation of a "substitute solution of the problem" to another group than the one which created the issue. Inasmuch as "substitute solutions" are usually concessions rather than basic changes in policy and usually dependent groups "inherit" their implementation, these tactics tend to deepen the division of the minority community even

more.

When a group--regardless of its independent or dependent character--can obtain only a "substitute solution" as the outcome of an issue, it may follow any of the following alternatives of subsequent action. It may reject the "substitute solution" and abandon the issue for another one, support others in another ongoing issue, or disappear for lack of another issue. It may accept the "substitute solution" and claim credit for it, participate in its administration, or simply remain a permanent member of a fairly stable configuration of voluntary associations within the modified status quo. The status quo refers to those policies of majority-minority relations which do not constitute issues; it includes institutional and associational policies as well as more minute rules of socially permissible behavior. Depending upon the number and the scope of issues which the groups of the minority community are able to pursue simultaneously, a community may experience a revolutionary period in its majority-minority relations. Whether a given period of decision-making can be called revolutionary depends, first of all, upon the number and scope of active issues during another period to which the former is compared. Obviously, the strategic and tactical characteristics of the processes of decision-making can also enhance the saliency of the distinction between a revolutionary and a non-revolutionary period. In this study, structural changes of leadership in the minority community are examined between a non-revolutionary and a revolutionary period, and the distinction between the two rests

upon both the number of issues and the manner of their solutions.

Finally, the hypothesis asserts that changes in prevailing policies of majority-minority relations are more likely to occur through extensive socialization of the issues rather than through independent action by individual groups in the minority community. This proposition addresses itself to two related questions. First, whether changes in prevailing policies of majority-minority relations are more likely to occur in one type of community rather than in another is part of the problem of structural variability which comparative community leadership studies may help to solve. The point is that some communities may whereas others may not respond to a wide range of simultaneously emerging issues by an exclusive polarization of their groups along racial lines. Second, whether changes in prevailing policies of majority-minority relations are likely to occur at all as a function of relative intergroup power within a community raises the question of the "eclipse of the community" as a community of "locals" with regard to certain issues. That is, attempts to raise and socialize issues may take such forms which tend to shift decision-making from the local community to larger systems of power arrangements.

It is through the concept of the socialization of issues that the hypothesis attempts to take into account two specific objections to the group interpretation of social change through leadership.[26] The first points to the upper class and private

[26]For a general criticism of group theorists, see Peter Odegard, "The Group Basis of Politics: A New Name for an Ancient

interests bias of decision-making by organized groups as opposed to the more broadly representative character of institutional politics as the process of promoting and protecting public interests. The second recognizes the bias of institutional decision-making through political parties which--locally and nationally--tends to favor those who participate in it and to ignore the interests of the unorganized non-participants and non-voters. If and when the existing institutional and associational structure of the minority community does not meet the proximate needs of its non-elites, attempts by new groups and their leaders to enlarge the scope of issues within and/or beyond the local scene represent important sources of social change. In addition to co-optation of up-coming young men, death, departure from the community, loss of interest in or voluntary withdrawal from civic life, and loss of power through dissent concerning internal affairs, the leadership structure of the minority community may undergo changes as non-elites become dissatisfied with the bias of the existing processes of decision-making and respond to new leaders who hold out the promise of correcting it.

## Selection of Subjects and Sources of Data

In view of the above objectives, the purpose of what follows is to describe how the subjects of this study were selected through the reputational method to whom an issue-test had to be

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Myth," Western Political Quarterly, XI (September, 1958), 689-702. For discussion of the bias of pressure and party politics, see Schattschneider, The Semisovereign People.

applied in order to establish their leadership in the Negro community of Thrifty City. That is, there are two major types of data involved; the first were generated by the reputational method, and the second had to be collected for purposes of applying the issue-test.

As stated above, the identification of the top leaders of the Negro community by reputation involved a methodological hypothesis based upon information from three different types of subjects. Of these, the so-called leadership nominees of the Negro community constitute the principal subjects of the study, whereas the so-called Negro neighborhood leader and white friend nominees derive their importance primarily from the point of testing the leadership reputation of the former. The methodological test of reputations involved was directly conditioned by the circumstances under which the study was conducted.

The opportunity to conduct this study of community leadership presented itself in connection with a systematic social survey of Thrifty City's Negro community. The responsibility for the survey was shared by the writer with two of his colleagues at one of Thrifty City's universities. While the survey--a student group project--was a joint responsibility, the writer was solely responsible for the study of community leadership. This study was conceived of as an independent but related contribution to a series of social studies to be conducted in Thrifty City and its metropolitan area in the near future.

The groundwork for the operational phases of this study

was laid in three informal conferences with a so-called advisory board of the community survey. The board consisted of three prominent Negro men in Thrifty City who consented to serve as quasi-official sponsors of the survey. It was hoped that the name of the executive director of the local Urban League, of the top race relations official of the city, and of an official of the public school system might open doors in the Negro community which otherwise might have remained closed to 39 interviewers--only three of whom were Negroes. In informal conferences, the members of the advisory board were asked for suggestions about problem areas of Negro life in Thrifty City which--ought to be--were subsequently explored during the survey. As to a study of leadership in the Negro community, the three Negro officials tended to share the two polar types of opinion which were to be repeated many times by others: "There is no Negro leadership to speak of,"[27] and "Certainly, there are leaders, but you will never find the real ones." In the course of what could most accurately be called general conversation about leadership among Negroes, however, these three men suggested twelve people for resource interviews

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[27]Wilson claims that this belief is wide-spread among Negroes. "This is a study of a phenomenon which many people believe does not exist. Anyone wishing to examine Negro leadership in a city such as Chicago will be met at the outset with the assertion, particularly from intellectual Negroes, that 'there is no Negro leadership.'...What is meant, of course, is that there are no 'good' Negro leaders--leaders who are selflessly devoted to causes which will benefit Negroes as a race and as a community." Wilson, Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership, 3.

who--they thought--could be helpful in starting a chain referral type of leadership census in the Negro community. These informants and the groups about which they were said to be knowledgable were as follows: woman professional (sororities and youth groups of women), two housewives (clubs and organizations of women), woman professional (church related welfare groups of women), two ministers (church related groups and politics), skilled worker (labor organizations), professional man (educators), two professional men (welfare groups and organizations). At this point, however, these informants were "mere names" to the writer, and so also were the people proposed by them for a running file of leadership nominees in Thrifty City's Negro community.[28] No formal definition of community leadership was suggested to the informants; they were asked to name people who--in their opinion--had a reputation of being leaders in the Negro community. Some people

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[28]Hunter has had this to say about the forty persons with whom his study is chiefly concerned: "If the reader has had the patience to plow through this list, he will have recognized none of them. Some of the real names of leaders were familiar to the writer before the present study was made, and they were recognized as influential persons, but on the whole they were just names, with little more meaning for the writer than for the reader at this moment," Hunter, Community Power Structure, 11-12.

The writer's initial ability to recognize "possibly influential persons" was based on vocational and organizational titles listed in a Negro Business Directory (1961) of Midwest State, on a similarly identified list of people in a publication by a citizens' study committee, and on information from a Negro graduate student in sociology who lived and conducted some informal interviews with "leaders" in the Negro community as a matter of class assignment. To repeat, however, informants and leadership nominees alike were "just names" at the beginning of the study.

were described by them as leaders, others as very active, popular, powerful, well-liked, influential, vocal, etc. That is, all seemed to play some role of leadership in the Negro community. The leadership census sheets contained the nominees' full name, address, telephone number, and any other identifying information which the informants were able to provide about them. Since no systematic controls were maintained on the canvassing of leads as they emerged, no effort was made to keep track of the frequency with which certain names were mentioned by the various informants.[29] Duplicate census sheets were checked merely for additional details about nominees. Closure occurred after about two weeks of intensive search that produced a master list of 152 nominees.

As mentioned above, the informants were free to use their own definition of leadership for purposes of compiling a universe of reputed leaders in the Negro community.[30] A formal definition

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[29]The order and frequency of nominations is of importance in the use of the chain-referral technique which begins with a single obvious leader, proceeds to his first choice, and so on, and leaves open the number of leaders that members of the chain may name. Such a technique, however, has its problems. How is the selection of a single obvious leader accomplished and justified? Will the technique produce a universe of reputed leaders rather than a tightly-knit group of leaders? If it produces a group, who could be used as qualified judges to reduce the list? What about the possibility of premature closure? By using three obvious officials and twelve resource interviewees, this study appears to avoid the above problems. Granted, it does so by stretching the length of the selection procedure of nominees to whom the issue-test of leader behavior will be applied.

[30]"A reputational method is an effort to identify every member of a universe rather than to obtain a sample." Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert E. Swanson, The Rulers and the Ruled (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964), 329.

of community leadership was used for the first time in the study when the list of 152 nominees was to be reduced to 50 names for purposes of interviewing. The decision to reduce the list to 50 names rather than to any other number was based primarily on practical considerations. An initial list of 50 was assumed to assure from 35 to 40 completed interviews even under the most extreme conditions of attrition. The anticipated number of completed interview, on the other hand, was expected to be comparable to the leadership aggregates of other studies[31] as well as to be "realistic" in view of the size and age of Thrifty City's Negro community.[32]

The master list was to be reduced by a panel of (expert) judges whose composite judgment determines which 50 names on the list will be considered the principal subjects of the study. Subjects selected by a panel of judges do not constitute a

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[31]While the size of leadership aggregates studied by Hunter, Barth and Abu-Laban, Pfautz, and Burgess ranged from 16 to 54 interviewees, Wilson reported that of the 105 lay and professional leaders on his list "95 were interviewed at length." Wilson, Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership, 3. On the other hand, Thompson gave this information about his sample: "In all, 318 persons were interviewed. 218 of these (139 Negroes and 79 whites) are not included in the basic sample..." Thompson, The Negro Leadership Class, 7, n.

[32]At the present, theoretically based predictions of the size of community leadership and power structures are not possible. Their development will depend, among other things, upon the precision with which types of communities under study are identified. For an early attempt at comparisons, see Pfautz, Phylon, XXIII, 156-66. As to general estimates concerning size of leadership strata, see above, p. 50.

representative sample of reputed leaders but are most likely to be the reputed leaders of the Negro community. Such panels are almost inevitable features of community leadership studies which combine the reputational method with some appraoch to issue-relevant leader behavior, as this study does. Basic methodological divergences of opinion notwithstanding,[33] the problem is not so much whether to use a panel, but at what stage of the inquiry to make use of what kind of panel.

In this study, a single, bi-racial panel of ten judges was used, but panel-like functions were subsequently assigned to the selected subjects of the study for purposes of identifying the top leadership nominees of the Negro community. In order to discuss the problems involved in this decision and to describe its consequences, it seems appropriate to state briefly what the members of the panel were asked to do and who were the people who actually did it.

The members of the panel were asked to comply with the following written instruction:

> If you were responsible for a major project which was befor the Negro community that required a leadership pool, a group of leaders who could make decisions and initiate community-wide action, which 50 on this list would you choose regardless of whether they are known personally to you?[34]

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[33] See above, pp. 65-7.

[34] Barth and Abu-Laban formulated their instruction as follows: "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

The first problem in planning to use this instruction was to decide, of course, what kind of people would be competent to comply with it.[35] That is, what kind of people would know who had attempted to create and--if successful in doing so--to resolve issues of interest to Negroes in Thrifty City. Previous studies in other communities have used all-Negro panels. Following Hunter, Barth and Abu-Laban have used two such panels, one of ten and another of six Negro members.[36] In addition, however, Hunter and Burgess had assigned panel-like functions to members of the Negro communities and to independently identified white leaders of the larger communities under study. While Hunter had concluded that the white leaders knew about rather than knew the Negro leaders in Regional City,[37] Burgess had found a positive and significant

to you or not?" Barth and Abu-Laban, American Sociological Review, XXIV, 72. Pfautz, on the other hand, asked this question: "If you were requested to choose a committee of ten Negro leaders in Providence (either men or women) who together would formulate a general policy affecting the Negro community as a whole, and you wanted to choose individuals who, if they were to express their approval of a particular policy, would influence the greatest number of Negroes in the community to support it--whom would you choose?" Pfautz, Phylon, XXIII, 160.

[35]"Measures of complex situations which do not easily lend themselves to scalar quantification--like the effectiveness of a psychotherapeutic technique, or the influence of a political boss --are most often arrived at with the help of a 'human yardstick.' Estimates are made by a panel of presumably competent observers, and some suitable statistical combination of these is then taken as the measure of magnitude in question...As always, everything hinges on the controls which can be instituted, and on the sensitivity and reliability with which the discriminatory judgments are being made." Abraham Kaplan, The Conduct of Inquiry (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1964), 211-12.

[36]Barth & Abu-Laban, American Sociological Review, XXIV, 71.

[37]Hunter, Community Power Structure, 131-33.

rank order correlation between the mutual selections of Negro leaders by the Negro and white leaders of Crescent City.[38] The point to be made here is that both Hunter and Burgess could have used bi-racial panels in view of their findings. If the creation and resolution of issues, which require a confrontation by (white and Negro) protagonists, provide the ultimate test of leadership and the exercise of power--as Hunter and Burgess had evidently thought--then the use of whites as reasonably competent panel members appears to have been possible. With the exception of intra-racial leaders in isolated all-Negro communities, issue-involvement by Negroes--as a basis for leadership reputation--is always known to some whites in the larger, bi-racial community. If the findings of previous studies are to be taken seriously, they contain two kinds of evidence which are relevant to the problem discussed here. First, the major studies are unanimous in concluding that Negro leaders do not participate directly in formulating top policy for the larger communities in which they find themselves. Second, some whites are always involved in dealing with the problems of importance to Negroes--as demonstrated by the issues discussed in the studies. The point is that communities tend to have an interracial leadership stratum, i.e., active Negro and white decision-makers who are more likely to be other people than the top leaders of the communities in question. While it is obvious that the members of a panel must be sought within such an

[38] Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 97-8.

interracial leadership stratum, this by itself does not make it any easier to select competent panel members--regardless of race.[39]

None of the authors of the major studies had specified how the members of his panel were selected and who they were beyond being "representative of the various institutional areas of the sub-community."[40] Therefore, it must be assumed that, based upon their preliminary knowledge of the community and the information obtained during the leadership census prior to closure, the authors trusted their own judgment. That is, in the absence of clear-cut technical criteria, the authors made a personal judgment about the panel in order to avoid an endless search for experts to select the experts. The value of this procedure must ultimately be judged by such post hoc evidence as the "goodness" of the leadership list produced by it which, in turn, must be judged in the light of the issue-test that is applied.

In this study, a bi-racial panel of ten judges was used. The members of the Negro section of the panel were two professional welfare workers, a civil rights official, and two professional men. The white section of the panel consisted of a businessman, a politician, a civil rights official, and two clergymen. With the exception of one of the clergymen, all panel members were subsequently interviewed during the study. That is, they became subjects for study independently of their function as members of the

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[39]For discussion of the problem as to whether whites can identify "real" leaders among Negroes, see below pp. 150-52.

[40]Barth & Abu-Laban, American Sociological Review, XXIV, 71.

panel. The case of the clergyman who was not included in the study may be explained by the predominantly pastoral nature of his work among Negroes, which accounts for his knowledge of the Negro community and its leaders without making him well known outside of the group of people who are of immediate concern to him.

On what basis and by what criteria were the members of the panel selected? The selection was made, three months after the start of the study, on the basis of the writer's own understanding of Thrifty City's interracial leadership stratum. By that time, the writer had read all available historical and social science publications about the Negro community and had been in possession of the cumulative information of the leadership census about the Negro leadership nominees. The selection of the panel members was separately and repeatedly discussed with three of the writer's colleagues--social scientists and consultants to various Negro groups in the community. Based upon these sources, the "NAACP crowd," "the people around the Urban League," the "women and the ministers," "the neighborhood and improvement groups," and "the socially prominent" appeared to be in the center of Negro civic life rather than "representatives of institutional areas." Therefore, the reputed knowledge of a person about these groupings was the criterion for his selection. All panel members of this study could have been those whom other researchers had selected in an identical manner as "obvious leaders" for purposes of starting a

chain-referral type of leadership census.[41]

The members of the panel made their selections from printed decks of cards which were delivered to their homes. Upon return of their selections, comments by most members of the panel indicated that the request for 50 selections effectively counteracted the tendency to think in terms of a narrowly defined major project which would require "specialists" to the exclusion of "general leaders." Even those who made an effort to proceed in that manner were forced to broaden their approach because--reportedly--"you could not just leave X and Y out of a thing like that." Indeed, it was assumed that no panel member was accustomed to think in terms of 50 community leaders, and that they had to "scrape the barrel"--as one of them put it--in order to comply with the instructions.

Unaware of the technical concerns of social scientists, no panel member took issue with the two leadership functions proposed by the instruction: to make decisions and to initiate community-wide action. These were assumed to be the major dimensions of the essential sociometric criterion of community leadership that appeared to be the most appropriate in Thrifty City's Negro community. "Leaders who could make decisions and initiate community-wide action" could denote both ability and willingness to engage in

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[41]As a matter of post hoc evidence, the typical Negro panel member obtained the average rank of 6.6 in the rank order of the 50 top leadership nominees of the study.

Similarly, the typical white panel member received 6.5 votes as a white friend nominee in the study.

those actions. General discussions of interracial leadership with Negroes and whites in Thrifty City tended to turn around the able and willing Negro leader. Concerns with "willingness to come forward and to do a good job" seemed to be behind the pessimistic view that "there is no Negro leadership to speak of," too. This view was mitigated, at times, only by vague references to "a couple of young guys who are coming up." It did not seem necessary to invoke the probably exaggerated description of the black bourgeoisie by Frazier[42] to entertain the notion that certain objective conditions in the larger community, rather than lack of motivation on the part of Negroes, created the problem of leadership or the lack of it. Be that as it may, the instruction aimed at discovering which 50 people on the master list were--in the opinion of the panel--the leaders who could make decisions and initiate community-wide action in the Negro community. While past leadership performance was the assumed basis of leadership reputation, whether the nominees on the master list ever made decisions and initiated community-wide action was left unstated for--technically--leadership demands tests which are independent of reputation. Furthermore, on the assumption that they were at least as knowledgable as the informants of the leadership census, the members of the panel were invited to add names to the list before making their selections. The names added in this manner are called the "free choice leaders" of the panel.

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[42] E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press & The Falcon's Wing Press, 1957).

As a result of the work done by the panel, nine persons were eliminated from the list of 152 names for such reasons as death, departure from Thrifty City, or duplication. Since none of the "free choice leaders" received enough votes for inclusion in the study, the final aggregate of 50 leadership nominees was selected from an initial list of 143 eligible persons.[43]

By summing up the votes of panel members for each person on the list, it became possible to select an aggregate of 50 leadership nominees, each of whom received at least four votes from the panel. Of the 50 who were selected for intensive study, 13 (26 per cent) were matched Negro-white choices, 27 (54 per cent) were favored by Negro panel members, while the remaining 10 (20 per cent) received more white than Negro votes. As shown in Table 1,

TABLE 1

SELECTION OF SUBJECTS BY SECTIONS OF PANEL

| By Number of Votes Selected | Favored by Negroes | Favored by Whites | Matched Choices | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 (5-5) | . | . | 3 | 3 |
| 9 (5-4) | 3 | 4 | . | 7 |
| 8 (5-3) | 4 | . | . | 4 |
| 8 (4-4) | . | . | 5 | 5 |
| 7 (5-2) | 2 | 1 | . | 3 |
| 7 (4-3) | 5 | 2 | . | 7 |
| 6 (4-2) | 3 | 1 | . | 4 |
| 6 (3-3) | . | . | 5 | 5 |
| 5 (4-1) | 2 | . | . | 2 |
| 5 (3-2) | 5 | 2 | . | 7 |
| 4 (4-0) | 3 | . | . | 3 |
| Total | 27 | 10 | 13 | 50 |

[43]Of the 500 votes requested from the ten panel members,

matched choice refers to persons who received an equal number of votes, such as 5-5, 4-4, and 3-3, from both Negro and white panel members. A person was favored by Negroes or whites if he has received more votes from one rather than the other section of the Negro-white panel. For instance, of the seven persons, each of whom received nine votes, three were favored by Negroes and four by whites, for they have received five votes from one section of the panel and four from the other. Three persons from the 50 leadership nominees of the study received four votes from Negro panel members and none from whites. These three nominees were favored for inclusion into the study--among eight nominees, each of whom received four votes--in order to see how the most conspicuous selections of the Negro panel members would be ranked by the interviewees during the subsequent screenings provided for in the research design.[44]

Of the 50 subjects selected by the panel, 47 nominees were actually interviewed. Two persons were too ill to participate in the study, and a third refused to cooperate. The 47 nominees who provided complete interviews became the principal subjects of the study. They were considered to be the leadership nominees of

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487 were cast for people on the original list of 152 names. However, 13 of the 487 votes were lost when the list was corrected to 143 names. On the other hand, 13 "free choice leaders" were suggested, but this added only 9 "new" names to the corrected list because 4 names were mentioned twice.

[44]Five additional nominees could be considered as conspicuous choices by a margin of three favoring votes. One was favored by whites (5-2), and the other four by Negroes (5-2, 5-2, 4-1, and 4-1).

Thrifty City's Negro community--as of January-February, 1963 when the interviews were conducted with them.

The 50 selections of the panel were accepted for study as an adequate aggregate of subjects for the following reasons. First, there was a positive, moderately high correlation between the number of votes cast by the Negro and white panel members for the 50 subjects selected for study: Pearson's r equals .59. Based upon a table of values of r for different levels of significance, the obtained value of r with 48 degrees of freedom was found to be significant on .001 level of probability.[45] Second, only four of the ten prospective interviewees who were favored by white panel members would not have become eligible for interviews had the final 50 selections been made on the basis of Negro votes alone. Third, only five of the combined 50 selections would have been excluded from the study had the final selections been made by considering only the votes of the Negro panel members. No attempt is made here, of course, to invest these reasons with "statistical respectability," for the objectives of the study were basically exploratory and descriptive rather than predictive.[46]

In the logic of the reputational method, the use of panels

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[45]For table, see N.M. Downie and R.W. Heath, Basic Statistical Methods (Second Edition; New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 306.

[46]For a cogent statement on the use and misuse of tests of significance, see Seymour M. Lipset, Martin A. Trow, and James S. Coleman, Union Democracy (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956), 427-32. See also Leslie Kish, "Some Statistical Problems in Research Design," American Sociological Review, XXIV (June, 1959), 328-38.

attempts to combine the advantages of "expert" knowledge with an economy of effort to identify the initial subjects of a leadership study. In the major studies, however, the subjects selected by a panel are not by that very fact looked upon as the reputed leaders of a community without further inquiry about their reputations as leaders. That is, additional panel-like functions to rank nominees are assigned to other, presumably knowledgable people in the community. In Negro community leadership studies, the views of reputed white leaders and of potential Negro followers are most often sought. Hunter, for instance, examined which Negro leaders were known to white leaders in Regional City, whereas Burgess inquired about the rank order of Negro leaders according to the white leaders and the members of the Negro community in Crescent City. From the point of view of sound theory, the views of potential, issue-relevant opponents as well as of followers are equally important for purposes of identifying the leaders of a community. This is easier to recognize than to honor, however, for potential followers may not know who are the leaders of their community and opponents may not know who is followed by whom in a Negro community. The point to be made here is that neither the preliminary information about Thrifty City's Negro community nor the findings of Hunter and Burgess seemed to warrant the view that white leaders and members of the Negro community were the best, "presumably knowledgable" informants about Negro leadership in Thrifty City. Hence the selection of other informants for testing of--what amounts to--a methodological hypothesis within the reputational

method: whites identified by the leadership nominees tend to identify essentially the same people as leaders in the Negro community as the nominees themselves do, whereas neighborhood leaders named by the members of the Negro community do not.

At no time was direct nomination of leaders by a sample of the members of the Negro community considered in this study. The decision to seek the names of leadership nominees in some other way than directly from a sample of informants in the Negro community was based on the following considerations. First, students of community leadership among Negroes often failed to report such inquiries for the selection of their subjects or encountered a very high number of "don't know" or "no answer" responses to their questions about leaders.[47] The problem is not so much that relatively few people are knowledgable about leaders, but that those who know about leaders are not randomly distributed either spatially or socially (class) in the community. To make a "popular" check on the reliability of a leadership list produced by "experts" creates a difficult problem of sampling. Second, no sociometric sample of adequate size and composition could be obtained for such

[47] Based upon a stratified areal sample of 283 completed interviews--98 lower class, 100 middle class, and 85 upper class--Burgess obtained the following results: "Some 61.8 per cent of those queried gave 'I don't know' or no responses. Names of individual leaders were provided in 25.8 per cent of the responses, and in 12.3 per cent names of organizations, neighbors, and working associates were provided in place of actual community leaders." Burgess, however, failed to indicate the class position of the 25.8 per cent who gave appropriate answers. Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 81-92.

purposes because of lack of resources. Finally, only about one-fourth of Thrifty City's Negro population could be viewed, with a reasonably degree of sociological accuracy, as belonging to the upper or middle classes, and this held no promise for doing better in the matter of "don't know" answers than others did with small area samples in more stable and better established Negro communities. Both Thrifty City's Negro community and the people in it are young, and group emergent leadership, as well as widely shared knowledge about its accomplishments, takes time to develop.

In order to make a "popular" check upon the reliability of the leadership list produced by the panel, as part of the methodological hypothesis of leadership reputations, an aggregate of people were selected who--for want of a better term--are called neighborhood leaders in this study. These were people named by the interviewees of the Community Survey[48] in response to the following question: "Do you know any man or woman in this neighborhood who is actually a leader because he knows how to get things done, or who people look up to?"

Of the 391 respondents, 64.7 per cent could not name

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[48]The Community Survey refers to the companion project of this study--mentioned above on p. 119. Its findings are available in published form under the authorship of the writer and two of his colleagues. The Community Survey consisted of 391 interviews with Negro adults, of whom 190 (48.5 per cent) were men and 201 (51.5 per cent) were women. A random start, systematic area sample of city blocks was selected within the so-called territorial Negro community. Starting with the second house on the northwest corner, an interview was sought in every ninth housing structure within the blocks in the sample. The interviewers were instructed to obtain an equal number of interviews with men and women, and to interview home-owners rather than renters in owner-occupied multiple dwellings.

anyone, and an addition 8.2 per cent refused to answer the question. At least one name was mentioned by 15.1 per cent of the interviewees, another 7.2 per cent named two, and 4.8 per cent identified three or more persons as leaders in their neighborhoods.

The 106 respondents, who answered the question about neighborhood leaders, mentioned 136 names in 172 instances of identification. Of the 135 identified as neighborhood leaders, 24 were leadership nominees by panel selection, four were whites, and 12 respondents proposed themselves as neighborhood leaders. Since the 36 Negroes of these 40 nominees were either in the process of being interviewed or were scheduled for interviews, they were eliminated from consideration as neighborhood leader interviewees.[49]

By drawing a 50 per cent random sample from the remaining 96 names, 31 neighborhood leadership interviews were completed. Because some of the interviewees of the Survey could not provide the address of their neighborhood leader nominees, or gave a faulty spelling of their names, 12 of the nominees could not be located and five refused to cooperate or failed to provide a complete interview. The identification and actual interviewing of the neighborhood leader nominees was the single most difficult part of the study. Neither were its results entirely satisfactory.

Short of being able to field a sociometric survey of adequate size and composition, the writer's aim was to identify

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[49]For reference to the 24 leadership nominees in question, see below, p. 212.

people who were sandwiched, so to speak, between the average Negroes and those who were designated by the panel as the leadership nominees of the Negro community. The hypothesis was that if the list of 50 leadership nominees contained people who were not considered leaders in the Negro community at large, then the prospective interviewees--who were looked up to as leaders by the people in Negro neighborhoods--would establish a different rank order of the top 10 leaders of the Negro community than the leadership nominees themselves would. That is, the neighborhood leaders would make a "popular" check upon the reliability of the choices of the reputed leaders themselves.

Whether the selected neighborhood leaders could indeed have made such a check must be judged by the characteristics of the 391 interviewees of the Community Survey who nominated them and, of course, by the characteristics of the selected neighborhood leaders themselves. Since the latter are described below,[50] the following refers to the interviewees of the Community Survey.

While only 3.2 per cent of the 190 men and 6.5 per cent of the 201 women were born in Thrifty City, all natives of Midwest State accounted for 6 per cent of the sample. The median age of the men who were interviewed was 39.1 years and that of the women 35 years. Among those who were not born in Thrifty City, the typical (median) man was almost 25 when he arrived in the city and the typical woman was just under 22 years of age. In terms of

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[50] See p. 181.

these characteristics, the interviewees were representative of the adult members of the Negro community--as reflected by the data of the 1960 census. On the other hand, while the 1960 census found that 24.4 per cent of the Negro-occupied dwelling units in the area covered by the Survey were occupied by homeowners, 38.6 per cent of the interviewees in the sample were homeowners. More importantly, however, 106 (27.1 per cent) of the interviewees did and 285 (72.9 per cent) did not name neighborhood leaders. The question is, could such a sample provide the basis for a check upon the upper class bias of Negro leadership which may function from the periphery of the Negro community's social world? In order to answer this question, the men and women in the sample were divided into "upper class" and "lower class"; those who had at least a high school diploma and were not semiskilled or unskilled workers were considered "upper class" and all others were looked upon as "lower class." By this definition, 84 (21.5 per cent) of the 391 interviewees were "upper class" and 307 (78.5 per cent) were "lower class." Of the 106 who named neighborhood leaders, 25 (23.6 per cent) were "upper class" and 81 (76.4 per cent) were "lower class." Whereas of the 285 who did not name neighborhood leaders, 59 (20.7 per cent) were "upper class" and 226 (79.3 per cent) were "lower class." Furthermore, about the same proportion of "upper class" (29.8 per cent) and "lower class" (28.3 per cent) people in the sample did name neighborhood leaders. The point is that social class was not a factor in the nomination of neighborhood leaders--and the definition of social class in use could

hardly have been less stringent from the point of view of the problem at hand. Finally, about twice as many of those who did (43.4 per cent) as of those who did not (22.1 per cent) name neighborhood leaders lived in their neighborhoods for five years or more. This was true of the interviewees regardless of class. In the "upper class," 40 per cent of those who did and 20 per cent of those who did not name neighborhood leaders lived at the address where they were interviewed for five years or more. Whereas among the "lower class" interviewees, 44.4 per cent of those who did and 28.2 per cent of those who did not name neighborhood leaders lived in their neighborhood five years or more. It must be pointed out, however, that of the 123 who lived in their neighborhood for five years or more, 46 (37.4 per cent) did and 77 (62.6 per cent) did not name neighborhood leaders.

To conclude, what can be said for the procedure followed in this study for purposes of attempting a "popular"check upon the reliability of the list produced by the leadership census and the panel? First, 27.1 per cent of the interviewees in Thrifty City's Negro community named neighborhood leaders, as opposed to 25.8 per cent of the interviewees among Crescent City's Negroes who could name community leaders.[51] Therefore, if only the proportion of "don't know" answers are to be considered, Burgess' procedure seems preferable, for it elicited names of community leaders directly from about one-fourth of the interviewees rather than

[51]For comparative data from Crescent City, see Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 81-92.

attempting to mediate the "popular" check through neighborhood leaders who were named by a roughly equal proportion of community members in this study. Second, in view of the sex bias of Burgess' sample (75.6 per cent women) and of her failure to indicate the social class of the 25.8 per cent who named community leaders, however, the procedure of this study appears preferable. Since about one-third of Burgess' stratified sample of community members were lower class it seem unlikely that they were not disproportionately under-represented among those who named community leaders--as opposed to the more generally representative character of the community members who knew about neighborhood leaders in this study. In the final analysis, of course, both procedures may be unsatisfactory in the sense that the one-fourth of the Negroes who knew about leaders represented only one-fourth of the people in both Negro communities. Whether the other were or felt leaderless are important questions, but they cannot be answered here no matter how normatively desirable the answers would appear for purposes of studying the <u>real</u> leaders of the <u>total</u> Negro community.

One way of resolving the problem created by the uninformed, alienated, apathetic, and non-participant Negro--and none or all of these labels may be accurate--is to say that in a very real sense he is not a member of the Negro community. Consequently, a community leadership study--like this study--can account for him only to the extent that he becomes a participating member of the Negro community from one time to another, or from one issue to another. The anonymous and unaccountable Negro masses are of

social consequence when--in one way or another--they account for themselves. In matters of community leadership, this occurs when people respond to some leaders whereas they did not respond to others, i.e., when the leadership structure of the Negro community is undergoing changes.

Essentially the same is true of the whites in a large urban center; they are of social consequence for Negro community leadership when--in one way or another--they account for themselves. This is so, for in spite of the often voiced observation that whites are frequently mistaken about the Negro community's real or true leaders, the fact remains that to obtain results from what Negroes like to call the white power structure is a sine qua non of leadership for all but "secessionist" Negro leaders. Negro community leaders cannot maintain their positions without being able to explore at least the possibility of bringing immediate relief when their followers are shortchanged by the community's ways of providing attitudes, goods, and services which Negroes are seeking. If nothing else, this service function alone makes it necessary for leaders to have a working relationship at least with some whites in the larger community. The satisfaction of basic needs in the form of relief is the first step in the familiar cumulative sequence of differential privileges and opportunities which leadership status entails in all groups and communities, and the resulting relationships are the methodologically most appropriate guides to trace leadership reputations and leadership itself. In the absence of integration, racially mixed communities tend to

have an interracial leadership stratum of Negroes and whites, and the members of that stratum are the methodologically most appropriate sources of information about each other.

As discussed above,[52] neither the historical information about the Negro community nor the findings of other studies warranted the view that the problems of Negro-white relations represented top-level community issues rather than a special area of decision-making in Thrifty City. Therefore, it appeared rather pointless to explore whether the top white leaders of Thrifty City knew and worked directly with the top leaders of the Negro community--no white informants pretended that such was so, and all Negro informants complained that it was not so in 1962. On the other hand, whether such a state of affailrs may have been or, indeed, was the consequence of decisions made by top white leaders seemed immaterial from the point of view of finding the whites in Thrifty City who knew and worked directly with the leaders of the Negro community. Regardless of the ultimate reasons for the types of decisions which could be made by some whites and Negroes about race relations in Thrifty City, the immediate problem was to identify those whites who knew and worked directly on those decisions with the leaders of the Negro community and, therefore, could check the reliability of the top ten selections from the list of 50 nominees by the leadership nominees themselves and by the neighborhood leaders nominated in the Negro community at large.

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[52] See pp. 128, 134.

The problem of identifying white members of Thrifty City's interracial leadership stratum, however, involved an additional consideration. While Hunter attempted to probe whether Negro leaders knew the members of the white leadership structure of Regional City--and found that they did not[53]--the writer knew of no other studies in which Negro community leaders were asked to identify those whites whom they knew and were dealing with in the course of their activities as community leaders. Burgess, for instance, explored whether Negro leaders were known to the white leaders in the larger community, but failed to ask the Negro leaders which white leaders they knew in Crescent City. Consequently, her finding that the rank orders of those Negro leaders who were independently identified as leaders by both white and Negro leaders in Crescent City were positively correlated merely meant that "the white leadership there does have knowledge about those Negroes reputed to have power and influence."[54] While such knowledge is--no doubt--of considerable importance to the white leadership, a positive correlation based upon it could not be interpreted by Burgess as a check upon the reliability of the rank order of Negro leaders established by the Negro leaders themselves. The

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[53]"Complete segregation of racial groups in a community makes it impossible for a member of one racial group to evaluate the effectiveness of an individual in another racial group...In short, influence and effectiveness can only be measured by having had a personal of working relationship with the person measured." Negro leader quoted by Hunter, Community Power Structure, 131.

[54]Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 99.

contention here is that such a check can only be made by those whites who know and directly work with the Negro leaders in question. That is, leadership reputations--as valid and reliable scientific data--are not something which leader informants in a biracial and segregated community know about and use, but something which they affirm or reject based upon direct experience in face-to-face relationships involving decision-making of concern to both sides, Negro and white leadership.[55] A reasonable test of such a relationship between top white and Negro leaders is, of course, that not only whites but Negroes also are able to assess the relative power and rank of their counterparts in the Negro community--which Hunter attempted but failed to elicit from his Negro subjects and Burgess seemingly did not even consider to explore.[56] Therefore, it seemed fair to suspect that the kind of leader behavior which provided the basis for the Negro leaders' reputations occurred most likely below the top levels of decision-making and

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[55]For the scientist, the measurement of reputations involves "not the behavior of his subjects, but rather the behavior of the group composed of his subjects and of his judges." G.Bergmann and K.W. Spence, "The Logic of Psychophysical Measurement," Psychological Theory, ed., M.H. Marx (New York: Macmillan, 1955), 259-60.

[56]In addition to alleged similarities between the historical developments of the Negro and white communities in Crescent City, Burgess surmised that the white leaders' knowledge of Negro leadership may have been due to the fact that "minority power leaders have a restrictive but distinctive number of sources from which to emerge." Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 100.

involved other whites than the top leaders of Regional City and Crescent City. Neither did Thrifty City appear so radically different from those two communities as to warrant assumptions to the contrary.[57] The principal subjects of this study were members of a segregated minority group, the relevant political past of which could be reckoned from the early 1930's when Negroes, for the first time, accounted for more than one per cent of the population of Thrifty City and reached about ten per cent when this study began. In view of the relative size and unique social status ascribed to this minority group, it appeared unrealistic to think of the leaders of the Negro community as top level decision-makers in Thrifty City, whereas accurate information about them and the level of decision-making on which they actually were able to function constituted important problems for the study.

Inasmuch as shared, issue-bound opportunities to work together were thought of as contingent conditions for the ability of subjects to assess leadership reputations across racial lines, the socio-economic characteristics and institutional-associational affiliations of the Negroes and whites involved could be expected to indicate the level of decision-making on which Negro leaders were actually able to function in Thrifty City. Within the reputational

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[57] The most obvious differences, on the other hand, represented negative evidence. Both southern communities were important business and educational centers of Negroes who accounted for 33.6 per cent of the population of Regional City and for about 35 per cent in Crescent City. None of these matched the characteristics of Thrifty City's Negro community in the North.

method, there were essentially two ways in which adequate white subjects could be identified for this double purpose.[58] Starting perhaps with one of the white panel members used in the study, a chain referral type of census could have been conducted to identify those whites who were directly working with Negroes in the city and, therefore, could have checked the reliability of the top ten selections of the leadership nominees in the Negro community. In spite of the obvious advantage of identifying such whites independently of the views held about them by Negroes, however, the other reputational alternative of seeking the same ends was used in this study. That is, the leadership nominees of the Negro community were asked the following question:

> If you were to select three white men and women in Thrifty City who understand the problems of the Negro community and are known to work effectively toward their solution, whom would you name?

The whites, who were identified in response to this question by the leadership nominees in the Negro community, are called--again for want of a better name--white friends in the study. The term white friends was preferred to white liberals because the former was ideologically less binding and also seemed to have a fairly precise intuitive meaning and currency among both whites and Negroes in the city. Parenthetically, neither was the epithet

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[58]The third alternative of identifying such whites by examining a series of issues was not considered for the leadership nominees of the Negro community were not identified by that method. The use of that method involves serious methodological problems regardless of the issues and community setting under study--both of which appeared very unfavorable in Thrifty City from the point of view of collecting valid and reliable data.

"Nigger lover" unheard of among those who violently disapproved of the motives and actions of others in the community.

Although in some instances the distinction between white friends and token emissaries or representatives of the "white power structure" could have become blurred because of some error in judgment or personal bias of the Negro leadership nominees, the design of the study had adequate safeguards for the interpretation of the possible effects of circularity involved in asking Negroes to name whites who, in turn, would be asked to assess the leadership reputations of the same Negroes--among others--who may have nominated them as white friends. First, the Negro leadership nominees did not know why they were asked to name three white men or women. When the question was posed to them, the subjects did not even know that they would be asked to select ten top leaders from a list of 50 nominees which included their own name, let alone that the whites, whom they had just named, would be asked to do the same at a later date. Second, any consistent pattern of Uncle Tom-ism or similar bias in complying with the question could be made explicit by accounting for the "mutual choices" of Negroes and whites involved in two kinds of selection procedures. That is, the effects of circularity could be measured and considered in interpreting the correlation between the rank orders of top ten leaders established by the leadership nominees and the white friends who were identified by them. Finally, the reputational data obtained from the leadership nominees and the white friends could be checked by data of similar nature obtained from the

neighborhood leaders who were identified independently of both leadership nominees and white friends. The reputational data produced by the three aggregates of subjects, in turn, were subject to checks by the data of the issue-test. Seen in such a perspective, on the other hand, whom among whites did Negroes regard as interracial leaders was expected to produce not only revealing descriptive information about Thrifty City, but also about the relevant social setting for plans and action propensities by Negro leaders who must anticipate the scope of issues--who will be involved on whose side--before they can act or decide that now is not the time to act.

The 47 Negro leadership nominees who were interviewed made 104 selections. Eight persons did not select anyone; four named one; nine named two; 22 nominated three; and four Negro leadership nominees proposed the names of four white men or women who, in their opinion, understood the problems of the Negro community in Thrifty City and were known to work effectively toward their solution. That is, 21 (44.7 per cent) Negro leadership nominees did not name as many white friends as they were asked to do.

The 104 "votes" of the Negro leadership nominees were cast for 55 white men and women. One person was mentioned 12 times, another seven times. Two others received four votes, and eight were nominated three times. Of the remaining 43, ten were mentioned twice, and 33 were proposed only once. That is, if one accepts the estimate that about one per cent of a given community's population constitutes its leadership stratum then--according to

the Negro leadership nominees--less than one per cent of Thrifty City's leadership stratum understood the problems of the Negro community and were known to work effectively toward their solution.

Since by June-July, 1964 seven of the 55 white friend nominees had left Thrifty City for reasons unrelated to their nominations, 24 or one-half of the remaining 48 were interviewed. The 24 interviewees accounted for 67 (64.4 per cent) of the 104 votes cast for white friend nominees; they included 18 or all of the 48 who received more than one vote and resided in the city, and six others who were randomly selected from those who received only one vote as white friends from the Negro leadership nominees. That is, the number of white friend interviewees of this study compared favorably with the more or less similar white subjects of Hunter and Burgess--25 and 21, respectively.[59]

Obviously, these whites could not validate leadership claims if followers were required as a matter of proof. What they could do was to observe and assess the Negro men and women who were performing leadership functions in racially mixed settings. They also could gain insight into the more subtle nuances of deference and rallying with which Negroes related to each other. While working with Negroes in ad hoc groups or on formally established committees and commissions, it was possible for them to gain reliable knowledge of these Negroes who--for the good or bad of their own community--acted as decision-makers on behalf of

[59]See Hunter, Community Power Structure, 133. Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 98.

other Negroes in Thrifty City. The kind of knowledge about Negroes, that could realistically be expected from these whites, was assumed to be knowledge which members of peer groups, who were engaged in a series of common tasks, had of each other.

The phrasing of the question to identify such whites attempted to anticipate some of the problems of formal communication with Negroes in interview situations. For reasons which are not necessary to relate here in detail, Negroes often admit to having "pet peeves" or idisyncrasies about what others may be tempted to look upon as mere speech habits or mannerisms.[60] For instance, a local peculiarity of pronouncing the word, Negro, as "Negroo" was held to be offensive--to the surprise of many whites, who did not seem to be aware of this in Thrifty City. Perhaps the most difficult was to avoid the insertion of the word, Negro, into a given sentence when talking about Negroes to Negroes, who often felt, and also said so, that the word was unnecessary, inappropriate, or irrelevant. Even when expressions were merely gauche and clearly non-discriminatory, non-compliance with selective preferences of this nature could easily lead to more or less good-natured "lecturing" of white interviewers, or to refusals even to answer a question as stated. Of the same general nature was the view also held by many Negroes that whites cannot or do not understand

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[60] Anatole Broyard, "Portrait of the Inauthentic Negro," Commentary, X (July, 1950), 56-65. See also Melvin Seeman, "The Intellectual and the Language of Minorities," American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (July, 1958), 25-35.

Negroes, whereas they might understand the problems of Negro communities. Hence the wording of the question as it was presented above. As to the clause, "work effectively," in the question, an appeal was made to the interviewees to base their selections on performance rather than on gestures of sympathy and support by socially prominent whites who might have been personally valued acquaintances. In addition, the clause was aimed at preventing guessing and conjecture about people "who were important in town and could do a lot for Negroes." Neither the five trial interviews for checking the schedules nor the actual use of the question, as phrased, indicated how it could have been improved.

The preceding discussion dealt with the identification of the three major aggregates of subjects in the study and referred to four major sources of data. The 47 Negro leadership nominees, 31 Negro neighborhood leaders, and 24 white friends were, at times, called interviewees for they were the 102 subjects of the study who were formally interviewed. The interview schedule used with the Negro leadership and neighborhood leader nominees were identical, whereas the schedule for the white friends was a shortened form derived from the former.[61] The interviews contained three types of data: first, data on the descriptive, socio-economic characteristics and institutional-associational affiliation of the three aggregates of subjects; second, sociometric data needed for the testing of the hypothesis involved in the use of the reputational method of identifying the top leaders of the

[61]For schedules, see Appendix IV.

Negro community; finally, attitudinal data obtained from the three aggregates of subjects for the purposes of guarding against biased, arbitrary, or tautological use of structural analysis in studying Negro community leadership. The interviews lasted from about two to three hours per subject and were conducted in the following chronological sequence: Community Survey, December, 1962-January, 1963;[62] Negro leadership nominees, January-February, 1963; Negro neighborhood leaders, January-February, 1963; white friends, June-July, 1964. The delay in the collection of data from the white friends was deliberate and occurred because toward the summer of 1963 the Negro community experienced events which mushroomed into open controversies, and the evolving events promised to test both emerging and established leadership reputations in Thrifty City's Negro community.

As the so-called Negro Revolution reached Thrifty City in the month of July, 1963, this month can be looked upon as a dividing line between events which occurred under the "normal operating conditions" of race relations in the city and the events which led to considerable changes in those conditions. By "normal operating conditions" is meant conditions under which fairly well established groups and organizations concerned themselves with the Negro-

[62]The writer had no part in the collection of the data of the Community Survey but uses them with the permission of his two colleagues with whom he shared the responsibility for their collection by a group of graduate students. With the exception of the item identifying the neighborhood leader nominees--which was used immediately upon the completion of the Survey--the data of the Community Survey became available to the writer during the summer of 1964 when he participated in their analysis for publication.

white problem in Thrifty City. In general, the efforts of these groups were intermittent and sluggish; they were "trying to get things done." Some of their work fitted into the well known patterns of institutional welfare and formally sanctioned or supported community concerns. Other projects and programs bore the marks of volunteer activism. Although whites also participated in almost all of these activities, the overall effort was undeniably a matter of Negro concern and self-help. Whatever was attempted by the professionally staffed agencies and through volunteer work, however, lacked saliency among similar community efforts. If a sense of urgency was felt about the underlying issues among Negroes and the interested whites, the larger community took little notice or remained totally unaware of them. In general terms, such was the setting in which this study began.

Amidst the occurrence of new events, of course, an attempt had to be made to assess the community resources which were previously mobilized on behalf of Thrifty City's Negroes, but no judgment was passed on the people who have done the work. By normalcy of conditions was merely meant the status quo which prevailed before the so-called Negro Revolution came to Thrifty City in the month of July, 1963. If the new events contributed to the erosion of established leadership reputations, they did so not so much through the inevitable historical indexing of past events and activities as through the open display of abilities to create community issues which could not be ignored by the leadership of the larger community. The events of the issues reported in this study

occurred between October 1, 1962 and April 1, 1964. The two dates enclosed a time span of 18 months--nine months of "normal operating conditions" and nine months of a "revolutionary period" in the life of the Negro community. The events of those 18 months provided the data for the issue-test of leader behavior applied to the 47 leadership nominees of the Negro community.

For purposes of the issue-test, events denoted such happenings in the Negro community as speeches, meetings, elections, social affairs, project reports, and direct action programs which became matters of public record in the larger community of Thrifty City. Although the stipulation that the events which index issues must be known to the public--or there is no community issue--tends to decrease rather than to increase the length of their narrative, no attempt could be made here to provide a complete chronicle of the events which occurred during the 18 months of the study.[63] Neither could claims be advanced for an inside story of all events which were related to the issues reported in the study--the writer was not and could not realistically have become an insider among the participants. What the writer could do was to keep track of the events, as they were occurring, and to check the accuracy of the reports which made them public. While in some instances participant observation and in others extensive follow-up were necessary to obtain reasonably complete information about events and protagonists, each of the three issues discussed in the study could be traced, in a more or less complete form, in either

[63]For definition of issue, see above pp. 98-99.

one or both of Thrifty City's major newspapers. Throughout the 18 months of the study, a running file of newspaper clippings and issue-relevant notes was kept by the writer. Not counting items of only secondary interest to the study--which nevertheless were filed--the writer's collection of newspaper clippings consisted of 679 separate items. Of these, 496 were reports of "hard news," 63 were editorials, 63 were letters-to-the-editor, and 57 were other items such as interpretive reports and related background material. Counting only the 496 reports of "hard news," 42 referred to events which occurred during the so-called "normal operating conditions" period between October 1, 1962 and June 30, 1963, and 454 dealt with events of the so-called "revolutionary period" in the life of the Negro community betweenJuly 1, 1963 and April 1, 1964. All in all, an average of about six items per month were collected during the first nine months as opposed to an approximately ten-fold increase in the average monthly clippings during the second nine months of the study. The spectacular increase in news reports about the Negro community and its people in the white press could--by itself--be considered an indication of "revolutionary" change concerning race relations within the larger community of Thrifty City.[64] The Thrifty City Beacon, the Negro weekly, also

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[64]For general findings about the press being no more successful than other groups in making its point of view prevail but being able to "force" consideration of issues as well as being susceptible to "be forced" by leaders to produce issue-relevant copy, see R.C. Martin et al, Decisions in Syracuse. (Anchor Books: Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc.), 326-27.

Although charges could occasionally be heard in the community that the press "made" some of Thrifty City's Negro leaders

was followed, but its coverage of events was much more limited than the reports of the white press. With both papers devoting about 30 per cent of space per edition for "content other than ads," the Negro weekly had about 400 column inches as opposed to about 20,000 column inches in the Thrifty City Journal for "weekly content other than ads."[65]

Beyond the obvious shortage of space for competitive news reporting, the Negro weekly attempted to convey the Negro point of view in ideological terms of what ought to be done as matters of legal right or moral imperative rather than provide the type of information that met the needs of this study of what was happening in the community. The writer was not engaged in a social-psychological study of personal influence by leaders, but in a structural analysis of Negro community leadership in terms of power. To work with the concept of power as an explanatory variable of processes which develop among groups led by certain men and women, called community leaders, a comprehensive "natural history" of

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either by providing "unwarranted" coverage of their activities and views or by applying "indiscriminately" the term leader to them--in the writer's opinion based upon an analysis of the editorials--the press merely kept the issues on the agenda of the community.

[65]Information based upon the work of two graduate students who, under the direction of the writer, had made a content analysis of 26 issues (January-June, 1963) of the Thrifty City Beacon, the Negro weekly. On the other hand, an associate editor could not estimate the proportion of space devoted to "hard news" to make it possible for the writer to provide a more accurate measure of "Negro hard news" clipped from the Thrifty City Journal.

issue-relevant events was needed with emphasis upon an accurate chronological sequence of the events, the identification of participants and their institutional-associational affiliation, and documentary evidence of policy decisions while issues were emerging and/or terminated. To repeat, the emphasis in collecting the data was not upon what people thought or intended to do but upon the behavior sequence involved in the events of an issue and its relevance for an explanation in terms of minority community power. While news reports provided the chronological and substantive sequence of events, participant and non-participant observation. Official documents and eyewitness reports were used to complete the record of events and happenings.

When the writer could not attend in person an event, such as a session of the School Board, a closed membership meeting of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), a civil rights rally, etc., a serious effort was made to talk to at least three persons who were there and could check the accuracy of news reports. During the second half of the study--when often four or five "write-ups" appeared in the same issue of a paper--the flow of information was so plentiful that hardly anything else but civil rights constituted the writer's daily staple of interest. Under such conditions of course the sheer volume of information would have made any attempts at the quantification of influence processes clearly impossible. No such ambitious plans were followed--and needed--beyond the arduous task of screening facts from fiction and rumor about what was to happen next. At time, events were formally scheduled,

announced, or predicted--and subsequently failed to take place or to happen.

As to the often alleged desire of Negroes to shroud in a cloak of secrecy the inner life of their community, the writer knew of no concerted effort on the part of the subjects of this study to refuse to cooperate with reasonable demands upon their knowledge and time. Beyond minor indications of discomfort about "being studied," the release of information by the subjects of the study seemed to be a matter of personal judgment or temperament rather than a function of group loyalty. Once the timeliness of specific events was lost, people felt free to talk about them and also about the protagonists involved in them. The narrative, which ties together the analysis of hard data obtained through formal interviews and, especially, that of the issue-test based primarily upon news reports and documentary sources, relies upon countless conversations with Negro and white men and women as informants. In this study, informant refers to interviewees as well as others who, outside of formal interviews, contributed to the writer's understanding of people and events in Thrifty City's Negro community. Whether the facts that the writer was neither Negro nor native American influenced the interviewees and informants of the study could not, of course, be determined with any degree of accuracy.

# CHAPTER IV

## NEGRO LEADERSHIP NOMINEES, NEIGHBORHOOD LEADERS AND WHITE FRIENDS

### Leadership Strata

One of the working assumptions of this study was that the men and women who were asked about top leadership reputations in the Negro community were members of an interracial leadership stratum. That is, they had the reputation of being knowledgable about Negro community leadership, for they had actively concerned themselves with the Negro-white problem in Thrifty City. Within the logic of the reputational method, of course, a more precise identification of that leadership stratum became a function of the specific objectives of the study. Any claims to the contrary would amount to little less than a noble fiction because of the peculiar, although not unusual, historical development of Thrifty City's Negro community. In a historical perspective, some leading Negroes and some interested whites were the only people in Thrifty City who concerned themselves with the cause of Negroes who were to form the Negro community of today. The basic historical pattern of race relations in the city was accomodation, and the youthfulness of the Negro community made it doubtful at the outset of the study whether an ambitious project of exploring the "power

structure" could realistically be undertaken. Both historical evidence and methodological caution recommended a slow, step-by-step procedure of identifying and studying the leaders of the Negro community.

Some of the information on the early race relations leaders of Thrifty City was extracted from the scant and quaint promotional tracts and pamphlets of the early 1900's. Other background data were obtained in a more or less anecdotal form from informants whose recollections of people and events did not go beyond the early 1920's. The solemn looking, celluloid-collared men and straight-laced women of the pamphlets knew Thrifty City's Negro community as Bronzeville, where their "Negro fellow citizens" used to "elect" a mayor. The position was honorary and--according to informants--the mayors of Bronzeville "did not do much." Indeed, informants and interviewees alike found it difficult to recall Negro leaders "in those early days." They tended to relate the events of the past forty years mostly in terms of their own involvement in them. The people, events, and the atmosphere elements of the past emerged only slowly and in an interstitial way from the comments and asides of formal interviews.

> We had to call the ministers together because too many Negroes resisted arrest. It was very embarrassing. You know, some of the ministers could not sign their name on the resolution...I know, some people call him a crook, but she must have concurred with him in everything they have done...Oh yes, the old man was quite a guy. Sort of a walking welfare department for many of them. But his sons are bums, they have ruined his business...Of course they had a finger in crime. They still do, but you'll have to ask some of the bullpen lawyers about that...How those two girls ever got through college, I will never know...He was

> a man. You know, it makes me boiling mad every time I hear these two-bit punks talk about Uncle Toms...They wanted a white-tie affair in one of the big hotels and finally we have gotten it for them...There was a house down there for white men only...He was no sentimental do-gooder in those days, but he changed a lot...No, I had to get out when it became evident that there was only one side to every problem...

The kaleidoscopic fragments of such recollections produced a vivid but social-problem-centered image of the beginnings of the Negro community in Thrifty City. In a sense, this was inevitable because these comments dealt with past events and people in the local history of a minority group. More importantly, however, the nature of problem-solving within the context of personal and community relationships emerged from these interviews as a judicious mixture of confined prudence on the part of Negroes and of supererogatory social action on the part of whites. While some of the Negro informants did talk with certain nostalgia about the good old days, the characteristic pattern of accomodation and paternalistic giving became the unmistakable finding of interviews with both white and Negro informants. Because the informants were reminiscing about the not-too-distant past, it was appropriate to assume that the life experiences of the prospective subjects of this study also were marked by the prevailing philosophy of race relations in Thrifty City. Therefore, they were initially thought of as men and women who were attempting to do certain things with, and on behalf of, Negroes in Thrifty City.

While the reading of historical accounts and the reminiscing of informants gave general impressions of the leadership

stratum of the Negro community, a more precise identification of it was a function of the method used to identify the principal subjects of the study. As mentioned earlier, the writer did not examine a series of past community issues which would have yielded initial information about the Negro community's leadership stratum and leaders. Neither did he proceed as if the occupants of an a priori list of formal offices and positions had represented the leadership stratum of Thrifty City's Negro community which could have been sampled for purposes of selecting the principal subjects of the study. Based upon a chain-referral type census of leadership reputations in the Negro community, the study began with a master list of 143 leadership nominees, of whom 86 (60.2 per cent) were men and 57 (39.8 per cent) were women. The master list was reduced by the described panel to 50 names and led to interviews with 32 (68.1 per cent) men and 15 (31.9 per cent) women--the 47 Negro leadership nominees with whom the study is primarily concerned. That is, a reputed leadership stratum of 143 nominees was tapped for 47 interviews. In order the check the adequacy of the study list of 50 nominees, however, the 47 leadership nominees as well as the 31 neighborhood leaders and 24 white friends--the secondary subjects of the study--were asked to add names to the list of leadership nominees under study. This procedure permitted one to arrive at a more broadly based estimate of the size of the Negro community's leadership stratum--as seen by the informants and interviewees of the study. The interviewees could add names which were "known" or "new" to the writer depending upon whether they

were or were not on the master list of 143 leadership nominees. The 47 leadership nominees added 64 names, of which 36 were new. The 31 neighborhood leaders added 23 names, of which 16 were new names. The 24 white friends proposed 35 nominees and 19 of these were new. Since 10 of the 71 new names were proposed more than once, 61 new names could be added to the 143 names on the master list of leadership nominees. That is, 204 persons, or 135 (66.2 per cent) men and 69 (33.8 per cent) women, came within the purview of the study as leadership nominees in the Negro community--based upon the results of the leadership census and the new names proposed by the three aggregates of selected subjects who were interviewed.

If the 96 neighborhood leaders identified by the interviewees of the Community Survey are added to the above 204 leadership nominees, the study identified 300 people in the Negro community of Thrifty City who had the reputation of being leaders or neighborhood leaders. While the 300 persons in question represented about one per cent of the approximately 30,000 adults of the Negro community in 1962, the writer makes no claim for having identified as many people as others estimated to be the size of the leadership stratum of communities in general. The point is that a different research design might have produced a larger or smaller leadership stratum, and no test of the estimate was intended.

The claim that the writer makes is that the 204 leadership nominees identified by the three aggregates of subjects in the study represented an <u>interracial leadership stratum of the Negro</u>

community and an issue-test of interracial leader behavior could be applied with confidence to the selected 50 leadership nominees who were members of that stratum. Obviously, an exclusively intraracial study of community leadership among Negroes would have excluded whites from the selection of leadership nominees and would have examined matters of contention among Negroes rather than issues between whites and Negroes.

Inasmuch as the 47 leadership nominees selected for interviews had identified 40 (62.7 per cent) men and 15 (27.3 per cent) women as white friends "who understood the problems of the Negro community and were known to work effectively toward their solution," a qualified claim can be made that Thrifty City's interracial leadership stratum consisted of 204 Negroes and 55 whites. That is, while a different research design might have identified more or less such people, this study made the concept of the larger community's interracial leadership stratum empirically explicit only to the extent as indicated. As to who these 55 white friend nominees were, the following general information can be provided about them. Nine could be called educators--heads of school systems rather than people who worked for them. Nine others were from the general occupational area of law enforcement and included lawyers, judges, and police officials. The world of business was represented by seven people who were of the business world rather than having direct control of large payrolls or economic power. Organized labor had a single representative among the 55 white friend nominees. The eight professional men named were members of the clergy

and the medical profession. The five politicians were either elected representatives of Negro constituents or worked in some branch of government as appointed officials. Finally, the largest group consisted of "welfare people." The 16 men and women in this category differed widely in terms of the relative importance of their formal positions. Some were professionals, while others could more appropriately be called volunteer welfare activists. While some of the professionals were "headmen" or chief executives of their agencies, they were men and women who have to work within the "traditions of their agency" or the "mandate of their boards."

To sum it up, 355 people--204 leadership nominees, 96 neighborhood leaders, and 55 white friends--came within the purview of the study. What was learned about them and from them in the course of the study replaced the writer's initial impressions of the personnel of Negro self-help and of Thrifty City's ways of reaching out into the Negro community to achieve a viable way of life. Initially, Negro self-help appeared to be the precipitate of the constructive mobilization of social resources in the Negro community and of the financial and ideological assistance which the liberal forces of Thrifty City put at the disposition of those who were considered the leaders of the Negro community. As a matter of historical pattern of interaction, the two communities seemed to meet at the points where institutional satisfaction of societal needs--law enforcement, churches, schools, and most of all social welfare--demanded immediate attention in the total community of Thrifty City. Leading Negroes and some whites--ex

officio or on a voluntary basis--began to "cultivate" each other in order to create and maintain "satisfactory working relationships." Since some of the interviewees of this study were among the pioneers who created this pattern while the others inherited it, the purpose of the preceding discussion was to provide general information about the interracial leadership stratum of Thrifty City as it was identified for purposes of this study.

The purpose of what follows, on the other hand, is to acquaint the reader with the descriptive characteristics of the three aggregates of subjects in the study who were interviewed: the Negro leadership nominees, the Negro neighborhood leaders, and the white friends. Of these, the Negro leadership nominees were the principal subjects of the study, whereas the role of the Negro neighborhood leaders and of the white friends was looked upon as instrumental for checking who among the Negro leadership nominees were regarded as the top leaders of the Negro community--as a matter of leadership reputations.

Methedologically, it was assumed that the three aggregates were reasonably, although not similarly, knowledgable about the task assigned to them, i.e., the identification of the Negro community's top leaders through the selection and ranking of ten people from the list of the 50 selected leadership nominees of the study. To what extent that assumption was justified is discussed in the following chapter in conjunction with the hypothesis that was based upon it.

Theoretically, the leadership nominees were looked upon as

members of a leadership stratum, i.e., institutional and associational leaders within a pluralistic elite in the Negro community. Hence the dual task is to show in this chapter that they were indeed members of such an elite by virtue of their socio-economic characteristics and social participation. Whether the leadership nominees were indeed leaders who actively concerned themselves with the Negro-white problem in Thrifty City was, of course, a basic concern of the entire study.

One way of showing that the selected leadership nominees were members of a pluralistic elite of institutional and associational leaders in the Negro community was to compare them--in terms of socio-economic characteristics and social participation--with the selected neighborhood leaders and white friends in the study. In addition, the selected leadership nominees were compared with the principal subjects of the Negro community leadership studies conducted by Hunter, Barth and Abu-Laban, Pfautz, and Burgess. The purpose of comparing the principal subjects of this study to the subjects of others was to add to, and to take advantage of, the cumulative data in the literature of Negro community leadership studies of the elitist orientation.

## The Negro Leadership Nominees

The following is a brief presentation of the descriptive, socio-economic characteristics of the 47 men and women who were looked upon in this study as the leadership nominees of Thrifty City's Negro community.

Of the 47 Negro leadership nominees, 32 (68.1 per cent) were men, and 15 (31.9 per cent) were women. Among students of Negro community leadership whose findings were closely scrutinized for purposes of comparisons, only Barth and Abu-Laban reported such a high proportion of women among the "probable leaders" of the Negro community of Pacific City. Barth and Abu-Laban thought that their findings tended "to confirm the popular belief, expressed by several of the leaders themselves, that women held high positions in the leadership structure of the sub-community."[1] This was true of Thrifty City's Negro community, too. On the other hand, while six of the women leadership nominees were "professional" leaders whose exposure to opportunities to assume differential responsibility is normally greater than that of "lay" women, the relatively high proportion of women among the leadership nominees in Thrifty City was probably due to the general character of leadership opportunities in the Negro community. In Thrifty City, leadership opportunities were either social or closely related to service functions of grass roots welfare, both of which tended to favor the emergence of women into leadership positions. Men leadership nominees freely admitted that they often consult their wives because "women know more people and know more about people." The women, on the other hand, said that they "prefer to stand behind our men." While there were exceptions to this, men tended to occupy the top positions in most of the issue-relevant task forces

[1]Barth and Abu-Laban, The American Sociological Review, XXIV, 72.

INSERT 1

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SELECTED

LEADERSHIP NOMINEES
(N 47)

1. Place of Birth:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Thrifty City | 3 | 6.4% |
| Southern USA | 25 | 53.2% |
| Other USA | 19 | 40.4% |

2. Age:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean | 46.1 |
| Median | 44.7 |
| Range | 31-72 |

3. Length of Residence:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean | 20.4 |
| Median | 15.5 |
| Range | 4-42 |

4. Sex:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Men | 32 | 68.1% |
| Women | 15 | 31.9% |

5. Marital Status:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Single | 2 | 4.3% |
| Married | 45 | 95.7% |

6. Number of Children:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean | 2.1 |
| Median | 2.2 |
| Range | 0-8 |

7. Housing:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Owner | 34 | 81.0% |
| Renter | 8 | 19.0% |

8. Education:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| High School or Less | 4 | 8.5% |
| College | 7 | 14.9% |
| Graduate Study | 36 | 76.6% |

9. Occupation:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| White Collar | 40 | 85.1% |
| Blue Collar | 3 | 6.4% |
| Housewife | 4 | 8.5% |

10. Household Income:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Less than $10,000 | 12 | 28.6% |
| $10,000-14,999 | 15 | 35.6% |
| $15,000 of More | 13 | 31.0% |
| No Answer | 2 | 4.8% |

11. Religious Preference:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| None | 2 | 4.3% |
| Protestant | 37 | 78.7% |
| Catholic | 4 | 8.5% |
| Other | 4 | 8.5% |

12. Political Party Preference:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Republican | 6 | 12.8% |
| Democrat | 27 | 57.4% |
| Socialist | 1 | 2.1% |
| Independent | 11 | 23.4% |
| No Answer | 2 | 4.3% |

13. Registered Voter:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 46 | 97.9% |
| No | 1 | 2.1% |

which came within the purview of this study. As to the most conspicuous example, when a formal task force with undeniable top leadership aspirations was formed for the first time in the history of the Negro community in Thrifty City, its executive committee did not include any women.[2]

Only three (6.4 per cent) of the selected leadership nominees were born in Thrifty City, 25 (53.2 per cent) had their place of birth in southern states, and the remaining 19 (40.4 per cent) were born in other parts of the country. Comparatively, while 91.5 per cent of leadership nominees selected for interview in Thrifty City and 88.9 per cent of the probable leaders in Pacific City[3] were born outside of the state of their residence, this was true of 68.7 per cent of Negro leaders in Provicence, of 57.9 per cent of Hunter's subjects from the Negro community of Regional City,[4] and of 59 per cent of the Negro leaders studied by Burgess in Crescent City.[5] While in-migration seemed to be important for all five of the communities, it was marked so for Thrifty City and Pacific City which were the youngest with rapidly growing populations.

Approximately the same general pattern emerged with regard

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[2]See below, p. 268.

[3]Ibid., 73.

[4]Pfautz, Phylon, XXIII, 162. Table 3. Whenever possible, direct reference is made to this article by Pfautz rather than to the primary sources on the Negro leaders of Regional City and Pacific City for the sake of avoiding numerous footnotes.

[5]Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 79.

to the typical age of the leaders from the different communities. In Thrifty City's Negro community, the leadership nominees ranged from 31 to 72 years of age with the median age being 44.7 and the mean 46.1 years. The average age of the leaders in Pacific City was 44.8 years, as opposed to 57.5 in Providence, 54.3 in Regional City,[6] and 51.1 in Crescent City.[7] In Thrifty City, the women tended to be somewhat younger than the men; the median age was 42.8 years for the women and 46 years for the men.

The length of residence of the selected leadership nominees in Thrifty City ranged from four to 42 years; the median was 15.5, and the mean 20.4 years. Thus the typical (median) leadership nominee came to Thrifty City during the late 1940's as a young adult of about 30 years of age. He was very likely an experienced "migrant," since only 12 (27.5 per cent) of the 44 who were not born in Thrifty City came directly from their place of birth; five came directly from southern states, and seven from other states in the country where they were born. Comparison of the average length of residence of the various leadership aggregates showed that, again, Thrifty City's and Pacific City's Negro leaders were similar: their average length of residence was 20.4 years in Thrifty City and 16.5 years in Pacific City.[8] Hunter provided no data on the length of residence of his subjects. The Negro leaders studied by Burgess lived in Crescent City for 24.7

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[6]Pfautz, Phylon, XXIII, 162.

[7]Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 79.

[8]Pfautz, Phylon, XXIII, 162.

years,[9] and the leaders described by Pfautz were residents of Providence, R.I., for the unusually long period of 45.5 years.[10]

Four (8.5 per cent) of the leadership nominees had only a high school education or less, seven (14.9 per cent) attended or completed college, and 36 (76.6 per cent) received some form of graduate education. Of the 43 who attended college, 29 (67.4 per cent) received some degree of financial assistance for their education from parents; 16 (37.2 per cent) had scholarships; 32 (74.4 per cent) earned their way through college at least in part; and 12 (27.9 per cent) had some other forms of financial assistance. In general, the women tended to rely more on their parents, whereas the men derived their income for college expenses from scholarships, personal earnings, and the G.I. Bills. The education of the selected leadership nominees of Thrifty City could be compared only to the education of Negro leaders from Crescent City, for no comparable data were available from the other two studies. In both communities, fewer than ten per cent of the subjects had only a high school education or less. While Crescent City had a higher proportion of leaders (22.2 per cent vs. 14.8 per cent) who attended only college, Thrifty City's Negro community had a proportionately larger number of leaders (76.6 per cent vs. 70.4 per cent) who received some form of graduate training.[11] The leaders from both of these communities spent a higher average number of

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[9]Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 79.

[10]Pfautz, Phylon, XXIII, 162.

[11]Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 79.

years in school than the average of 16 years reported by Barth and Abu-Laban for the leaders of Pacific City.[12]

More than four-fifth (85.1 per cent) of the leadership nominees of Thrifty City's Negro community had white collar occupations. Just as in the other three communities--the exception being Providence--professionals were proportionately the largest occupational category among the leaders of Thrifty City, too. Physicians, dentists, lawyers, teachers, and social workers accounted for 24 (51 per cent) of the 47 subjects and an additional 10 (21.3 per cent) were managers, and elected or appointed officials. While the combined category of professionals, managers and officials (70.2 per cent) was proportionately the largest in Thrifty City among the five communities, the proportion of businessmen was comparatively the lowest (12.8 per cent) in Thrifty City's Negro community. To the extent that the Negro communities of Thrifty City and Pacific City could be looked upon as the most similar in their general characteristics, Thrifty City's Negro community appeared to have a larger professional-managerial intelligentsia among the leadership nominees, whereas Pacific City's Negro community had more businessmen in the leadership aggregate studied by Barth and Abu-Laban.[13]

The educational achievement of the leadership nominees and their spouses, on one hand, and the schooling of their parents and

[12]Barth and Abu-Laban, American Sociological Review, XXIV, 73.

[13]See, Pfautz, Phylon, XXIII, 162, and Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 79.

their in-laws, on the other, tended to be similar. About three times as many leadership nominees and their spouses, or nine in ten, attended or completed college as their parents and in-laws did. On the other hand, about two-fifths of the parents and in-laws attended or completed grammar school, whereas all of their children among the leadership nominees received more than a grammar school education. Although the data showed about twice as many grammar school educated persons among parents as among in-laws, it seemed more likely that the in-laws whose educational background the interviewees could not or would not recall had a grammar school rather than a high school or college education. This interpretation was suggested by the similarity between the occupational distribution of the leadership nominees' fathers and fathers-in-law: both were about equally divided between white and blue collar occupations. Thus, based upon the educational and occupational background of the immediate members of their family of orientation, at least one-third of the leadership nominees and their spouses descended from parents of middle class status. As to the most conspicuous occupational category of their parents, six fathers and eight fathers-in-law were clergymen.

The 47 leadership nominees of Thrifty City's Negro community were members of 40 families of procreation, including five couples and two single persons. Among those who were married, the median age at the time of the first marriage was 26.5 years for the men and 24 years for the women. Of the 40 families, 7 (17.5 per cent) were childless, and the remaining 33 (82.5 per cent) had

Table 2: EDUCATION OF SELECTED LEADERSHIP NOMINEES AND MEMBERS OF THEIR FAMILY OF ORIENTATION

| Education | Subject | S's Spouse | S's Father | S's Mother | S's F-in-Law | S's M-in-Law |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grammar | .. | .. | 20 (42.6) | 20 (42.6) | 10 (21.3) | 11 (23.4) |
| High School | 4 ( 8.5) | 5 (10.6) | 11 (23.4) | 10 (21.3) | 12 (25.5) | 11 (23.4) |
| College | 43 (91.5) | 29 (83.0) | 16 (34.0) | 13 (27.6) | 15 (31.9) | 13 (27.6) |
| Dk - Na | .. | 1 ( 2.1) | .. | 4 ( 8.5) | 8 (17.0) | 10 (21.3) |
| N appl. | .. | 2 ( 4.3) | .. | .. | 2 ( 4.3) | 2 ( 4.3) |
| Total | 47 (100.0) | 47 (100.0) | 47 (100.0) | 47 (100.0) | 47 (100.0) | 47 (100.0) |



Table 3: OCCUPATION OF SELECTED LEADERSHIP NOMINEES AND MEMBERS OF THEIR FAMILY OF ORIENTATION

| Occupation | Subject | S's Spouse | S's Father | S's F-in-Law |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| White Collar | 40 (85.1) | 31 (65.9) | 24 (51.1) | 22 (46.8) |
| Blue Collar | 3 ( 6.4) | 3 ( 6.4) | 21 (44.6) | 19 (40.4) |
| Housewife | 4 ( 8.5) | 11 (23.4) | .. | .. |
| Dk - Na | .. | .. | 2 ( 4.3) | 4 ( 8.5) |
| N appl. | .. | 2 ( 4.3) | .. | 2 ( 4.3) |
| Total | 47 (100.0) | 47 (100.0) | 47 (100.0) | 47 (100.0) |

a total of 87 children. The median number of children was 2.2; five of the 87 children were adopted.

The leadership nominees were asked about the total, disposable annual income of the households in which they were living at the time of the interviews. Because two of the leadership nominees were single, four were housewives, and 11 of the wives of the men leadership nominees were not gainfully employed, the income reported by the interviewees represented earnings by only one member of the families in 17 cases of the 42 household units involved. While 12 (28.6 per cent) reported earnings under $10,000 per year, 13 (31 per cent) had an annual family income over $15,000. In view of the high educational level and of the occupational skills of the leadership nominees involved, the median household income of $12,857 could not be considered as unusual. Since in more than one-half of the households there were two breadwinners, it could be argued that the median personal income was relatively low.

Because cars and homes are often considered as major status symbols, the leadership nominees were asked about car and home ownership, too. All of the interviewees owned cars. The makes of their automobiles varied, but they could be divided about evenly into owners of "expensive" (Cadillac, Lincoln, Buick, Thunderbird, Corvette, Oldsmobile, etc.) cars and "moderately priced" (Chevrolet, Plymouth, Ford, Lark, Rambler, etc.) cars. While 20 (42.6 per cent) owned cars which were made in 1961 or later, only 9 (19.2 per cent) possessed a car which was manufactured in 1957 or

earlier. According to the 1960 census, 24.5 per cent of the non-whites in Thrifty City lived as owners in their homes. Of the leadership nominees of the Negro community, 34 (81 per cent) were home owners and 9 (19 per cent) rented their living quarters when the interviews were conducted with them. The findings of Barth and Abu-Laban showed 80 per cent of the probable leaders of Pacific City as home owners.[14] Hunter had comparable data on only 22 of the 34 leaders in Regional City, but 21 of these were home owners.[15]

The religious preference of the leadership nominees of the Negro community was predominantly for Protestantism (78.7 per cent). Catholics constituted a definite minority (8.5 per cent), as did members of non-Christian sects (8.5 per cent) and non-believers (4.3 per cent). Of the 43 who were members of a local church, which they identified by name, 9 (20.9 per cent) attended religious services where only Negroes worship. Comparatively, there were more than twice as many Baptists among the leadership nominees of Thrifty City (34 per cent) than among the Negro leaders of Regional City (14.7 per cent); Baptists were the most numerous among leaders of Protestant religious preference in Thrifty City and the least numerous among the Negro leaders of Regional City, who were predominantly Methodists, Congregationalists, or Presbyterians.[16]

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[14]Barth and Abu-Laban, American Sociological Review, XXIV, 73.

[15]Hunter, Community Power Structure, 123.

[16]Ibid., 122-23.

As to political party preference, there were 27 (57.4 per cent) Democrats, 6 (12.8 per cent) Republicans, 9 (23.4 per cent Independents, and 1 (2.1 per cent) Socialist among the leadership nominees. The political party preference of 2 (4.3 per cent) could not be determined. All six of the Republicans were 55 years of age or older. All but one woman interviewee were registered voters and voted during the last presidential election, as well as in the local election of November, 1962. Of the 47 leadership nominees, only 1 (2.1 per cent) thought Negroes voted as a bloc in Thrifty City, and 9 (23.4 per cent) felt that they should do so.

Because it is often alleged that the social class position of Negroes implies--among other things--a differential set of attitudes toward the status quo in race relations, the leadership nominees were asked about their own social class position. When asked about their social class by general American standards, 8 (17 per cent) thought of themselves as being working class people, 36 (76.6 per cent) of the interviewees said that they were middle class, and 3 (6.4 per cent) felt that they were of the upper class. Proportionately more women (73.3 per cent) than men (40.6 per cent) felt that one should not talk about a different or specifically Negro social class structure. On the other hand, of those (46.3 per cent) who felt that social class is measured by different standards in Negro communities, 10.9 per cent felt they were working class people, 57.1 per cent said they were middle class, and 38 per cent thought of themselves as upper class people--by Negro standards.

## Negro Neighborhood Leaders and White Friends

Although no special scale was adopted or developed to measure the social class position of the subjects of the study, the leadership nominees' education, occupation, income, and housing data clearly marked them as people who belong to the best element in the Negro community. Some among them--to whom the names of the Negro neighborhood leaders were shown--felt with equal certainty that the neighborhood leaders were a "different kind of people." Just how different they were could be gauged by the objective criteria which are the most often used to determine social class. Of the 31 neighborhood leaders who were selected for interview, only 6 (19.4 per cent) received some form of graduate training; 17 (54.9 per cent) were blue collar workers; 21 (67.7 per cent) had an annual household income of less than $10,000; and 18 (58.1 per cent) rented rather than owned their living quarters. While the neighborhood leaders were markedly different from the leadership nominees in terms of the modal frequencies of their data on education, occupation, income, and housing, the former compared favorably to the latter in terms of the other descriptive characteristics which were used in this study. The differences in social class between the leadership nominees and neighborhood leaders were equally reflected by the data on the educational and occupational background of the immediate members of their family of orientation. No more than 3 (9.7 per cent) of the parents and 1 (3.2 per cent) of the in-laws of the neighborhood leaders were college

INSERT 2

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SELECTED NEIGHBORHOOD LEADERS
(N 31)

1. Place of Birth:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Thrifty City | 2 | 6.4% |
| Southern USA | 20 | 64.5% |
| Other USA | 9 | 29.1% |

2. Age:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean | 44.0 |
| Median | 42.0 |
| Range | 29-67 |

3. Length of Residence:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean | 20.9 |
| Median | 15.0 |
| Range | 4-46 |

4. Sex:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Men | 17 | 54.8% |
| Women | 14 | 45.2% |

5. Marital Status:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Single | 2 | 6.4% |
| Married | 29 | 93.6% |

6. Number of Children:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean | 2.4 |
| Median | 2.0 |
| Range | 0-11 |

7. Housing:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Owner | 13 | 41.9% |
| Renter | 18 | 58.1% |

8. Education:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| High School or Less | 14 | 45.2% |
| College | 11 | 35.4% |
| Graduate Study | 6 | 19.4% |

9. Occupation:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| White Collar | 14 | 45.2% |
| Blue Collar | 10 | 32.2% |
| Housewife | 7 | 22.6% |

10. Household Income:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Less than $10,000 | 21 | 67.7% |
| $10,000-14,999 | 5 | 16.1% |
| $15,000 or More | 3 | 9.6% |
| No Answer | 2 | 6.4% |

11. Religious Preference:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| None | | |
| Protestant | 27 | 87.0% |
| Catholic | 3 | 9.7% |
| Other | 1 | 3.3% |

12. Political Party Preference:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Republican | | |
| Democrat | 22 | 70.9% |
| Independent | 9 | 29.1% |

13. Registered Voter:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 31 | 100.0% |
| No | | |

educated and 10 (32.3 per cent) of their fathers and 6 (19.4 per cent) of their fathers-in-law had a white collar occupation.

Although no statistical tests of significance could be applied to the differences between the two leadership aggregates, the neighborhood leader interviewees were accepted as adequate for purposes of exploring how top leadership reputations were viewed by people who were looked upon by the interviewees of the Community Survey as leaders in their neighborhoods. It became eminently clear throughout the study that the color of their skin alone, which Negroes share with each other, provided for a tenuous solidarity among them. Beyond simplistic notions that "Uncle Toms are no good," and "wild-catting ambitions" can be condoned with glee if successful, however, mature and reflective thought was plentiful in the Negro community to provide a check upon reputations. Therefore, it was hoped that the social situational origin of divergent perspectives on top leadership in the Negro community could be demonstrated, at least suggestively, if an aggregate of neighborhood leaders, whose general descriptive characteristics were sufficiently different from those of the leadership nominees, were given the opportunity to state their views. Within certain limitations, the selected neighborhood leaders of the study came reasonably close to being the types of people who were encountered informally in various settings where the affairs of the Negro community were debated in public. They appeared to be people of selective and intermittent interest in community issues and personalities who could be asked about their views on both in the

Table 4: EDUCATION OF SELECTED NEIGHBORHOOD LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF THEIR FAMILY OF ORIENTATION

| Education | Subject | S's Spouse | S's Father | S's Mother | S's F-in-Law | S's M-in-Law |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grammar | 1 ( 3.2) | 6 (19.4) | 12 (38.7) | 13 (41.9) | 5 (16.1) | 7 (22.6) |
| High School | 13 (41.9) | 9 (29.0) | 6 (19.3) | 8 (25.8) | 5 (16.1) | 6 (19.3) |
| College | 17 (54.9) | 13 (41.9) | 3 ( 9.7) | 3 ( 9.7) | 1 ( 3.2) | 1 ( 3.2) |
| Dk - Na | .. | 1 ( 3.2) | 10 (32.3) | 7 (22.6) | 18 (58.1) | 15 (48.4) |
| N appl. | .. | 2 ( 6.5) | .. | .. | 2 ( 6.5) | 2 ( 6.5) |
| Total | 31 (100.0) | 31 (100.0) | 31 (100.0) | 31 (100.0) | 31 (100.0) | 31 (100.0) |



Table 5: OCCUPATION OF SELECTED NEIGHBORHOOD LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF THEIR FAMILY OF ORIENTATION

| Occupation | Subject | S's Spouse | S's Father | S's F-in-Law |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| White Collar | 14 (45.1) | 14 (45.1) | 10 (32.3) | 6 (19.4) |
| Blue Collar | 10 (32.3) | 9 (29.0) | 17 (54.9) | 14 (45.1) |
| Housewife | 7 (22.6) | 6 (19.3) | .. | .. |
| Dk - Na | .. | .. | 4 (12.8) | 9 (29.0) |
| N appl. | .. | 2 ( 6.5) | .. | 2 ( 6.5) |
| Total | 31 (100.0) | 31 (100.0) | 31 (100.0) | 31 (100.0) |

Negro community. This claim is here made with the important qualification, however, that the identification of an intraracial neighborhood leadership stratum and leaders warrants an independent study by itself.

While the selected neighborhood leaders in the study have to be regarded with caution because their identification occurred within the limitations of the reputational method, the selection of the white friends involved other problems. Foremost among them was the adequacy of the sociometric criterion for the selection of "three white men or women who understand the problems of the Negro community and are known to work effectively toward their solution." As stated in the preceding chapter, 21 leadership nominees did not name any white friends as they were asked to do--including eight who did not select anyone.[17] The following were some of the comments by the 47 leadership nominees who could have cast 141 "votes" but made use of only 104 in naming 55 such persons from the white community of Thrifty City:

> I don't know whom I could name...I don't know anybody. The whites' understanding of the problems of Negroes is very limited...Whites cannot understand how upset and confused Negroes are about the way they are treated...There is nobody outstanding...I don't like to single out people at the expense of others, even though there may be some people who recognize problems as problems of the Negro-white community at large...I would feel very uncomfortable in singling out individuals because several people have complete understanding of the problems but cannot and do not give effective assistance for reasons known only to themselves...No whites really understand the problems of Negroes, but I can tell you the name of perhaps the most powerful man in town who could do very much for Negroes.

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[17] See above, p. 149.

> By the way, are you going to talk to the Mayor? He ought to know our problems, you know!...No, listing would not be right because they do not really understand the needs of Negroes...And I know a lot of others who work with Negroes or on the problems of Negroes because of selfish gains... I am not sure of the ability and sincerity of others... Laymen do not really believe in what they preach...There are about a dozen more who are good but these three are really outstanding.

With the exception of 11 leadership nominees who briefly complied with the request and eight others who firmly stated their reasons for not naming anybody, the majority of the leadership nominees were somewhat baffled by the request and the scarcity rather than the abundance of candidates seemed to be their major problem in making their selections.

On the other hand, when the selected 24 white friends were asked why they thought their names were mentioned by the leadership nominees of the Negro community, their answers tended to fall into two major categories. The majority preferred to list specific projects, and memberships in committees or organizations as the most important instances of their involvement in activities of importance to Negroes, and as the probable reasons for their selection. Others gave a more personal and slightly ideological flavor to their answers.

> I am a born radical, I guess...You know, I did not wish to get involved in this type of work (civil rights) again, but it became impossible to remain silent...First of all, as a Jew, I have very strong feelings about these matters ...Well because I always treated them as human beings and they know it, too...I am the son of immigrants who knows hardship...Because they know how I feel and where I stand. Of course, you see where I am living. By the way, tell your friend that he ought to be living here, too...Why, I have many good friends among Negroes. I know them for years, we go to them, they come to us...That is very easy!

Because I am doing what every American ought to be doing... A farm house in Kansas that was "open to all," "a wonderful Irish mother," the heritage of seven generations of Jewish ancestors in the South, Negro friends in local high schools, political campaigns, professional ties, jobs, and personal friendships of long standing were credited with originating and maintaining the interviewees' interest in Negroes and in their cause. None of the white friends questioned his selection, and most seemed genuinely pleased by it in spite of the fact that, at the time of the interviews in 1964, new leaders began to come forward in the Negro community and part of their program appeared to be a radical revision of leadership reputations concerning race relations in Thrifty City. In the heat of new events, some of the Negro community's leading citizens began to be called "so-called" leaders, and a new distinction between white liberals and liberal whites was introduced into the already cluttered semantics of race relations in the city.

The so-called Negro Revolution,[18] however, merely intensified the scrutiny of leadership reputations rather than created it. Interested Negroes and whites alike were laboring under considerable "civic stress" in the city long before the advent of the

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[18]"In the technical language of social science, the Negro American protest is a reform movement and not a revolution. This is true because the protest aims to change norms--the accepted rules of societal operation--and not to overturn basic values. The term 'revolution' is used here, then, only in the popular sense of a major social movement demanding fundamental reforms." Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the Negro American (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1964), 192, n.

new leaders because of implicit agreement upon the legitimate, general goals of Negroes which frequently led to disagreement upon the means to reach them. The constant scrutiny of reputations was no different among Negroes than between whites and Negroes. Therefore, it was not surprising to learn--through informal and cautious spot checks--that not all of the 55 white friend nominees were "acceptable" to some of the leadership nominees, to some of the newly emerging leaders or, for that matter, to some of the white friends themselves.

The descriptive socio-economic characteristics of the 24 white friends selected for interviews were as follows. Ranging from 31 to 72 years of age, the median age of the white friends was 52, and their mean age was 53.9 years. Thus the typical white friend was about ten years older than either the typical leadership nominee or the typical neighborhood leader. Ten (41.7 per cent) were born in Thrifty City, 3 (12.5 per cent) were from Midwest State, and the remaining 11 (45.8 per cent) had their place of birth in other parts of the country. Only 2 (8.3 per cent) of the white friends were born in southern states--the region that was the place of birth of 25 (53.2 per cent) leadership nominees and of 20 (64.5 per cent) neighborhood leaders. Their length of residence in Thrifty City ranged from eight to 72 years. By taking into account prolonged absences from the city, the median length of residence was 34.2 and the mean 33.2 years. Thus, the typical white friend was a resident of Thrifty City for about twice as many years as either the typical leadership nominee or

neighborhood leader.

Of the 24 white interviewees, 18 (70.8 per cent) were men and seven (29.2 per cent) were women. Four (16.7 per cent) were single, and 20 (83.3 per cent) were married. Since the group included two families in which both husband and wife were interviewed, data on the families refer to 18 households. There were children in all but one of the families; the mean number of children was 2.4, and the median, 2.2 children. In terms of the most commonly used indices of family characteristics, there were only minor differences between the three aggregates of interviewees of the study.

On the other hand, the two comparable items of information about the households of the three aggregates of interviewees could lead to erroneous conclusions because the coded data tended to mask important differences within as well as between aggregates. While 12 (54.5 per cent) of the white friends were home owners, 13 (41.9 per cent) of the neighborhood leaders, and 34 (81.0 per cent) of the leadership nominees owned their homes. When assessed values, types, and location of housing were compared, the findings tended to favor the white friends and the leadership nominees rather than the neighborhood leaders--in the order here listed. The same also was true of the total, annual, disposable income of the households. The fact that one-half of the white friends lived in households with an annual income of more than $15,000 as opposed to 31 per cent of the leadership nominees and 9.6 per cent of the neighborhood leaders was only a crude indication of the economic

INSERT 3

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SELECTED

WHITE FRIENDS
(N 24)

1. Place of Birth:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Thrifty City | 10 | (41.7%) |
| Southern USA | 2 | ( 8.3%) |
| Other USA | 12 | (50.0%) |

2. Age:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean | 53.2 |
| Median | 52.0 |
| Range | 31-72 |

3. Length of Residence:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean | 33.2 |
| Median | 34.2 |
| Range | 8-72 |

4. Sex:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Men | 17 | (70.8%) |
| Women | 7 | (29.2%) |

5. Marital Status:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Single | 4 | (16.7%) |
| Married | 20 | (83.3%) |

6. Number of Children:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean | 2.4 |
| Median | 2.2 |
| Range | 0-6 |

7. Housing:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Owner | 12 | (54.5%) |
| Renter | 10 | (45.5%) |

8. Education:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| High School or Less | 1 | ( 4.2%) |
| College | 7 | (14.9%) |
| Graduate Study | 15 | (62.5%) |

9. Occupation:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| White Collar | 22 | (91.7%) |
| Blue Collar | | |
| Housewife | 2 | ( 8.3%) |

10. Household Income:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Less than $10,000 | 5 | (22.7%) |
| $10,000-14,999 | 6 | (27.3%) |
| $15,000-19,999 | 5 | (22.7%) |
| $20,000 or More | 6 | (27.3%) |

11. Religious Preference:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| None | 2 | ( 8.3%) |
| Protestant | 14 | (58.3%) |
| Catholic | 4 | (16.7%) |
| Jewish | 4 | (16.7%) |

12. Political Party Preference:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Republican | 2 | ( 8.3%) |
| Democrat | 13 | (54.2%) |
| Socialist | 1 | ( 4.2%) |
| Independent | 8 | (33.3%) |

13. Registered Voter:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 24 | (100.0%) |
| No | | |

component of social distance among the three aggregates. What the household data showed conclusively was that the mixing of their respective social worlds--barring other considerations--was well within the means of the leadership nominees and the white friends of the Negro community. As an aggregate, and generally speaking, the neighborhood leaders appeared to be a "different kind of people."

Among the white interviewees, only 2(8.3 per cent) housewives had no formal occupations, and none of the remaining 22 (91.7 per cent) was a blue collar worker. On the other hand, 3 (6.4 per cent) of the leadership nominees and 10 (32.2 per cent) of the neighborhood leaders were blue collar workers, exclusive of housewives. Of the white friends, 15 (62.5 per cent) received graduate training, 7 (14.9 per cent) attended college, and 1 (4.2 per cent) was a high school graduate. In view of the fact that 36 (76.6 per cent) of the leadership nominees received graduate education, they appeared to be more than equal to the white friends of the Negro community in terms of formal training. The data tended to mask again, of course, the more subtle differences which result from a combination of formal training, career opportunities and actual experiences.

All of the white interviewees were registered voters. As to their political party preference, 2 (8.3 per cent) were Republicans, 13 (54.2 per cent) were Democrats, 9 (33.3 per cent) claimed to be Independents, and 1 (4.2 per cent) was a Socialist. While there were no Republicans among the neighborhood leaders,

proportionately more claimed to be Republicans among the leadership nominees than among the white interviewees. Democrats constituted the majority of all three aggregates.

Finally, some form of Protestantism was the religious preference of 14 (58.3 per cent) of the white interviewees, 4 (16.7 per cent) were Catholics, 4 (16.7 per cent) were of the Jewish faith, and 2 (8.3 per cent) said to have no religion. All but one of those who had a religious preference belonged to a local church or congregation. Insofar as religious preference was concerned, the difference between the two Negro leadership aggregates and the white interviewees was a matter of membership in different denominations within Protestantism rather than of preference for one or another of the major faiths.

## Membership in Groups and Organizations

Because it was assumed that "both the institutional and the parapolitical structures of voluntary associations in the community contribute to the leadership stratum which provides the personnel of the leadership structure of the community,"[19] the interviewees of this study were also asked about their memberships in various groups and organizations. It is axiomatic to assume in sociology that a wide range of cooperative ventures, formal groups and organizations, which function side by side with the institutions of a given social order, are an important part of the fabric of a community. Institutional patterns are paralleled by patterns

[19]See above, pp. 96, 101.

of activity in voluntary associations of all kinds, and this study assumed that if community leadership has an identifiable breeding ground and pattern, then they have to be sought where social participation is a sui generis form of assuming differential responsibility for needs which are not met by institutions. That is, memberships in groups and organizations must be looked upon as an essential characteristic of community leader nominees and community leaders.

The 47 leadership nominees selected for interviews reported membership in 146 different non-church groups and organizations. Reporting a total of 323 memberships, they were members of an average of 6.9 groups and organizations. Although no leadership nominee was without any affiliation with non-church groups and organizations, 43.7 per cent of the men and 40 per cent of the women did not belong to any church sponsored groups and organizations. On the other hand, the 31 selected neighborhood leaders claimed membership in 54 different non-church groups and organizations. Reporting a total of 115 memberships, they held membership in an average of 3.7 groups and organizations. While all neighborhood leaders were members of non-church groups, 38.7 per cent did not belong to any church related groups and organizations. Although local churches are often considered as the most independent institutional structures which could be not only sources of moral forces but also power bases of social organization in the Negro community, about three-fifths of both leadership nominees and neighborhood leaders were at best members of them but did not

Table 6: SOCIAL PARTICIPATION BY SELECTED LEADERSHIP NOMINEES, NEIGHBORHOOD LEADERS, AND WHITE FRIENDS IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

| TYPE ASSOCIATION | LEADERSHIP NOMINEES | | NEIGHBORHOOD LEADERS | | WHITE FRIENDS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Association | Membership | Association | Membership | Association | Membership |
| I. | 12 ( 8.2) | 20 ( 6.2) | 2 ( 3.7) | 2 ( 1.7) | 25 (17.0) | 38 (16.6) |
| II. | 9 ( 6.2) | 82 (25.4) | 3 ( 5.6) | 35 (30.4) | 19 (12.9) | 56 (24.6) |
| III. | 18 (12.3) | 51 (15.8) | 10 (18.5) | 26 (22.6) | 26 (17.8) | 36 (15.8) |
| IV. | 30 (20.6) | 52 (16.1) | 16 (29.6) | 23 (20.0) | 24 (16.3) | 36 (15.8) |
| V. | 13 ( 8.9) | 17 ( 5.3) | 6 (11.1) | 12 (10.4) | 5 ( 3.4) | 6 ( 2.7) |
| VI. | 40 (27.4) | 54 (16.7) | 5 ( 9.3) | 5 ( 4.3) | 37 (25.2) | 38 (16.6) |
| VII. | 14 ( 9.5) | 34 (10.5) | 6 (11.1) | 6 ( 5.3) | 3 ( 2.0) | 7 ( 3.1) |
| VIII. | 10 ( 6.8) | 13 ( 4.0) | 6 (11.1) | 6 ( 5.3) | 8 ( 5.4) | 11 ( 4.8) |
| Total | 146 (100.0) | 323 (100.0) | 54 (100.0) | 115 (100.0) | 147 (100.0) | 228 (100.0) |

LEGEND: I., Quasi-Public Bodies; II., Leadership Organizations; III., Welfare and Service Organizations; IV., Neighborhood and Civic Improvement Groups; V., Veterans, Masons and Unions; VI., Professional and Occupational Groups; VII., Fraternities, Sororities, Alumni; VIII., Social Clubs, Hobby Groups

participate in the organizational activities connected with them.

Ranging from three to 16 active memberships, the 24 selected white friends were members of an average of 9.5 groups and organizations. Some of the 228 memberships which were listed by them were overlapping and conventional, especially in the area of professional organizations; others reflected unusual and unique interests. More importantly, however, the unique characteristic of this aggregate of men and women consisted of their participation in the activities of Thrifty City's quasi-public bodies, i.e., the appointed, advisory committees and commissions which assist local government officials in the performance of their functions. While 38 (16.6 per cent) of the 228 memberships reported by the white friends referred to quasi-public bodies, only 20 (6.2 per cent) of the 323 memberships of leadership nominees and 2 (1.7 per cent) of the 115 memberships claimed by the neighborhood leaders consisted of involvement in the activities of such committees and commissions.

The two most frequently reported organizations in which interviewees from all three aggregates held memberships were the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Thrifty City Urban League. These two groups were part of the larger category which was designated in this study as leadership organizations. Membership in leadership organizations accounted for 25.4 per cent, 30.4 per cent, and 24.6 per cent of all memberships reported, in the order here listed, by the leadership nominees, neighborhood leaders, and white friends. More specifically,

membership in the NAACP was claimed by 89.3 per cent of the leadership nominees, by 71 per cent of the neighborhood leaders, and by 66.6 per cent of the white friends of the Negro community. Membership in the Thrifty City Urban League was reported by 53.2 per cent of the leadership nominees, by 38.7 per cent of the neighborhood leaders, and by 54.2 per cent of the white friends. These two organizations were, and to a great extent still are, the leadership organizations par excellence in the Negro community of Thrifty City. Their activities provided the meeting ground where whites and Negroes who were interested in race relations in the city could attempt to collaborate with each other.

In addition to memberships in the NAACP and the Urban League, the local YMCA and YWCA provided an opportunity for social participation for 40.4 per cent of the leadership nominees and for 32.2 per cent of the neighborhood leaders. On the other hand, various board and committee memberships in the so-called Red Feather agencies were reported by 62.5 per cent of the white friends in the study. Exactly one-half of the white friends served--at one time or another--on the boards of the three governmental community organizations of Thrifty City and Midwest State. Finally, about one-fifth of both the leadership nominees (19.2 per cent) and white friends (20.8 per cent) reported membership or office holding in the Midwest State Democratic Party.

The other organizations and groups, whose resources could at least theoretically be exploited for purposes of joint action, varied from professional associations to hobby groups, and from

up-lift organizations to purely social clubs. Some were local groups, others had state-wide membership rolls, and still others were national organizations. Perhaps the least often mentioned groups were the various social clubs--the activities of these could not escape the notice of the readers of the Negro weekly, the Thrifty City Beacon. These clubs of the lower middle class were either ignored as social resources by the Negro respondents, or information was withheld about them in the somewhat tedious process of listing memberships in groups and organizations.

As to the nature and action-content of civic life within the voluntary associations, the activities of groups and organizations in and around the Negro community represented a varied and bewildering array of programs, projects, meetings, drives, gatherings, drop-in suppers, scholarships, camperships, teas, socials, leadership institutes, volunteer services, marches, etc. The nominal facade of program leaflets and committee reports was difficult to penetrate for the tangible results of self-help, assistance and organized leisure which the groups and organizations were attempting to provide to the members of the community. In general, few of the groups and organizations aimed to reach beyond the lower fringes of more or less securely held middle class aspirations and respectability in the Negro community. More specific details about the voluntary associations of the Negro community are part of the following sections inasmuch as they are relevant for the discussion of the power bases and issue-involvement of the principal subjects of this study of Negro community leadership.

# CHAPTER V

## LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE, POWER STRUCTURE AND POWER ELITE

### Some Prerequisites of Community Leadership

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the structural characteristics of community leadership in the Negro community of Thrifty City. That the relationships among the selected principal subjects of the study were not random is examined in terms of three criteria: whether the leadership nominees knew and worked with each other and whether they designated each other, by mutual selection, as top leaders of the Negro community. Based upon these sociometric criteria, two types of leaders, i.e., top and lesser leaders, are identified within the leadership structure. The identification of top and lesser leaders is within the context of a methodological hypothesis based upon the assumption that the three aggregates of subjects in the study were reasonably although not similarly knowledgable about the leadership structure, for they knew and worked with the leadership nominees of the Negro community. The hypothesis was that the rank orders of the Negro community's top leaders established by the leadership nominees and the white friends would be positively correlated, whereas the rank order established by neighborhood leaders would be significantly different from the other two rankings. Furthermore, the power bases of the leadership structure are examined with special

attention to the overlapping membership of top leaders in groups and organizations. Finally, the question of power elite is raised within the limitations of the reputational method which makes it possible to consider only a potential power elite in the Negro community.

It was in keeping with the underlying logic of the reputational method as well as for purposes of avoiding a purely tautological use of structural analysis that the 47 selected leadership nominees were asked a series of questions about themselves. Foremost among them was the question of why they thought they had been selected as the principal subjects of a leadership study in Thrifty City's Negro community. Althought it was anticipated that no interviewee would answer the question without some reluctance to identify himself as a leader, it was hoped that, under certain conditions, the subjects could approach their task with some degree of detachment. Concern about the possible reluctance on the part of the subjects to deal with the question was based on the observation that <u>leader</u> tends to be a public accolade and a ceremonial term of civic honor rather than a candid and spontaneous term of self-identification in everyday use. This is especially true of leaders who do not hold formal office and, therefore, tend to assume in public the familiar posture of cultural patriotism: "I am only a barefoot boy from..." Elected and appointed officials, on the other hand, are often tempted to claim that everything they do is an integral part of the functional responsibilities of their office: "I am only doing my job." Still others may hold to the

greater-than-life-size myth of leadership and measure performance by a very demanding yardstick in the community.

The 47 leadership nominees of the study were asked to reflect upon their selection for study as community leaders, after they indicated how many people they knew and worked with on the study list of 50 names which included their own name. It was assumed that the implicit possibility of direct comparisons with others on the list would help the interviewees overcome their reluctance, if any, to report on their self-image as leaders in the Negro community.

Of the 47 leadership nominees from the institutional and associational elites of the Negro community, four said they did not know why they would be considered leaders because whatever they might have done in the community was of no great importance. Four others refused to consider themselves leaders and attributed their selection to job-connected publicity or to mere participation in the "usual" organizational life of the Negro community. Of the remaining 39 who did not question emphatically their identification as leaders, 21 named involvement in the activities of specific groups and organizations as the most probable explanation for their selection, and 18 others felt that their work was generally known in the Negro community because of the occasional instances of publicity connected with it.

The following quotations from interview protocols illustrate the qualitative aspects of the leadership nominees' answers to the question: "Now that you are familiar with the list...why

do you think you have been included in the group?"

> Because of the type of work which I am doing. I am working for everybody in Thrifty City. Because I am Negro, however, people tend to think of me as one of the Negro leaders. Looking at it realistically, this is so. At times, however, it is unfortunate...I doubt that your panel knew my qualifications. They only know my agency. Personally, I don't feel that I gave evidence of any kind of leadership. I may be a good administrator, but I am not a leader...Because I am concerned about the welfare of Negroes. I have thought about it, and I have tried to do things. I am sincere and my abilities permit me to help ...I am not a leader in the strict sense of the word, but only an individual who is doing what he sees that has to be done in the community to better Negro opportunities... Because of my genuine interest in the Negro community of Thrifty City. I believe in what we are doing; I am young enough to fight...I have been involved in community activities for years and I continue to do so...I feel that my reputation as an "old timer" in the community was the principal reason for my selection...As an early "newcomer," I had a unique opportunity to participate in community activities...Because I have been very active in many organizations. That is all...I think someone has been misled. Perhaps someone knew that I have worked on Negro problems. I have put a lot of effort into the work that I did. However, I don't feel that the work I did entitles me to be called a leader.

The leadership nominees' views on the leadership reputations of others on the study list, in turn, were reflected by their answers to the question of how many persons on the list should <u>not</u> have been selected for study. The answers about "removing" others were considered in the light of the information that the leadership nominees knew an average of 46.1 persons, and worked with an average of 34.8 nominees who were listed for study. In view of their reluctance to consider themselves as leaders, and also in view of their knowledge of and work experience with so many of the nominees, it was surprising to learn that in the leadership nominees' opinion only an average of 4.6 persons on the list should not be

considered as leaders of the Negro community. While one person wished to delete as many as 37 names from the list, and another felt the same way about 23 others, 19 leadership nominees thought that no person should be removed from the list. Thus, while two leadership nominees were very critical of the list, community leadership--defined as ability to make decisions and initiate community-wide action--appeared to be a widely scattered attribute of many people in the Negro community.[1] Nor was this interpretation considerably weakened when the data produced by the neighborhood leaders and the white friends were considered. While three of the 31 neighborhood leaders and two of the 24 white friends suggested the removal of 21 persons or more from the list, the average number of nominees who were not to be considered leaders was 4.8 in the opinion of the neighborhood leaders and 7.8 according to the white friends.

Interview questions which were aimed at discovering whether the values of the Negro community's leaders were the same as those of the "people" produced quasi-unanimous claims on the part of the leadership nominees that the leaders were "close to the people" (95.8 per cent) and "concerned themselves with the problems of the average Negro" in the community. Less formal probing, on the other hand, tended to result in a "you-must-know-what-I-mean" type of summing up of basic values which were expressed by

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[1]For exact size of the leadership stratum identified by this study, see above, pp. 163-64.

equality, freedom, desegregation, integration, or even by such colloquial gambits as "the whole ball of wax." In general, interview data proved to be less satisfactory in this respect than the indirect evidence of the leadership nominees' membership in groups and organizations which sought to promote, locally and nationally, the general goals and interests of Negroes.[2]

In Thrifty City, however, none of the so-called Negro leadership organizations was "of the grass roots," if grass roots is defined in terms of the general socio-economic characteristics of the majority in the Negro community. Furthermore, all of the major leadership groups and organizations were interracial in the sense that whites also held memberships and office in them. The specific programs, projects, and issue involvements, through which leadership claims were either advanced or perceived in the Negro community, were in fact the products of executive leader behavior. That is, the mandates of the men and women who appeared to be the leaders of the Negro community were often derived from the deliberations of interracial boards, or from the more or less traditional policies of social agencies, action groups, and organizations. Statements made in public meetings that "I will have to go back to my people" have often meant that the spokesman had to go back to an executive board of a group or agency. Consequently,

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[2]Consideration of the general values of the leadership aggregate was suggested by Harry Scoble, "Leadership Hierarchies and Political Issues in a New England Town," Community Political Systems, ed. Morris Janowitz (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), 124.

what appeared to be the top policy of the Negro community was, in fact, an analytical product of stands taken by groups rather than by individuals. Under these conditions, whatever coordination of policy was achieved for presenting a unified front was attempted informally, and minority views remained concealed from outsiders. In the only instance during the period of this study when personal value commitment led to an open break between a leadership nominee and his organization, the disagreement occurred over means rather than ends. In another instance, when policy statements stressed total integration rather than desegregation, the matter was hardly noticed; probably because the distinction seemed to reflect relative ideological postures of minor importance rather than irreconcilable norms of actual expectations.[3]

This is not to say that the ends-means dilemma was not important to Thrifty City's Negroes. Willingness to use certain means rather than others seemed to force the issue of community leadership upon them. In the process, the compelling nature of, and emphasis upon "race ends" have made the possible differences between the basic values of the leadership nominees and of the average Negro in the community rather academic.

When the leadership nominees were asked to indicate how local problems came to their attention, or the manner in which they kept informed of the happenings in the Negro community, the overwhelming majority mentioned only such casual contacts as phone calls, meeting people on the street, in meetings or in places of

[3]See below, p. 274.

business, or hearing about complaints through associates, etc. While no particular method of keeping informed emerged with any saliency, the interviewees reported many instances of being approached with problems, suggestions, and proposals; a general knowledge of the values and aspirations of the average Negro could hardly be denied even of the most aloof among the leadership nominees in the study.

They seemed to make consistent use of the information available to them in the Negro press, too.[4] The Thrifty City Beacon--the local Negro weekly--was read "frequently" by 37 (78.7 per cent) and "occasionally" by 10 (21.3 per cent) of the leadership nominees. The other Negro publications which were read by them frequently or with some regularity were Ebony (97.7 per cent), Jet (91.5 per cent), Negro Digest (72.4 per cent), Crisis (40.4 per cent), the Chicago Daily Defender (29.8 per cent), Pittsburgh Courier (12.8 per cent), and the Afro-American (10.6 per cent). Thus, the leadership nominees kept in touch with the local and cosmopolitan events of Negro life by following a total of 25 Negro publications from different parts of the country.

Although the intricate network of communication which was used by the leadership nominees in and around the Negro community could not be made explicit, a crude pattern of the modus operandi of their interracial activities in the city tended to emerge from

[4]For reading habits as a relevant variable in leadership studies, see M. Kent Jennings, Community Influentials (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), 53-54.

the intensive inquiry required by the study. The pattern could best be traced through the colloquial shortcuts which interviewees and informants alike used to describe informal relationships between people. It was through such relationships that the more or less subtle process of shaping and reshaping personal and community values occurred.

Many of the leadership nominees were among those who, as people said, "get around real well." "Getting around" meant basically two things in Thrifty City. One form of it seemed to be "dropping in," as, for instance, Mr. C. Oaks remarked about Dr. A. Haviland:[5] "Well, he is not the kind to seek advice, but he often drops in to talk things over." Talking things over was, of course, the usual purpose of "picking up the phone," too. "Oh, she would not think a thing about picking up the phone at any time of the day and talk"--said Mrs. C. Sheldon about Mrs. A. Newton--or, "...

[5]All interviewees and informants of this study are identified in the text by an abbreviated title, an initial instead of a first name, and a last name. All last names are pseudonyms. No pseudonym is identical with the real name of an interviewee or informant in question, and correspondence with the real name of any other persons in Thrifty City or elsewhere is purely accidental. Leadership nominees, neighborhood leaders, and white friends are identified by their initials, A., B., and C., in the order here listed. The initial of informants is D., "new" leaders are identifiable by their initial, Z. For instance, Mr. A. Adams refers to a leadership nominee, and Mr. Z. Ond identifies a "new" leader. The writer also took the liberty of bestowing the title of Mrs. upon all ladies who were single for the sole purpose of protecting their identity. In general, names of groups and organizations were not changed, but an effort was made to protect the identity of individuals by avoiding mention of their affiliation with groups and organizations. In spite of these precautions, however, the protection of the real identity of those who played a unique role in events or were the "first" Negro occupants of a given position in Thrifty City was very difficult.

she just drops in, sits in that chair where you are sitting now, and talks and talks for hours..." While casual visits and phone calls were useful means of informal "intelligence work" on what will or can be said at a public meeting, they also were used extensively for "mending the fences," or for general post mortems on what was said and why. The echoes of some speeches and statements could be heard for days in the community through a fairly stable and extensive network of people who were among the subjects of this study. As to the social bases of this type of working relationships between whites and Negroes, the 24 white friends reported reciprocal social visits with the families of an average of 4.1 leadership nominees. While five leadership nominees had no such relationship with the selected white friends, one of the leadership nominees visited socially with as many as 13 of the white friends.

As told by Negroes and whites, the meaning of activities and the relative importance of protagonists involved in the events of the day were in a constant flux, but the presence of a general political process of interracial community leadership was unmistakable. Negro and white informants alike could "place" people, and they did it with assurance. But they did so against the background of a diffuse feeling that "not much was happening." "Sure, there are people around," granted Mr. A. Adams, "but nothing gets done." Surrounded by sympathetic whites who sat on the boards of agencies, who gave speeches at the funerals of Negro ministers, who spoke their minds even when reporters were present, who

invited Negro friends to cocktail parties, who got kissed under the mistletoe in Negro homes, who worked, plotted, or even did research on Negroes, "getting things done" still appeared as an elusive touchstone of Negro leadership without "having people to go to." Going to someone who--if he only wanted to do it--could have helped what they wished to accomplish tended to emerge as the closing link in the general pattern of expectations of the leadership nominees. It seemed that programs and projects got stuck or derailed because they "could not go to the right people," and therefore did what could be done without their help.

The Structure of Potential Leadership and Power

Active, but reluctant or careful to claim leadership status, inwardly sure of ultimate goals, informed, free to "get around," but frustrated to "go to" where they felt that the "going would do some good," the 47 selected leadership nominees were only one source of information on a structure of potential leadership and power in the Negro community.

The three interviewee aggregates of the study--the leadership nominees, neighborhood leaders, and white friends--were asked to select ten persons who, in their opinion, were the top leaders of the Negro community. Having been presented with the names of 50 leadership nominees in alphabetical order on a printed list, the request addressed to them was identical with the one previously given to the members of the panel who selected the names on the list:

> If you were responsible for a major project which was befor the Negro community that required a leadership pool, a group of leaders who could make decisions and initiate community-wide action, which ten on this list would you choose regardless of whether they are known personally to you?

Upon completion of this task, the interviewees were asked to rank their selections according to relative importance as leaders in the Negro community. In processing the data, a point system was devised to arrive at the final rank of individual nominees within the three rankings. First place in a given set of ten selections was assigned 10 points, second place 9, third 8, and so on, ending with 1 point for tenth place. The points of individual leadership nominees were summed up to obtain the final rankings.

Based upon the rankings, the following null hypotheses were tested: (1) there is no significant positive association between the rank orders of the top leadership nominees as obtained from the leadership nominees and the white friends, whereas the rank order established by the neighborhood leaders is significantly different from the other two rankings; (2) the concordance among the three rank orders is not significantly greater than would be expected from chance variation.

Using the Spearman rank correlation coefficient,[6] corrected for tied groups, and the t test, the following values of association were obtained: (1a) Association between rank orders obtained from the leadership nominees and white friends: rho equals .700, t equals 6.788. The probability of such a value of t with

[6]For formula, see Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956), 202-13.

INSERT 4

RANK ORDER OF TOP LEADERSHIP NOMINEES

| | Ranked by Leadership Nominees | | Ranked by White Friends | | Ranked by Neighborhood Leaders | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Mrs.Brown..... | 195 | Mr. Adams..... | 115 | Mrs.Bossworth. | 164 |
| 2. | Mr. Mathews... | 155 | Mrs.Brown..... | 97 | Mr. Adams..... | 115 |
| 3. | Mr. Adams..... | 136 | Dr. Evans..... | 85 | Mrs. Brown.... | 92 |
| 4. | Mr. Williams.. | 131 | Dr. Haviland.. | 80 | Rev. Gardner.. | 91 |
| 5. | Mrs.Graham.... | 120 | Dr. Rice..... | 73 | Mr. Condoe.... | 75 |
| 6. | Dr. Haviland.. | 93 | Mr. Mathews... | 67 | Mrs.Fullmer... | 70 |
| 7. | Mr. Jones..... | 90 | Mr. Washington | 66 | Dr. Haviland.. | 64 |
| 8. | Mrs.Bossworth. | 81 | Mr. Courtney.. | 55 | Mr. Peters.... | 58 |
| 9. | Mr. Courtney.. | 76 | Mr. Belmonte.. | 43 | Mr. Mathews... | 57 |
| 10. | Dr. Evans..... | 71 | Mrs.Newton.... | 42 | Mr. Bossworth. | 56 |
| 11. | Mr. Owens..... | 59 | Mr. Martin.... | 30 | Mr. Albion.... | 53 |
| 12. | Mrs.Newton.... | 58 | Mr. Owens..... | 29 | Rev.Fields.... | 52 |
| 13. | Mrs.Stone..... | 52 | Rev.Hackett... | 27 | Mrs.Stone..... | 52 |
| 14. | Rev.Fields.... | 49 | Mr. Brown..... | 26 | Rev.Hackett... | 50 |
| 15. | Mrs.Fullmer... | 48 | Mr. Williams.. | 26 | Mrs.Graham.... | 39 |
| 16. | Rev.Hackett... | 47 | Mr. Swanson... | 25 | Mr. Washington | 34 |
| 17. | Mrs.Rice..... | 44 | Mrs.Rice..... | 24 | Mr. Wells..... | 33 |
| 18. | Mrs.Frank..... | 44 | Mr. Jones..... | 24 | Mrs.Newton.... | 32 |
| 19. | Mr. Washington | 35 | Mrs.Graham.... | 23 | Mr. Brown..... | 31 |
| 20. | Dr. Regan..... | 33 | Mrs.Bossworth. | 20 | Mr. Williams.. | 31 |
| 21. | Mr. Belmonte.. | 32 | Mrs.Stone..... | 19 | Mr. Simon..... | 27 |
| 22. | Mr. Bossworth. | 32 | Mr. Simon..... | 18 | Mr. Belmonte.. | 26 |
| 23. | Mr. Condoe.... | 30 | Mr. Rigg..... | 14 | Mr. Owens..... | 26 |
| 24. | Mr. Martin.... | 30 | Mrs.Rohde..... | 14 | Mr. Green..... | 25 |
| 25. | Mr. Collins... | 29 | Mrs.Washington | 9 | Dr. Rice..... | 24 |
| 26. | Mrs.Washington | 28 | Mr. Condoe.... | 8 | Mr. Collins... | 23 |
| 27. | Mr. Swanson... | 28 | Mr. Ashland... | 7 | Mr. Swanson... | 21 |
| 28. | Dr. Rice..... | 27 | Dr. Fay..... | 4 | Mrs.Rice..... | 20 |
| 29. | Mr. Peters.... | 25 | Dr. Regan..... | 4 | Mr. Ashland... | 17 |
| 30. | Mr. Lavelle... | 19 | Rev.Fields.... | 3 | Dr. Evans..... | 16 |
| 31. | Mr. Rigg..... | 19 | Mrs.Fullmer... | 3 | Mr. Martin.... | 16 |
| 32. | Mrs.Rohde..... | 18 | Mr. Green..... | 2 | Mrs.Beauregard | 15 |
| 33. | Rev.Gardner... | 18 | Mr. Albion.... | 1 | Mr. Lavelle... | 13 |
| 34. | Mr. Simon..... | 17 | Mr. Lavelle... | 1 | Mr. Courtney.. | 12 |
| 35. | Mr. Wells..... | 17 | Mrs.Beauregard | 1 | Mr. Keats..... | 11 |
| 36. | Mrs.Cromwell.. | 16 | Mr. Keats..... | 1 | Mr. Bell..... | 9 |
| 37. | Mr. Keats..... | 15 | Mrs.Evans..... | 1 | Mr. Rigg..... | 8 |
| 38. | Mrs.Beauregard | 14 | Mr. Peters.... | 1 | Mrs.Rohde..... | 8 |
| 39. | Mr. Brown..... | 14 | Mr. Wells..... | 1 | Mr. Cleveland. | 7 |
| 40. | Dr. Harlow.... | 14 | Mr. Bossworth. | 1 | Dr. Regan..... | 6 |
| 41. | Mr. Green..... | 13 | Mr. Cleveland. | 1 | Mrs.Washington | 4 |
| 42. | Mr. Albion.... | 10 | Mrs.Cromwell.. | 1 | Mrs.Cromwell.. | 4 |
| 43. | Mr. Ashland... | 9 | Mr. Bell..... | 0 | Mrs.Frank..... | 3 |
| 44. | Mr. Bell..... | 2 | Mr. Collins... | 0 | Dr. Harlow.... | 3 |
| 45. | Mr. Kingston.. | 1 | Rev.Gardner... | 0 | Dr. Fay..... | 1 |
| 46. | Mrs.Harper.... | 1 | Mr. Kingston.. | 0 | Mrs.Holton.... | 1 |
| 47. | Mr. Cleveland. | 1 | Mrs.Harper.... | 0 | Mr. Kingston.. | 0 |
| 48. | Dr. Fay..... | 0 | Dr. Harlow.... | 0 | Mr. Jones..... | 0 |
| 49. | Mrs.Holton.... | 0 | Mrs.Holton.... | 0 | Mrs.Harper.... | 0 |
| 50. | Mrs.Evans..... | 0 | Mrs.Frank..... | 0 | Mrs.Evans..... | 0 |

49 degrees of freedom was less than .001, and the null hypothesis was rejected. (1b) Association between rank orders obtained from the leadership nominees and the neighborhood leaders: rho equals .552, t equals 4.587. The probability of such a value of t with 49 degrees of freedom was less than .001, and the null hypothesis was rejected. (1c) Association between rank orders obtained from the neighborhood leaders and white friends: rho equals .413, t equals 3.139. The probability of such value of t with 49 degrees of freedom was more than .001, and the null hypothesis was accepted.

The hypothesis that the concordance among the three rank orders was not significantly greater than what could be expected from chance variation was tested by Kendall coefficient of concordance $W$[7] and $x^2$. When the correctional factor T was taken into account for tied ranks, a value of .7025 was obtained for the coefficient of concordance W. It was found that, with 49 degrees of freedom, the value of chi square was 103.2, which is significant beyond the .001 level of probability. Therefore the null hypothesis was rejected; the concordance among the three sets of ranks was significantly greater than would be expected from chance variation.

Thus, by statistical standards, one of the major hypotheses of the study, that there was no significant positive association between the rank orders of the top leadership nominees as obtained from the leadership nominees and the neighborhood leaders,

[7] Ibid., 229-38.

could be rejected.[8] For reasons to be explored below, however, the data were interpreted with caution.

The statistical procedures applied to the data did not test the accuracy of the list of leadership nominees from which the three aggregates of subjects selected those whom they ranked. That is, beyond the face validity based upon accurate statistical calculations, the meaning of positive association between the rank orders of top leadership nominees established by the leadership nominees and the neighborhood leaders was contingent upon other considerations. These concerned the accuracy of the study list of leadership nominees, the ability of the interviewees to provide valid information, and the views of the leadership nominees concerning each other as leaders.

The accuracy of the study list of 50 leadership nominees was seen in the fact that only one of the 61 new names proposed by the three interviewee aggregates in the study received more than three votes--at least four votes were required for inclusion in the list. Furthermore, this new leader would not have become part of the study list without the votes cast for him by the white friends--who voted for him after his activities became well known

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[8]Basically the same hypothesis of differences between rank orders of leaders established by "leaders" and by "the people" was tested also by Burgess in Crescent City--with the same result. Burgess found a "significant positive association between the rankings of 25 mutual selections of the Negro leader informants and the subcommunity sample informants." For procedural differences between the two studies, and for discussion of her findings, see Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 97-100.

in both the Negro community and the larger community of Thrifty City. The point made here is that no new leaders were discovered whose exclusion from the list could have significantly affected the association between rank orders produced from the list by the selected subjects of the study. As to the specific rank order established by the neighborhood leaders--who were expected to reflect the views of non-elites rather than of the elites concerning leadership in the Negro community--it included among the first 15 ranks those (Mrs. A. Bossworth, Messrs. A. Condoe, A. Peters, and Rev. A. Hackett) who recieved the most votes from the interviewees of the Community Survey as neighborhood leaders but were treated in this study as leadership nominees. Thus the study list was found to be accurate, and the neighborhood leaders tended to vote as expected. That they could have produced a rank order which was significantly different from the rank order established by the leadership nominees, on the other hand, was seen in the finding that the rank order produced by the neighborhood leaders was not significantly associated with the one established by the white friends.

The validity of the individual rankings, which produced the final rank orders, had to be judged by whether the interviewees knew and worked with the leadership nominees whom they were asked to select and rank. The leadership nominees, white friends, and neighborhood leaders knew personally, in the order here listed, an average of 46.1, 32.5, and 31.3 persons on the list of 50 nominees. Listed again in the same order, the leadership nominees,

white friends, and neighborhood leaders worked on community projects with an average of 34.8, 19.4, and 16.6 persons on the list. Thus, the typical interviewee--although he was specifically permitted to proceed otherwise--could easily make his ten selections from those on the list whom he knew or worked with in the Negro community. On the other hand, while no interviewee of the study knew only ten or less people on the list, 13 of the selected 31 neighborhood leaders and three of the selected 24 white friends did not work with ten or more people on the list. Based upon these findings, the validity of the final rank order of top leaders is open to question on the ground that more than one-third of them have based their selection and ranking on something else than actual work experience with those whom they selected and ranked.

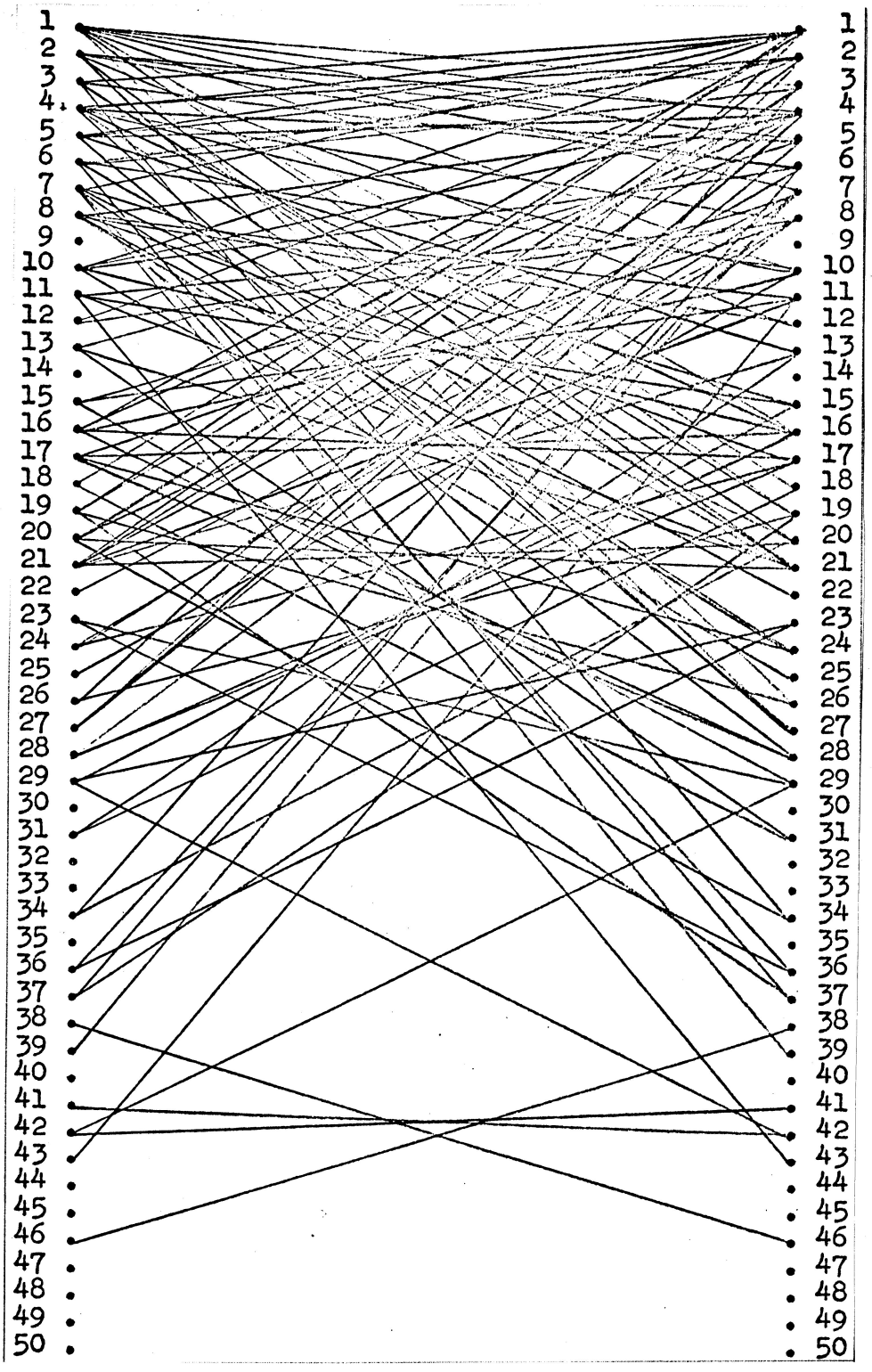
After having examined the accuracy of the study list and the validity of the assumptions upon which the methodological hypothesis of the study was based, further analysis of the data had to focus upon the leadership nominees' views of each other as leaders, for the first research objective of the study was the identification and description of the leaders of the Negro community. The central concern in what follows was to make explicit the non-random relationships among the principal subjects of the study which represent the structural characteristics within a leadership stratum identified on the basis of reputations. In this study, the strongest indices of non-random relationships among the leadership nominees were the so-called mutual choices, i.e., the "votes" of the leadership nominees which were reciprocated by

others for inclusion among the top ten leaders of the Negro community. Mutual selections were regarded as indices of a leadership structure on the assumption that they denoted a close relationship between people; mutual selection was taken to imply a degree of congeniality with favorable action potential. Of the 440 selections or votes, 252 (57.3 per cent) were "used up" for mutual choices, and the remaining 188 (42.7 per cent) votes "scattered" for top ten candidates who did not reciprocate. Of the 252 votes, 186 (73.8 per cent) accounted for mutual choices among the first 21 selections where a "natural break" occurred in the data in the sense that no top leadership nominees below that rank shared more than three mutual choices with others who were above it. This finding was interpreted as the strongest indication of the fact that the top leadership of Thrifty City's Negro community may consist of _about_ 20 persons. No claim is made, of course, that the top leadership structure of Thrifty City's Negro community consisted of a fixed number of leaders; it is merely meant here that the principal subjects of the study could for analytical purposes be divided into _top_ and _lesser_ leaders. Although such labels as "top-man," "leg-man," or "second-echelon-people" were frequently used by the interviewees of the study, top and lesser leaders are _post hoc_ analytical categories based upon the break in the data derived from the mutual choices.

It was in keeping with the intent of showing the approximate size of rather than a fixed number of people within the top leadership structure that comparisons between the rankings

INSERT 5

MUTUAL VOTES BY TOP LEADERSHIP NOMINEES



established by the three aggregates of interviewees were restricted to the first 20 ranks within each ranking. Furthermore, it also must be kept in mind that the comparisons were made with reference to the first 20 ranks established by the principal subjects, i.e., the leadership nominees of the study.

Of the 440 votes of the leadership nominees, 75.5 per cent were cast for the first 20 selections of the final rank order of top leaders established by them. While of the first 20 selections by the leadership nominees only 15 were included among the first 20 ranks produced by the white friends, these 15 selections accounted for 69.6 per cent of the total votes cast by the white friends. Similarly, while of the first 20 selections by the leadership nominees only 13 were included among the first 20 as selected by the neighborhood leaders, these 13 selections received 50 per cent of the total votes cast by the neighborhood leaders. Obviously, the analysis of these findings had to deal with both the similarities and the differences between the various sets of the first 20 ranks.

As a matter of "expert judgment," the first 20 ranks established by the leadership nominees did not reflect any gross displacement of relative positions based upon reputations which would call for special explanation or could be looked upon as surprising. To the writer, this rank order appeared to be an honor list of Negro men and women in Thrifty City. It could not be explained or understood, however, in terms of the saliency of any one of the most commonly used indices of social rank such as

prominence, prestige, wealth, or mere popularity. More importantly, these first 20 ranks included eight women (53.3 per cent of all women on the study list of 50 nominees), seven independent professional men (an educator, two ministers, two physicians, and two lawyers), and five male executives from the field of social welfare. When the sex of the nominees was disregarded, 12 of these first 20 ranks were either professional or volunteer welfare workers, and it could be said that they dominated the list. Only two of the elected political officials from the Negro community were included among these first 20 ranks.

When the rank order of the first 20 selections provided by the leadership nominees was compared to the rank order of the first 20 choices made by the white friends, only five of the choices made by the former were "replaced" by other nominees on the list produced by the latter. The white friends "dropped" three women (Mmes. A. Stone, A. Fullmer, A. Frank) and two men (Rev. A. Fields, Dr. A. Regan) below the level of the first 20 ranks and replaced them with five men (Dr. A. Rice, Messrs. A. Brown, A. Martin, A. Belmonte, A. Swanson). The cases of the three women appeared to "make sense" to the writer in view of the predominantly intraracial character of their activities. Similarly, the two men appeared to be little involved in the activities of the larger community in the 1960's. As to their "replacements," two held prominent positions in the public school system, and the other three were among the youngest of the leadership nominees who occupied formal positions in the Negro community. In general, the

Negro leadership nominees tended to have a settled opinion about persons "who could not be omitted from the top ten," whereas the white friends seemed to favor general ability or competence rather than "established reputation" in making their selections.

Comparisons between the rank orders of the first 20 selections proposed by the leadership nominees and the neighborhood leaders showed that the latter "eliminated" seven from the selections of the former and "replaced" them by others in their own ranking of the top leadership nominees of the Negro community. The two lawyers (Messrs. A. Courtney and A. Owens), two physicians (Drs. A. Evans and A. Regan), a high ranking welfare agency executive (Mr. A. Jones), and two women welfare activists (Mmes. A. Rice and A. Frank), who were included among the first 20 selections of the ladership nominees, were "replaced" by seven men (Rev. A. Gardner, Messrs. A. Condoe, A. Peters., A. Bossworth, A. Albion, A. Wells, and A. Brown) whose common characteristic was their close ties with the Democratic party organization of Thrifty City. Consequently, the rank order established by the neighborhood leaders included, primarily, welfare officials and local politicians, i.e., people who held highly visible formal office and provided direct services to the average Negro in the community. Unlike the leadership nominees and the white friends, the neighborhood leaders saw local politicians as part of the top leadership of the Negro community, but they did not consider to be top leaders those professional men who were highly placed in the rankings proposed by both the leadership nominees and the white friends. That is,

comparative analysis of the first 20 ranks established by the leadership nominees, white friends, and neighborhood leaders showed that there were important differences between the first 20 ranks produced by them which suggested further caution in accepting the statistically significant association that was found between the full rank orders of 50 nominees established by the leadership nominees and the neighborhood leaders.

The differences among the three sets of top ranks also were examined from the point of view of the interviewees' knowledge of and work experience with the typical (average) top and lesser leaders of each ranking. Regardless of which ranking was considered, a higher proportion of leadership nominees, white friends, and neighborhood leaders knew and worked with typical top leaders than typical lesser leaders. Also, the highest proportion of leadership nominees, white friends, and neighborhood leaders knew and worked with the typical top leaders of the ranking established by themselves rather than by the other two aggregates of interviewees. More importantly, however, the relative proportion of the neighborhood leaders who personally knew and worked with the typical top leaders within any of the three rankings was consistently the lowest among the three aggregates of interviewees. That is, proportionately more leadership nominees and white friends knew and worked with the typical top and lesser leaders of the neighborhood leaders' own choice than did the neighborhood leaders themselves. In other words, what was found to be true of the neighborhood leaders' personal knowledge of and work experience

Table 7: PERCENTAGE OF LEADERSHIP NOMINEES, WHITE FRIENDS, AND NEIGHBORHOOD LEADERS WHO KNOW THE TOP AND LESSER LEADERS OF THE THREE DIFFERENT RANKINGS

| As Ranked By | Type Of Typical Leader | Known By Leadership Nominees | | Known By White Friends | | Known By Neighborhood Leaders | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| Leadership Nominees | Top Leader | 97.7 | 2.3 | 89.2 | 10.8 | 68.7 | 31.3 |
| | Lesser Leader | 91.7 | 8.3 | 70.0 | 30.0 | 58.1 | 41.9 |
| White Friends | Top Leader | 96.8 | 3.2 | 92.1 | 7.9 | 68.1 | 31.9 |
| | Lesser Leader | 92.3 | 7.2 | 67.9 | 32.1 | 58.7 | 41.3 |
| Neighborhood Leaders | Top Leader | 97.2 | 2.8 | 89.2 | 10.8 | 78.1 | 21.9 |
| | Lesser Leader | 92.1 | 7.9 | 70.0 | 30.0 | 51.3 | 48.7 |

Table 8: PERCENTAGE OF LEADERSHIP NOMINEES, WHITE FRIENDS, AND NEIGHBORHOOD LEADERS WHO WORKED WITH THE TOP AND LESSER LEADERS OF THE THREE DIFFERENT RANKINGS

| As Ranked By | Type Of Typical Leader | Worked With Leadership Nominees | | Worked With White Friends | | Worked With Neighborhood Leaders | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| Leadership Nominees | Top Leader | 79.1 | 20.9 | 53.3 | 46.7 | 38.1 | 61.9 |
| | Lesser Leader | 66.6 | 33.4 | 30.0 | 70.0 | 30.3 | 69.7 |
| White Friends | Top Leader | 79.4 | 20.6 | 55.8 | 44.2 | 38.4 | 61.6 |
| | Lesser Leader | 66.4 | 33.6 | 28.3 | 71.7 | 30.0 | 70.0 |
| Neighborhood Leaders | Top Leader | 77.7 | 22.3 | 52.1 | 47.9 | 45.2 | 54.8 |
| | Lesser Leader | 67.7 | 32.3 | 30.8 | 69.2 | 24.8 | 75.2 |

with the full slate of leadership nominees on the study list was equally true concerning the top leadership, too: in terms of validity, the selections of the neighborhood leaders represented the weakest data for purposes of testing the methodological hypothesis of the study.

In spite of the preceding findings, an attempt was made to test whether the rank order correlations and concordance which were found to be statistically significant in the case of the full rankings of 50 nominees would hold true of three sets of top 20 ranks. The testing procedure involved the following steps: (1) the establishment of a unified rank order by summing the points obtained by the nominees in the three rankings, (2) reconstruction of three rankings by using the first 20 holders of top ranks in the unified rank order, and (3) the calculation of coefficients of correlation and concordance for these selective rank orders. No significant correlations or concordance were found. Therefore, the principal findings concerning the methodological hypothesis of the study could be stated as follows. With regard to the full slate of 50 leadership nominees, and as measured by the Spearman rank correlation coefficient, corrected for tied groups, and the t test, there was a positive, statistically significant association between the rank orders produced by the leadership nominees and the white friends, on the one hand, and by the leadership nominees and the neighborhood leaders, on the other. Similarly, as measured by the Kendall coefficient of concordance W and $x^2$, the concordance among the three sets of ranks was significantly

greater than would be expected from chance variation. No such associations or concordance were found concerning top ranks, the identification of which was based upon the so-called mutual choices by the leadership nominees. Therefore, inasmuch as the reputational data are concerned, further analysis could more accurately refer to a top leadership structure of approximately 40 people (37 pairs of mutual choices) within an identified leadership stratum of 202 men and women in the Negro community rather than to non-random relationships of super- and sub-ordination between about 20 top leaders and the remaining lesser leaders among those who were the principal subjects of this study.

The most frequent formal relationships of superordination and subordination between leadership nominees occurred, of course, in the various groups and organizations of the Negro community. Because of the theoretical importance attributed to institutional and associational elites in the exercise of community leadership, the leadership nominees' overlapping membership and office-holding in voluntary associations were expected to shed additional light upon a generalized structure of leadership potential in the Negro community. Overlapping membership and officer status in groups and organizations were considered to be useful to the leadership nominees primarily because of two reasons. First, they widened their network of communication and enabled them to disseminate their own views while they were learning the views of others on matters of importance to the community. Second, overlapping membership and office-holding in groups and organizations enabled

them to make strategic and tactical decisions with or without the necessity of securing the commitment of other groups than their own.

Since the social participation data of the leadership nominees were presented in detail elsewhere in the study,[9] the following refers to nine locally active groups and organizations in which the overlapping membership and officer status of the leadership nominees was the most extensive. Of all memberships listed by the leadership nominees at the time of the interviews, 41.5 per cent were held in the following nine groups and organizations: 1, NAACP; 2, Urban League, 3, YMCA, 4, a Greek letter society for men; 5, a professional association; 6, Democratic Party; 7, a Greek letter society for women; 8, a civic group of professional men; 9, an "umbrella" organization of civic and neighborhood groups from the general area of the Negro community. Because of the known rotation of office and statutory requirements concerning length of tenure on executive boards, the leadership nominees under study listed both past and present membership and officer status in the groups and organizations to which they belonged. Such offices as membership on executive boards, presidency, vice-presidency, and the office of secretary-treasurer in voluntary associations are not only time-consuming and sometimes thankless jobs, but also denote civic honor. The rotation of officers often depends not on the desirability or general stature of a candidate but upon the demands of the incumbent's career cycle in private

[9]See above, pp. 191-96.

INSERT 6

OVERLAPPING MEMBERSHIP OF TOP LEADERSHIP NOMINEES IN NINE SELECTED GROUPS AND ORGANIZATIONS

| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | T |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Mrs. Brown | O | O | . | . | m | . | . | . | O | 4 |
| 2. | Mr. Mathews | O | m | O | O | . | . | . | O | . | 5 |
| 3. | Mr. Adams | m | O | . | . | m | . | . | . | . | 3 |
| 4. | Mr. Williams | m | O | . | . | . | . | . | . | m | 3 |
| 5. | Mrs. Graham | O | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1 |
| 6. | Dr. Haviland | O | O | m | . | . | m | . | . | . | 4 |
| 7. | Mr. Jones | . | . | . | . | m | . | . | . | . | 1 |
| 8. | Mrs. Bossworth | O | O | . | . | . | O | m | . | . | 4 |
| 9. | Mr. Courtney | m | O | O | O | . | . | . | . | . | 4 |
| 10. | Dr. Evans | O | O | O | m | . | . | . | . | . | 4 |
| 11. | Mr. Owens | O | . | m | . | . | . | . | . | . | 2 |
| 12. | Mrs. Newton | m | m | . | . | m | m | . | . | m | 5 |
| 13. | Mrs. Stone | m | . | . | . | . | . | O | . | . | 2 |
| 14. | Rev. Fields | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | |
| 15. | Mrs. Fullmer | O | . | . | . | . | . | O | . | . | 2 |
| 16. | Rev. Hackett | m | m | m | . | . | . | . | . | . | 3 |
| 17. | Mrs. Rice | O | m | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 2 |
| 18. | Mrs. Frank | O | m | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 2 |
| 19. | Mr. Washington | . | . | . | O | m | . | . | O | O | 4 |
| 20. | Dr. Regan | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | O | . | 1 |
| 21. | Mr. Belmonte | . | m | m | . | . | . | . | O | . | 3 |
| 22. | Mr. Bossworth | O | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1 |
| 23. | Mr. Condoe | O | . | . | . | . | O | . | . | . | 2 |
| 24. | Mr. Martin | m | . | m | . | m | . | . | . | . | 3 |
| 25. | Mr. Collins | m | m | . | m | . | . | . | . | . | 3 |
| 26. | Mrs. Washington | O | . | . | . | O | . | . | . | . | 2 |
| 27. | Mr. Swanson | O | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1 |
| 28. | Dr. Rice | m | m | O | O | . | . | . | . | . | 4 |
| 29. | Mr. Peters | m | . | . | . | . | O | . | . | . | 2 |
| 30. | Mr. Lavelle | O | . | m | . | . | . | . | . | . | 2 |
| 31. | Mr. Rigg | m | . | m | . | . | O | . | . | m | 4 |
| 32. | Mrs. Rohde | m | O | . | . | . | . | O | . | . | 3 |
| 33. | Rev. Gardner | O | O | . | O | . | . | . | m | . | 4 |
| 34. | Mr. Simon | m | O | O | m | . | . | . | . | . | 4 |
| 35. | Mr. Wells | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | |
| 36. | Mrs. Cromwell | O | m | . | . | . | . | m | . | . | 3 |
| 37. | Mr. Keats | O | O | O | O | . | . | . | m | . | 5 |
| 38. | Mrs. Beauregard | O | m | m | . | . | . | . | . | m | 4 |
| 39. | Mr. Brown | O | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1 |
| 40. | Dr. Harlow | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | |
| 41. | Mr. Green | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | |
| 42. | Mr. Albion | m | . | O | . | . | O | . | . | . | 3 |
| 43. | Mr. Ashland | m | . | O | O | . | O | . | . | . | 4 |
| 44. | Mr. Bell | m | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1 |
| 45. | Mr. Kingston | m | m | m | . | m | . | . | m | . | 5 |
| 46. | Mrs. Harper | O | . | . | . | m | . | . | . | . | 2 |
| 47. | Mr. Cleveland | O | . | m | . | . | . | . | . | . | 2 |
| 48. | Dr. Fay | m | m | . | O | . | . | . | . | . | 3 |
| 49. | Mrs. Holton | O | m | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 2 |
| 50. | Mrs. Evans | m | m | m | . | . | . | O | . | . | 4 |

LEGEND: 1, NAACP; 2, Urban League; 3, YMCA, YWCA; 4, Greek Letter Society, Men; 5, Professional Association; 6, Democratic Party; 7, Greek Leter Society, Women; 8, Civic Group of Professional Men; 9, "Umbrella" Organization

O - Officer; m - Member; T - Total Memberships

life.

The scope of the leadership nominees' involvement in the life of these nine groups or organizations can be judged by the finding that of the 134 reported instances of social participation, 68 referred to office-holding and 66 were simple memberships. Of the 39 nominees who reported 68 instances of office-holding, two were officers in four of the nine groups in question, another seven held office in three of the groups, nine others were officers in two and the remaining 21 in one of the groups and organizations considered. Thus, if and when they saw the need to do so, certainly enough leadership nominees were serving simultaneously in the governing bodies of the Negro community's major groups and organizations to be aware of the independent development of issues which could benefit from collateral support or joint collaboration. Furthermore, the full slate of the 47 leadership nominees held enough memberships and offices in the major groups and organizations to lend credence to their reported knowledge of, work experience with and mutual selection of each other as the leaders of the Negro community. Both of these observations appeared to be equally true whether only a smaller group of about 20 top leaders or also the lesser leaders were kept in mind.

## The Bases of Power in the Negro Community

Although the evidence accumulated throughout the preceding steps of the research sequence was presented as an adequate demonstration of an attributed structure of community leadership, it

seemed appropriate to assume that serious structural limitations in the sociological makeup of the Negro community actually tempered the full development of community power. To recall, community leadership and the exercise of power were kept conceptually separate within the theoretical framework of the study. Power was conceptualized as a quality of relationship between people, or groups of people, which manifests itself through the realization of ends by overcoming the resistance of others. It was assumed that power, as a general commodity and resource, can be generated to maximum capacity relative to the bases upon which it rests. Three bases of power were recognized: (numbers of) people, wealth and social organization. It was assumed that the nature and size of power bases set limits to both the general character and the direction of the exercise of power by the personnel of power structures who can further increase it through tactical use. Power structures were defined as patterns of the exercise of power by power subjects or agents who, operating from independent or dependent power bases, assume differential responsibility for the realization of certain ends. Within these broad theoretico-conceptual guide lines, what follows is an examination of the power bases of Negro community leadership in Thrifty City.

At the time of the interviews, about 33,000 adults (20 years of age or older) could be counted on to provide a potential power base to the leaders of the Negro community. Adult Negroes, however, accounted for only about seven per cent of the total adult population of Thrifty City. Clearly, Negroes were members

of a minority community. Their mere numerical strength could lend itself to participation in decisions, where community-wide majorities were needed, only through alliance with others. In spite of the frequently voiced claim by Negro spokesmen that "the whole community was united" on certain issues, no leadership nominee of this study appeared, however, to be the leader of Thrifty City's Negroes who could claim their unequivocal backing as mere, unorganized numbers of people.

Of the 47 leadership nominees, two women and two men seemed to come closest to charismatic leadership in a very broad sense of the word. One of the women, Mrs. A. Bossworth, consistently enjoyed a comfortable margin of votes for re-election to political office and, allegedly, could only be unseated by a "good Negro man" because of the somewhat unique characteristics of her accomplishment--"the local girl who made good." The other woman, Mrs. A. Brown, a professional social worker, was one of the most spontaneous and sure choices for top leadership nomination by all three interviewee aggregates of the study. Also, she appeared to have a person-to-person, "people-based" power potential relative to the Negro community. As to the two men, an academician-politician, Dr. A. Haviland, and an older man of varied professional background, the Rev. A. Gardner, both seemed to have diffuse, "people-based" power potential which was reflected in the high rank accorded to them, particularly by the neighborhood leaders. Both had ties with local politics, which meant exposure to and involvement with relatively large numbers of people in the

Negro community in order to acquire personal followers. Because local politics did not involve tightly organized efforts and "bossism," these two men as well as Mrs. A. Bossworth appeared to share a potential power base of unorganized people with all of the politicians among the leadership nominees. It must be emphasized, however, that no leadership nominee was involved in any public issue in such a way that his leadership position was demonstrated through massive support of unorganized people in the Negro community.

In general, Negro crowds and audiences, which could be observed during the study, were not large.[10] A commemorative event of conservative character saw from 3,500 to 4,000 Negroes in the city's Auditorium. A more militant protest rally, on the other hand, drew about 400 Negroes. By averaging the conflicting claims of school authorities and civil rights leaders about the number of participating pupils, about one-half of all "non-white" public school students were absent from their regular classes during a one-day school boycott. In general, the extent of "popular support" for or against policy statements and action programs by Thrifty City's Negroes could not be estimated for lack of unequivocal evidence.

Insofar as formal, or organized, bases of power potential

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[10] Estimates of crowds and audiences are based on newspaper reports rather than on personal observation, on the grounds that reporters usually consult with police officials who give "expert" estimates. To the writer's knowledge, the estimates quoted here were accurate.

were concerned, the local NAACP and Urban League had to be taken into consideration. About 85 per cent of the interviewees of the Community Survey "knew about" these two groups and also ranked them highest among the organizations "which had done, or were doing the most for Negroes in Thrifty City." In addition, almost one-half, and about one-fifth, of the 47 leadership nominees under study reported officer status respectively in the local branch of the NAACP and Urban League. In view of their overlapping memberships, the resources of both organizations were available to them as a potential power base.

During the study period, the reported membership of the NAACP did not exceed 3,500 "signed-up" members--a membership total which also included whites. Based upon yearly membership dues of $2.00 for adults, the operating budget of the local chapter was estimated at about $7,000. Probably because they took into consideration "local revenues" and "donations" to local and national civil rights causes as well, the officers of the group tended to give conflicting estimates of the operating budget.[11] At any rate, it could not be considered large as a potential power base of corporate wealth. Nor did social participation in routine activities

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[11]Factual information on memberships, dues, operating budgets, programs, etc., which are mentioned in this section of the study, was obtained from 39 semi-structured interview with officers of major groups and organizations in the Negro community. The interviews were conducted by graduate students who, under the direction of the writer, were engaged in action-research on grass roots involvement in the organizational life of the Negro community. The interview schedules are in the writer's possession.

of the NAACP indicate involvement by large numbers of members; announced public events seldom drew audiences larger than 100 people; the core of activists was said to vary from 10 to 15 dedicated members. As it will be mentioned below, the local NAACP chapter had ties with the Midwest State branch and national office of its parent organization, however. Perhaps because of the rotation of principal officers, executive board members and committee chairmen of the group tended to receive high rank in the selection of top leaders rather than those who were the formal heads of the local chapter at the time of the interviews.

The Thrifty City Urban League, cast in the mold of a social agency and following the general philosophy of its parent organization, was said to have "one of the best boards in town." While its formal organization chart showed several "departments," the annual budget of the Urban League did not exceed $100,000. Even with the "best board in town," such a budget could be spent quickly on payroll alone by a social agency that operates with a professionally trained staff. While the number of the Urban League's clients could not be determined, two of its officers were consistently accorded some of the highest ranks by all three of the interviewee aggregates of the study. Under the supervision of a bi-racial board, attempting to provide a variety of direct services to the members of the Negro community, supported by a relatively large coterie of liberal whites of some stature in the larger community, the Urban League seemed to represent the single most significant, potential power base, if the term was taken to

mean potential access to numbers of people, wealth available for public ends, and historically indexed social ties in both the Negro community and Thrifty City.

Sponsored by the local chapter of the NAACP, the Thrifty City Urban League, and the official human rights organization of the city, a large "umbrella" organization in the general area of the Negro community could be looked upon as a third organized base of potential power. Claiming to represent almost 70 groups, it was described on a program sheet as

> an organization of delegates who represent various religious, civic, social, educational, labor, fraternal and business groups existing in and serving the northside community. Its purpose is to improve the effectiveness of its member organizations, serving (1) as a source of information in regard to community needs, available services and opportunities, and (2) as a means of coordinating the efforts of community organizations. It is non-sectarian and non-partisan.

Obviously, this group grew out of the concern to consolidate the human and material resources of the numerous groups and organizations in and around the Negro community. Although the estimated membership of about 10,000 people may represent an exaggerated claim (by one of its officers), the group represented a large enough pool of activists and citizens who could work on community projects, or protest, petition, promote and provide general support for policies beyond the confines of the Negro community also.

So, too, for that matter, could the "registered" members of the approximately 120 churches of the Negro community. At least four of the major churches in the area had about 1,000 adult members and an annual budget of more than $50,000, which permitted

programs of social service activities. The "seminary trained" ministers in the Negro community were members of a Ministerial Alliance which could be used as machinery for shaping church sponsored pronouncements and social action. Just as the two principal officers of the above-mentioned "umbrella" organization were accorded high rank as top leadership nominees, so also were two ministers of the major churches consistently accorded high rank as top leadership nominees of the Negro community by the interviewees of the study.

Insofar as the organized bases of community power potential were concerned, members of the NAACP and the Urban League, the active participants of the groups affiliated with the "umbrella" organization, and the organized faithful of the churches were looked upon as the identifiable social resources which were available to the top leadership nominees to develop social as well as political power in the Negro community. In fact, the evidence on the top leadership nominees' ties with and status in these groups was such that the notion of a generalized structure of community power potential could be considered for further study. If developed and used to their full potential, all of these groups could participate in community decision-making consistent with their own charters, and in accord with the more or less customary rules of para-political involvement which are followed by civic groups and organizations of large urban centers like Thrifty City.

Nor were the top leadership nominees without further links to lesser sources of potential power in the Negro community. As

documented by their overlapping membership and office-holding in nine specific groups and organizations, they held membership and office in broadly based service organizations, in fraternities and/or sororities, in professional associations, and in other special purpose groups and organizations also. Both the top leader and the combined group of top and lesser leader nominees had, either directly or indirectly, access to the various fraternal groups, women's organizations, and the numberous social clubs of the Negro community. Whatever their motives (humanitarian, civic, status-seekings, companionship, etc.), the members of these groups could, in the broadest sense, be looked upon as an organized base of community power potential. To the extent that they could be moved beyond their formal purposes, however, many of the smaller groups were within the reach of the above-mentioned four organized bases of community power potential: NAACP, Urban League, the "umbrella" organization, and the churches of the Negro community.

With only passing references to local politicians, no mention was made in the preceding discussion of the two major political parties and of the role which business and organized labor could play in the Negro community of Thrifty City.

While all of the elected and most of the appointed Negro political officials were part of the principal leadership aggregate of this study, theirs was the role of dependent power agents of a power base that was largely independent of the Negro community. Approximately one-half of Thrifty City's eligible Negroes were registered voters, and the number of elected Negro officials

was low. The five elected representatives from Thrifty City's Negro community served in four legislative bodies--all within the confines of Midwest State. The most they could do was to get "legislative proposals favorable to Negroes" considered and work for support by others to bring them to a vote. Efforts to broaden the political power base of the Negro community were scattered and inconclusive. While this study was in progress, the local chapter of the NAACP put about 100 volunteers into the field who "contacted about 2,500 unregistered voters." The co-chairman of another drive reported that a "handful of fraternity members" had done the same as part of their pledge.

Only two of the 47 leadership nominees of the study were members of labor unions. One of them, the president of the local affiliate of the Negro American Labor Council, was the first to initiate successful direct action programs in Thrifty City before others were to follow in the steps of his group of about 170 workers. Other Negro union leaders, contacted by a graduate student, "talked straight bread-and-butter unionism," and the Negro unionists' "power potential" within the local labor movement seemed to parallel that of the Negro voter in the Democratic Party in Thrifty City.

The power potential of the leadership nominees was virtually nil, if wealth and capital, which could make their weight felt in the economic market place of Thrifty City, were taken to be indices of potential power. Although officers of the Negro community's largest business enterprise were among the high

ranking top leadership nominees, their power base could not be considered of importance in a policy-making capacity in the business community of Thrifty City because of the relatively small amount of its assets. The same was true of all other businessmen who were included in the rankings. The top leadership aggregate did not employ a combined labor force larger than about 100 people.[12] Because of the small corporate wealth and payrolls involved, no attempt was made to determine which or how many of the employer-supervisors among the leadership nominees could impose economic sanctions as independent power agents in the Negro community. Based upon reported income and assessed value of real estate holdings in Thrifty City, it seemed unlikely that more than one of the businessmen among the top leadership nominees was "worth more than $100,000."

## The Question of a Power Elite

The preceding discussion attempted to document and examine the existence of an attributed structure of leadership and power potential in Thrifty City's Negro community. The purpose of what follows is to examine the data from the point of view of power

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[12] Burgess found four power nominees among Crescent City's Negro leaders who had a combined number of 2960 employees under their respective administrative control. See Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 104, Table 10. On the other hand, the highest number of employees "supervised" by a probable leader in Pacific City was 18, according to Barth and Abu-Laban, who noted that their finding differed "markedly from those of Regional City where Hunter found that the top leader supervised 1800 workers and that eleven others supervised 25 or more workers," See Barth and Abu-Laban, American Sociological Review, XXIV, 72.

elite potential in the Negro community. Within the theoretical framework of the study, by power elite was meant a power structure consisting of community leaders who have an internal monopoly, which they can enforce, to make major decisions on behalf of the Negro community.[13] For purposes of analysis, a power elite in firm control of the internal resources of the Negro community was seen as one end of a continuum of leadership structures which a minority community--conceived of as only one of a plurality of groups in a larger community--may have to approach in order to reach its ends. Conceiving of power elites in such a manner, an attempt is made to come to terms with two problematic aspects of the exercise of power which appear so normatively vexing in the literature of community leadership studies. The first of these is the conscious use of internal controls to block access to leadership and power by others because of exclusive and privileged use of both by the established leaders of the community.[14] Whether a given majority or minority power structure did achieve and maintain such an internal monopoly represent a genuine empirical

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[13]Normative considerations of whether power elites are good or bad aside, the scope and duration of monopolistic controls are the most controversial aspect of the problem of power elites. For strictures against the application of false tests--other than that of monopoly--of a "ruling elite," see Dahl, American Political Science Review, LII, 463-69. For a critical use of Dahl's strictures applied to Hunter's Community Power Structure, see Jennings, Community Influentials, 155-69.

[14]For "access to leadership positions" as a relevant variable for the study of power elites, see Scoble, Community Political Systems, 122-23.

problem. The second problematic aspect of community power is the obvious need for its exercise in external relations, which for a minority community is far more problematic than for a majority community--the former is more likely to need a full deployment of its power than the latter. The relationship between the two, on the other hand, is rather clear: internal control of resources clears the field for community leaders to make free strategic and tactical decisions about external relationships. Whether the leaders of a minority community did achieve such freedom of action from one issue to another, or from one time period to another, represents an empirically open question. It goes without saying, of course, that the requirement of "winning" in each and every contest of wills which a given power elite may enter is an unrealistic and false test of its monopoly. Nor is any idea entertained here about "a power elite of Negro leaders who are running Thrifty City" as a consequence of their interest in race relations.

Since the actual participation of the leadership nominees in community decisions is the subject matter of the next chapter on issue-tested leader behavior, the task here is to consider the reputational data of the study from the point of power elite potential, i.e., as a matter of internal controls among the leadership nominees of the Negro community.

The evidence adduced in support of a general structure of leadership and power potential could not be interpreted as an indication of a potential power elite, unless one took the position that any leadership structure had such a potential. The reported

personal claims to leadership by the leadership nominees; their willingness to add to as well as to remove others from the study list of nominees; the relative scatter of mutual choices below a probable dividing line between top and lesser leaders in the ranking; the considerable rotation of office in the major voluntary associations of the Negro community; a relatively weak and fragmented power base which, for practical purposes, was only nominally part of such institutional power centers as the business community, organized labor, the Democratic Party, and organized religion in Thrifty City--all of these indicated a search for community leadership in the Negro community rather than a potential for a firmly established and exclusivist power elite.

More specifically, two of the first 20 top ranking nominees (in all three of the rankings) resided in the Negro community for less than five years at the time of the interviews--a relatively short time for acceptance into a power elite. Since one of them was a "hired" welfare official, his case was similar to that of four others whose access to potential leadership positions could hardly be blocked by a power elite. The other top ranking nominee who resided in the community for less than five years was a professional man and politician. The achievement of professional status and prominence in a given field is generally beyond the control of power elites. Access to political office, on the other hand, may be hindered by them, but mostly so only in the shaping of political careers in higher offices than those Negroes could realistically seek in Thrifty City. Indeed, the number of

political hopefuls, who attempted to gain elective office during the span of the study, showed that no controls were exercised even when competing Negroes obviously "split the Negro vote in a mixed field of candidates."

Finally, the number of women among the top ranking leadership nominees seemed to suggest that professional or volunteer "activism and sheer dedication" were sufficient and necessary conditions for acquiring top leadership reputation in Thrifty City's Negro community. As the events discussed in the next chapter will show, not only women but also other men, who were not among the leadership nominees of this study, could put together a power base which demonstrated that access to potential leadership positions was more free than what a "power elite" could or would reasonably permit.

# CHAPTER VI

## ISSUE-TESTED LEADER BEHAVIOR

### The Negro Community as an Ecology of Games

One of the principal research objectives of this study was the identification and adequate description of the leadership and power structure of Thrifty City's Negro community. Two methods were to be employed in attempting to reach that objective: (1) the so-called reputational method of attributed leadership and power, and (2) the issue-approach of identifying people who gave evidence of leadership through active participation in decision-making on behalf of the Negro community. In this manner, it was hoped that the existence of a community leadership and power structure could be demonstrated as opposed to the documentation of mere potential for such a development in the Negro community. That such potential existed was presented on the preceding pages as one of the substantive findings of the study. The purpose of the discussion that follows is to show how, and what kind of test of, issue involvement could be applied to those who were previously identified as members of the leadership structure of Thrifty City's Negro community.

As stated earlier, systematic data collection for the purpose of examining issue-involvement by the leadership nominees

of the Negro community occurred during a period of 18 months, between October 1, 1962 and April 1, 1964. Because of the relatively unusual nature of the events which occurred during and after the summer months of 1963, however, it became possible subsequently to distinguish two qualitatively distinct periods in the life of the Negro community during the span of the study. The period preceding the approximate dividing date of July 1, 1963 could be looked upon as a period of "normal operating conditions" in the Negro community. By "normalcy" was meant conditions under which no unusual events or happenings disrupted the "business as usual" atmosphere of the community. The period after July 1, 1963, on the other hand, could be considered "revolutionary" in the sense that considerable changes occurred in the"normal operating conditions" of the Negro community; by July 1, 1963, the so-called Negro Revolution had reached Thrifty City and its Negro community.

Amidst swiftly changing conditions, plans to study the leadership of a relatively stable and quiet Negro community had to be abandoned and, in fact, the event-makers and the events of the so-called revolutionary period demanded immediate attention--if the study were to be conducted at all.

In the light of the new events, the Negro community of the so-called normal period appeared as a mere ecology of games--to make use of the highly suggestive interpretive scheme of Long.[1] It seemed, indeed, that the issue of community leadership, as a

[1]Norton E. Long, "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games," The American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (November, 1958), 251-61.

serious and compelling concern, was forced upon the Negro community when the "civil rights game" became part of the ecology of games in the total community of Thrifty City.

In terms of the loosely comfortable scheme of Long, the Negro community of the normal period--lacking in independent institutional structures--seemed to have only two internal games of consequence: the social game and the game of Negro self-help. Unlike the players in the games of banking, newspaper publishing, contracting, manufacturing, etc., which are part of the ecology of games in a fully structured community, the players in these two games made use of each other mainly in order to alleviate status dilemmas of individuals, groups, and the Negro community in general. Seemingly, it was in this sense that the interplay of games produced "unintended but systematically functional results for the ecology" of the Negro community.[2] The Negro community's social fabric seemed to hinge very heavily upon the activities of the officers and members of clubs, groups, and organizations--the players of the social game and the game of Negro self-help.

Civil rights, of course, were so much a part of the two other games that the diffuse pattern of activities concerning integration, desegregation, freedom, etc., could not be considered as a separate, internal game in the ecology of the Negro community. As one of the top leadership nominees put it: "The problem of civil rights is like the eye of the fly--it has many facets, and therefore many types of endeavors can be directly related to it."

[2] Ibid., 215.

The civil rights game--as played by Negroes and whites during the so-called normal period of the Negro community--was not one of the major games in the ecology of the city.

Essentially the same could be said of the relationship between the internal game of Negro self-help and of the welfare game as played in the larger community of Thrifty City, were it not for the fact that the welfare game had the most Negro players in it among all other major games played in the larger community of Thrifty City. This was true for two reasons: first, seven of the top leadership nominees, who were in charge in welfare agencies with predominantly Negro clients, had working relationships with other agencies of the same general type, and at least to that extent participated in the game. Second, Negroes held, and later increased, membership on several public and semi-public citizens' boards and committees. Negroes were serving on the Community Social Development Commission's Committee on Aging and Committee on the Problems of Youth, on Midwest County Citizenship Commission, on the Advisory Board of Midwest County Works Project Department, on the Citizens' Urban Renewal and Planning Committee, on the Thrifty City Recreation Committee, on the Thrifty City Housing Authority, and on the Board of the YMCA of Metropolitan Thrifty City. Although the relative importance of these boards and committees was debatable, and debated by the subjects of this study, Negroes who served on them <u>did</u> participate in the broadly conceived welfare game of Thrifty City.

With the exception of one, all of the nine Negroes who

served on the above-mentioned committees and boards during the span of the study were among the 20 highest ranking top leadership nominees of the Negro community. The finding, that welfare agency officials and volunteer activists "dominated" the top 20 ranks of two of the three rank orders of the top leadership nominees, has already been stated.

In view of the inherent structural limitations of the Negro community to participate in the ecology of games of Thrifty City, a general lack of saliency of issues characterized the so-called normal period. When asked to name "the single most important problem of the Negro community," about one-third of the leadership nominees saw, respectively, "housing" (31.9 per cent), "employment" (34 per cent), and "discrimination" (34 per cent), as the single most important problem of the Negro community. These data were comparable to the findings obtained from the interviewees of the Community Survey. Only a crude priority of perceived problems emerged from the inquiry which, admittedly, was difficult for the subjects, who may have wished to avoid answers which appeared to favor "gradualism," a "step-by-step" or "piecemeal" approach. When the leadership nominees were asked what area of life in Thrifty City received, in their opinion, the most attention from Negroes, 20 (42.5 per cent) mentioned civil rights, 13 (27.6 per cent) said social affairs, 3 (6.4 per cent) referred to politics, and the remaining 11 (23.5 per cent) mentioned a variety of other activities. As to the leadership nominees' involvement with issues or causes which meant the most to them, 12 (25.5 per cent)

mentioned civil rights, 10 (21.3 per cent) claimed interest in improving employment opportunities, 9 (19.1 per cent) said they were active in the field of education, 8 (17 per cent) worked for improving housing conditions, and the remaining 8 (17 per cent) mentioned other types of work in the community.

Although the scatter of perceived problems, interests, and involvements could be justified by the complexity of the so-called Negro problem, the preceding findings did not permit the identification of the Negro community's major thrust of action in one direction or another. Problems, interests, and involvements in causes were not transformed into community issues; the approach was "piecemeal."

Normally, only the so-called "spot" or "competitive" values of a culture can lead to issues, whereas "general" or "field" values cannot become a matter of debate between groups which are part of a given social system. Thrifty City's Negroes, however, seemed to be handicapped in their quest for competitive values on such a scale that the cumulative disadvantages which accrued to them negated their full participation in sharing the basic field values of their immediate social milieu. The ever-present references to discrimination by the Negro subjects of the study seemed to point to the inhibiting factor in fixing priorities and pursuing with vigor partial goals: the objective consequences of competitive disadvantage were allowed to develop into social problems. To the extent that social problems could be identified and isolated in view of remedial action, a basic issue tended to be

transformed into administrative and technical problems. Organizations and groups of institutionalized social welfare took on the responsibility of solving the problems, and attempts at their solution became part of the normal operating conditions of the community. The widely held view that "there is no Negro leadership to speak of" grew out of the everyday experience of the informants and interviewees, which attested that "people are doing their jobs" only sporadically seeking to solve the "Negro problem." The Negro community appeared to have competent welfare officials, ministers, politicians, political hopefuls, and many dedicated activists, but no leaders. The "Negro problem"--holistic or otherwise--was not a community issue. The internal events and happenings of the Negro community reflected no evidence to the contrary.

Although a complete listing and detailed description of the events which occurred in the Negro community during the so-called normal period will not be attempted here, it is assumed that even a partial listing will satisfactorily show the "business-as-usual" character of events and activities during that period.[3] Community leadership was woven into the current events of the Negro community's internal life.

November 5, 1962. The Thrifty City local of the Negro American Labor Council met at the Masonic Hall. A national vice-president of the parent organization and the president of the

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[3]An exhaustive collection of newspaper clippings, program sheets, pamphlets, and other related source materials are in the writer's possession.

local urged boycotts and picketing of stores and businesses which discriminated against Negroes. Operating on the fringes of the local labor movement (AFL-CIO), the NALC was the only group in the Negro community which engaged in both direct action and negotiations to achieve its ends. It was successful in getting jobs for Negroes in several supermarkets within the Negro community. Its president--a "conspicuous" choice favored by white panel members for inclusion among the leadership nominees of the Negro community --remained consistently in the lower half of all three of the rankings.

November 12, 1962. The "umbrella" organization--a neighborhood council--announced a Conference on Youth for the delegates of its constituent groups. This group also was instrumental in the institution of a series of concerts by the Thrifty City Symphony Orchestra in the Negro community. At a later date, it also offered a Leadership Seminar. Its officers participated in the formation and work of a Joint Committee for Equal Opportunity in Housing--a lobby and study group, the members of which included representatives from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Thrifty City Commission on Community Relations, Thrifty City Citizens for Equal Opportunity, the Urban League, the local chapter of the NAACP, and the Greater Thrifty City Conference on Religion and Race. Two of its principal officers were among the holders of the first 20 ranks on all three of the rankings.

The local chapter of the NAACP announced nomination of a new slate of officers and released information on an ongoing

membership drive.

November 18, 1962. Frontiers International, Inc., a small group of Negro professional men, announced its Annual Award for outstanding contribution in the field of intergroup relations. The recipient of the award, as well as the principal officers of the group, consistently appeared on the upper half of all three of the rank orders. The same was true of the recipient who was honored in 1963.

The Midwest State Branches of NAACP voted to support the campaign of the local NALC against a retail store and the union representative of its workers.

December 2, 1962. A small nucleus of founding members announced the formation of a local chapter of Links, Inc. As an affiliate of a national service organization of Negro women, the group proposed to concern itself with "civic, intercultural, and educational purposes." Only one of the high ranking top leadership nominees was a member of the group, as were the wives of two others. Informants tended to identify the founding members in terms of high status strivings and "Negro Society."

December 9, 1962. A prominent minister--a high ranking top leadership nominee--was honored for 25 years of service as a religious and civic leader in the Negro community. Both "speakers" at the event were high ranking top leadership nominees themselves. The event was similar to many others of the same kind which frequently occurred in the Negro community. Of the combined group of 78 leadership nominees and neighborhood leaders in the

study, 42 (55.1 per cent) received at least one award for meritorious service during the last five years.

December 10, 1962. Local chapter of the NAACP announced the election of its new slate of officers. The outgoing president, the new president and the first vice-president were among the leadership nominees of the study.

One of the two major newspapers began a series of ten articles entitled, "The Negro Speaks"--journalistic profiles of prominent Negroes in Thrifty City. All were subjects of this study as leadership nominees.

January 8, 1963. The executive director of the Urban League--a consistently high ranking top leader nominee--met with the Chief of Police and members of his staff "to determine if the League could be a constructive factor either in police department employment or in its relationship with the Negro community of Thrifty City."

February 4, 1963. The Thrifty City Journal published a letter by the president of the local NALC who claimed that the main objective of the majority of his group is equal economic opportunity rather than open occupancy.

March 5, 1963. Thrifty City's only Negro alderman--a high ranking top leadership nominee--participated in a public discussion of open housing legislation. The discussants were on opposing sides regarding a proposed city ordinance which was defeated about a year before in the Common Council.

March 22-24, 1963. A lavish benefit program was sponsored

by the recently formed chapter of Links, Inc., in connection with the Centenary of the Emancipation Proclamation. Authentic Civil War furnishings from the public museum were displayed, and costumes of the era were modeled by the daughters of the members.

April 25, 1963. The Thrifty City Commission on Community Relations, in cooperation with the Governor's Commission on Human Rights, the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, the Thrifty City Urban League, the local chapter of the NAACP, and the Neighborhood Council celebrated the Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation in the city's Auditorium. A large, racially mixed audience listened to the speeches, among others, by a federal judge--a distinguished Negro from a neighborhing state--and by the mayor of Thrifty City.

May 4, 1963. The Northwest Regional Conference of Lambda Kappa Mu sorority--an affiliate of the National Council of Negro Women--was addressed by a prominent Negro guest apeaker "from out of town." His topic: "Enlightened Leadership for a Dynamic Age."

May 16 and 26, 1963. Dates of two editorials in one of the major local papers. The first editorial endorsed the statewide fair housing bill pending in the Midwest State Assembly; the second could do no more than regret its defeat by a narrow margin. The defeat occurred again, at a later date during the study, by a much wider margin of opposing votes.

May 26, 1963. A large, racially mixed audience of about 5,000 people assembled in the Auditorium of the city to hear the Rev. Martin Luther King--only to learn that he had never agreed

to speak there that evening. Amidst general embarrassment on the part of the organizers of the event, the unfortunate incident produced about $4,000 for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. More importantly, however, the approximately 4,000 Negroes in attendance seemed to provide a measure of the Negro community's interest in the nation-wide struggle for civil rights which was well under way by then.

June 2, 1963. The mayor of Thrifty City failed to reappoint Mr. C. Vidal to the Thrifty City Commission on Community Relations. Negro informants, here and there, began to talk about a "long, hot summer."

June 12, 1963. The mayor addressed the Commission on Community Relations and urged its 29 members--of whom five were Negroes--"to go slow on civil rights." He stressed a "step-by-step approach and programming." In addition to its Negro executive director, only one of the Commission's Negro members was among the leadership nominees of this study.

June 14, 1963. The following editorial appeared in one of Thrifty City's major newspapers:

> Mayor....Again Didges Civil Rights Responsibilities. (Thrifty City) has never had adequate civil rights leadership from city hall. It lacks it completely now. Mayor .....'s admonition to the commission on community relations to go slow on civil rights is further indication of the refusal of the mayor's office, and the city government, to face up to the problems that are becoming more critical in this and every large American community.

June 17, 1963. During a memorial service for a civil rights worker who was slain elsewhere in the country, two speakers

--both high ranking leadership nominees--criticized what one of them called the mayor's "go slow, take it easy, not now" approach to civil rights in Thrifty City.

June 19, 1963. The Negro community buried one of its former leaders--a man who was identified by informants as virtually the only outstanding leader "in the early days." The former executive secretary of the Thrifty City Urban League was described by his successor as an "old patriarch of the community and the symbol of an era."

Although an era may not have ended in the sense that new people began to provide new, direct, and tangible services to the members of the Negro community, no important event occurred after the burial of their "old patriarch" and before the so-called normal period in the life of the Negro community came to an end.

Therefore, the preceding illustrative list of events and activities must be offered as partial proof that the members of the leadership structure identified by this study were indeed the leaders of the Negro community. To paraphrase the remark of one of them, "they were the people who were around, and they were only ones who were around." Or to put it differently, they were the major players of the social game and of the game of Negro self-help in the community. Their leadership reputations rested upon participation in events and activities which were similar to the above events of the "normal period" in both nature and scope. Regardless of the objective consequences of their leadership or of the subjective satisfaction which members of the Negro

community derived from it, the leadership nominees identified by this study initiated and brought to completion the major collective achievements of Negroes in Thrifty City. To the extent that the Negro community achieved a degree of internal cohesion and its members could seek communal goals beyond mere presence and anonymous survival in the larger community of Thrifty City, the leadership nominees of this study were the leaders who gave form and substance to their strivings and aspirations. Their leadership expressed itself through the work of the Negro community's voluntary associations and within the relative degree of autonomy that the Negro community's institutional structures and representatives possessed in Thrifty City.[4]

This type of community leadership--which many of the leadership nominees regarded as "non-leadership" or leadership consisting of mere participation in the "usual" organizational life of the Negro community--came under increasing scrutiny as new events began to occur during July, 1963. All seemed to have rather simple beginnings.

## The Issues of the Revolutionary Period

Mr. Z. Ond, the president of the Midwest State Branches of the NAACP--who had recently moved to Thrifty City--was attending the 54th Annual Convention of the NAACP in Chicago, which endorsed

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[4]Two graduate students, under the direction of the writer, made a content analysis of 26 issues (January-June, 1963) of the Thrifty City Beacon, the small, local Negro weekly. In the 412 news items examined, 26 of the leadership nominees of this study were mentioned a total of 56 times by name.

tighter controls over local branches and the creation of local NAACP commandos. Upon his return to Thrifty City, and a day after the committee assignments of the newly elected Board of School Directors were made public, Ond announced, on July 9, 1963, a state-wide fight against de facto segregated schools. National representatives of the NAACP were to participate in the development of the issue.

At about the same time, a group of Negro professional men began to hold a series of informal meetings for the purpose of drafting a statement on the "apparent negative reaction of official Thrifty City to the present rightful demands of this country's Negro population."[5] Under the title of A Statement of Concern, their views appeared in the form of a paid advertisement in the Thrifty City Journal on July 25, 1963. The statement was signed by 34 members of the Negro community, the so-called Committee of 34. Another issue was in the making.

On July 26, 1963, the Thrifty City Journal carried the news of a meeting of the Community Social Development Commission's program committee. Under the headline of Ignorant Poor? 'Keep Them Out', the report quoted, among others, the following remarks of one of the commissioners: "The Negroes look so much alike that you can't identify the ones that committed the crime...An awful mess of them have an IQ of nothing." This news reached a group of young people in the Negro community who, according to one of the participants, "were sitting around and wondering about what to do

[5]For full text of the statement, see Appendix V.

next." They knew then: the young local chapter of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) was handed an issue.

After July 25, 1963, events followed in quick succession: the three emerging issues ran their course concurrently. Mr. Z. Ond, supported by local and national representatives of the NAACP, had an unsuccessful meeting with the Midwest State superintendent of schools. Ond asked for measures against de facto segregation as a matter of educational policy; the superintendent requested concrete evidence of violation of state laws. Awaiting the exchange of written statements, Ond and his supporters prepared to face the Thrifty City Board of School Directors. On the other hand, the mayor of Thrifty City--whose program was the main target of the Committee of 34--denied the charges listed in the Statement of Concern by claiming that his past and present political record, as well as his "leadership formula," were above reproach. In fact, the task of testing the reactions of "official Thrifty City" to the demands of Negroes fell to CORE--whose request for charter membership in the national organization was still pending but soon to be granted for demonstrated ability and willingness to partipate in "direct action" programs.

## Testing the Reactions of "Official Thrifty City"

CORE's demands called for the censure and removal of the commissioner from the Community Social Development Commission because of his offensive remarks about Negroes. The incident was developed into an issue by the sustained questioning of the

commissioner's"ability to contribute to," and "usefulness to serve on" the Community Social Development Commission. It became a genuine community issue primarily for two reasons. First, the Commission was considered a "brain-child" of Thrifty City's mayor, whose general political posture toward the Negro community was the main target of the Statement of Concern issued by the Committee of 34. To Negroes, the Community Social Development Commission--a political vehicle of largely untested utility--appeared to be suspect because it seemed akin to the Thrifty City Commission on Community Relations, whose members the mayor had recently been urging to go slow on civil rights by using a step-by-step approach and programming.[6] Second, an incident involving the members of the Community Social Development Commission could lead to a community issue particularly because of the broadly representative character of the Commission. Although a "brain-child" of the mayor, the Community Social Development Commission was sponsored and financed by Thrifty City, Midwest County, Board of School Directors, Vocational School, and United Community Services--each of these sent two representatives to serve on the Commission. In a sense, CORE had challenged "official Thrifty City."

In many ways, the course of events and the natural history of the issue of the commissioner were spectacular, but reducible

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[6]According to its Annual Report, 1963, the staff of the Thrifty City Commission on Community Relations had processed 34 (!!) "reported instances of alleged undemocratic actions." During that year, the Commission's number was not listed in the telephone directory of Thrifty City (!!)

to a pattern. As CORE was deploying the direct action tactics of the civil rights movement, "official Thrifty City" learned to take a cautious and legalistic posture of orderly process to cope with them.

CORE picketed the commissioner's place of business. Claiming that the reporter had distorted his views, the commissioner left the matter of his tenure on the Commission in the hands of the man who had appointed him, the chairman of the Midwest County Board of Supervisors.

CORE submitted a written demand for the censure and dismissal of the commissioner. The chairman refused to comply with the request by saying that the commissioner should not be asked to resign "because of his personal beliefs," and CORE really was asking for a violation of the commissioner's "constitutional right of free speech." CORE, in turn, staged sit-ins in the chairman's office and attempted to jam, through a "call-in," the switchboard which handled his calls. A formal meeting between the representatives of CORE and the chairman was unsuccessful; the chairman refused to dismiss his appointee.

Amidst continued demonstrations, scores of pickets were arrested and jailed, but police officials kept "counter-pickets" at a safe distance. Attorneys for the opposing sides were diligently working out details of where and which forms of protest were legal.

CORE sought and obtained a formal meeting with the mayor of Thrifty City who declared that the removal of the commissioner

would constitute "an authoritarian approach which legally I cannot take and morally I would not take." CORE responded by staging sit-ins in City Hall, where additional pickets were arrested.

The negotiations--such as there were--occurred under the leadership of Mr. Z. Dato, the president of the local chapter of CORE. Unlike Mr. Z. Ond--who was a member of the leadership stratum identified by this study--Dato's name was not mentioned by any of the informants of this study prior to his emergence as a civil rights leader. His closest associates, Mr. Z. Broth and Miss Z. Bunning, also were unknown as "leadership nominees." All three were under 30 years of age, relative newcomers in Thrifty City; Broth and Bunning, however, came as experienced CORE activists to Thrifty City. The issue of the commissioner was their show of the day.

As the campaign of CORE picked up momentum, however, Messrs. A. Green, A. Swanson, A. Condoe, and Z. Ond formally offered the help of their groups or organizations to CORE. This meant formal backing of CORE by the NAACP, NALC, and 14 Negro lawyers who offered their professional services to demonstrators who needed them. Of the largest group of 16 demonstrators arrested together, 11 were women and five were men. Ranging in age from 17 to 38, the typical (average) demonstrator in this group was 26 years of age. A rally and march, organized by the youthful CORE, were addressed and led by Messrs. Z. Dato, Z. Ond, A. Green, A. Swanson, A. Albion, and Mrs. A. Bossworth. With the exception of Mrs. A. Bossworth--who was among the top nominees in all three of

the rankings--the leadership nominees involved in these activities were ranked higher by the neighborhood leaders than by the leadership nominees and the white friends in the study.

From the white community of Thrifty City, Mr. C. Vidal, Mrs. C. Pershing, and another lady set up an Equal Rights Defense Fund for the purpose of posting bail bonds on behalf of the demonstrators who were arrested. Of Thrifty City's civic groups and organizations, only the Catholic Interracial Council passed a formal resolution which asked for the resignation of the commissioner. The executive committee of the Thrifty City Conference on Religion and Race and the executive board of the Midwest County Labor Council passed "milder" resolutions. The Midwest County GOP applauded the chairman of the County Board of Supervisors for his ways of handling the issue but refused to criticise CORE. If the approximately 1,500 groups and organizations listed in the Midwest County Organization File of the Thrifty City Municipal Library had also discussed the issue, their deliberations were not reported by the mass media of the city.

In addition to direct action tactics, formal negotiations, and debate in some groups and organizations, the issue of the commissioner occasioned a fair amount of written communications, too. During the early stage of the controversy, Mrs. A. Brown, as a private citizen, had sent a protesting letter to the executives of Thrifty City and Midwest County, to the chairman of the Community Social Development Commission, to three newspapers, and to two members of the above Commission. It is of interest to mention

that the chairman of the Community Social Development Commission was Mr. C. Kummer, and the city was represented on it by Mrs. A. Bossworth and Mr. C. Sheldon. It was part of the revolutionary character of events that some leadership nominees and white friends found themselves in unfamiliar--if not uncomfortable--positions. Again as a private citizen, Mr. A. Owens, on the other hand, reminded the chairman of the County Board of Supervisors of his statutory obligations as a public official. CORE asked for written statements of their positions regarding the issue from the major officials of all of the official sponsoring units of the Community Social Development Commission. None of these steps led to satisfactory results, however, insofar as CORE and its supporters were concerned.

A turning point in the natural history of the issue was reached when, upon a request of the local chapters of CORE and NAACP, the chairman of the Community Social Development Commission agreed to accept a motion calling a special meeting to deal with the case of the commissioner. The motion passed.

The official files of the Community Social Development Commission contain 21 written statements by "interested agencies or individuals" which had direct bearing upon the issue under consideration. Of the 18 statements which were orally presented, 15 opposed in one form or another the retention of the commissioner's services. Subsequently, however, a motion was passed to the effect that the Community Social Development Commission did not "feel qualified to act," and therefore ought to refer the issue

to a "special committee" of the Thrifty City Commission on Community Relations. Later, the "special committee" reported its finding that the commissioner "can be valuable...and no useful purpose can be served by further investigation." On October 18, 1963, the Community Social Development Commission accepted the recommendation of the "special committee" and said "...as the only appropriate course of action, consideration of this matter is hereby terminated." The commissioner did not resign.[7] CORE suspended its activities with regard to the issue. The issue ceased to "make news" in the community on January 24, 1964, when an all-white jury of eight women and four men found guilty the last five of a total of 26 CORE members who were arrested during the demonstrations.

For purposes of this study, the immediately relevant aspect of the issue was seen in the list of the "interested agencies or individuals" from the Negro community which became part of the natural history of the issue as a consequence of the special meeting of the Community Social Development Commission. The following names of individuals were found: Mmes. A. Brown and A. Bossworth; Messrs. A. Adams, A. Owens, A. Belmonte, A. Washington, A. Martin, A. Swanson, A. Rice, A. Green, A. Albion; and also Messrs. Z. Ond and Z. Dato.

Of the 13 Negro men and women whose statements were part of the Community Social Development Commission's official

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[7]The commissioner withdrew voluntarily about three months later. Also, the reporter who was, in a sense, instrumental in the creation of the issue, obtained employment elsewhere in the country.

proceedings, two had acted as private citizens, and a third was the only Negro among the ten commissioners. The remaining ten were officers or spokesmen of the following organizations: (1) Midwest State Conference of Branches, NAACP, (2) Frontiers of America, Inc., (3) Civil Liberties Director, Elks Lodge, Midwest State, (4) Alpha Phi Alpha, (5) CORE, (6) Thrifty City Urban League, (7) Thrifty City Branch, NAACP, (8) Negro American Labor Council, (9) Neighborhood Council (the "umbrella organization"), and (10) Executive Director, Neighborhood House.

Inasmuch as the Community Social Development Commission acted on behalf of the larger community of Thrifty City, the above listed individuals and organizations represented the Negro community of Thrifty City. In the political shorthand of local experts and commentators, City Hall, the County Building, the School Board, the Vocational School, and the United Community Services are the community, i.e., the "official power" of votes, big budgets, and social organization within the larger community. The Community Social Development Commission--little more than a planned coordinating body of untested politico-administrative utility, at the time--merely symbolized the larger community, just as Mr. Z. Dato, a 27-year-old part-time college student and production worker, together with about 170 active CORE members, had acted "on behalf of the Negro community." Such official agents of organized community power as the mayor and the county executive relied upon their administrative go-betweens--the "special committee" of the Thrifty City Commission on Community Relations and the chairman of the

Midwest County Board of Supervisors--to handle the issue, just as CORE was acting virtually alone until the leadership structure of the Negro community became formally committed through "representative protest." The point to be made here is that the issue of the commissioner saw the commitment of virtually all of the Negro community's power potential, and members of the leadership structure identified in this study functioned as leaders in the Negro community. This statement rests upon the finding that the 13 Negro leadership nominees, whose connection with the issue was established, were involved in 51 mutual choices as top leader nominees which were regarded as the strongest indices of non-random relationships among the principal subjects of the study. Although no conclusive distinction could be drawn between top and lesser leaders based upon mutual choices, it ought to be noted that only seven of the above 51 mutual choices occurred between people who were tentatively called lesser leaders. Since, on the one hand, Mr. Z. Dato of CORE was primarily responsible for the conduct of activities concerning the issue, and no conclusive evidence was offered for the existence of a top leadership structure in the Negro community, on the other hand, the problem of whether a monopolistic power elite did exist in the Negro community could definitely be abandoned. Sufficient evidence was offered, however, that the members of the Negro community's leadership structure identified in this study were tested as community leaders inasmuch as they had publicly supported CORE. Finally, whether Mr. Z. Dato's ability to involve Negroes in a real community issue in

Thrifty City brought about important changes in the leadership structure of the Negro community, will be discussed in detail below.

## The Case of the Committee of 34

As mentioned earlier, CORE had seized the opportunity to test the reactions of "official Thrifty City" by confronting the Community Social Development Commission of the larger community, even though a group of professional men and women in the Negro community had previously attempted to do so by drafting A Statement of Concern. If Mr. A. Adams was right, that "CORE has caught the mouse by its tail," however, it seemed for a while that the carefully drafted document of the Committee of 34 would catch only the righteous indignation of Thrifty City's mayor. More than three months elapsed between the days when, in the words of Mr. A. Williams, "some of us boys thought that we ought to get together," and the time that the Committee of 34 appeared in a new light in the community.

On October 25, 1963, a group of 15 business, industrial, and labor leaders announced the formation of a Voluntary Industrial and Business Group to work on the problems of unemployment among members of minority groups. The Voluntary Group held its first meeting sometime in August, 1963. It grew out of a suggestion made by the mayor of Thrifty City to the publisher of the Thrifty City Journal. Whether the mayor's suggestion was made before or after the Statement of Concern appeared in the press could

not be learned. At any rate, the mayor participated in the early meetings of this group, and his aides made discreet inquiries in the city about the "real leaders of the Negro community" who could serve as a counterpart of a "group of important white leaders."[8] The results of the search by the mayor's aides became known when it was announced that the Voluntary Industrial and Business Group had met twice with a Negro group, called the Executive Directors of the Committee of 34. When meeting jointly, the Negro-white group called itself Committee of We of Thrifty City. The decision to concentrate on problems of unemployment was made in joint sessions.

The chairman of the Executive Directors of the Committee of 34 described his group as "a voluntary organization of people who are concerned. We are just interested, tax-paying citizens, and we make no attempt to speak for anyone but ourselves." Originally the group consisted of 12 members. At a later date, three additional persons were added to increase the number of the Executive Directors of the Committee of 34 to 15.

Of course, this new development in the Negro community permitted important checks upon the data of this study. Of the original members of the Committee of 34 who signed the Statement of Concern, 30 (88.2 per cent) were known to the writer as members of the Negro community's leadership stratum identified by this

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[8] The writer participated in two meetings with the mayor's aides, but gave no information other than a list of the Negro community's major groups and organizations.

study. Although more than 34 people from the Negro community had contributed to the purchase of the printed statement,[9] the number of "familiar names" on it inspired further confidence in the leadership lists of this study. This was particularly true of the study list of 50 leadership nominees, since 19 (55.8 per cent) of the 34 persons who signed the Statement of Concern were on it. Finally, of the 15 Executive Directors of the Committee of 34, 12 were among the leadership nominees of this study. Of the other three, however, two were interviewed as neighborhood leaders, and the third could not be interviewed as a leadership nominee because of a prolonged absence from Thrifty City during the time of the interviews.

The following is the list of the leadership nominees who were among the Executive Directors of the Committee of 34; the three numbers in parentheses, which follow each name, indicate the respective ranks of the subjects in the rankings produced by the leadership nominees, white friends, and neighborhood leaders in the order here listed: Mr. A. Mathews (2-6-9), Mr. A. Adams (3-1-2), Mr. A. Williams (4-15-20), Dr. A. Haviland (6-4-7), Dr. A. Evans (10-3-30), Rev. A. Hackett (16-13-14), Mr. A. Washington (19-7-16), Dr. A. Regan (20-29-40), Mr. A. Belmonte (21-9-22), Mr. A. Swanson (27-16-27), Dr. A. Rice (28-5-25), and Mr. A. Rigg (31-23-37).

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[9]For instance, the names of two high ranking leadership nominees who were connected with the group, but could be considered "remote members of the mayor's official team," were missing from the list.

One of the most obvious characteristics of this group was that it included no women, even though eight, six and six women were among the "first 20 ranks" established respectively by the leadership nominees, white friends, and neighborhood leaders interviewed during the study.

Second, the first nine of the Executive Directors, as listed above, accounted for all but four men among the top leaders as based upon 186 (73.8 per cent) of the 252 mutual choices for inclusion among the top ten leaders of the Negro community. In other words, if the absence of the four men--Messrs. A. Jones, A. Courtney, A. Owens, and the Rev. A. Fields--from the list of the Executive Directors could be explained, then the first nine Executive Directors accounted for all men among those who could tentatively be regarded as the nucleus of a top leadership structure of the Negro community. For obvious reasons, the matter seemed important enough to attempt an explanation for the absence of these four men from the list of the Executive Directors. The case of the Rev. A. Fields appeared plausible because illness and old age had forced him into semi-retirement from civic involvement; at the time of the interviews, his relatively high ranks in the rankings produced by the leadership nominees and the neighborhood leaders reflected past performance rather than involvement in the activities of the day--he could not be interviewed. In his 70's, Mr. A. Owens achieved high ranks in the rankings of both the leadership nominees and the white friends as a "conservative and stabilizing voice" in the Negro community. By the way, Owens was the only one

among the four who signed the Statement of Concern. The cases of Messrs. A. Jones and A. Courtney, on the other hand, seemed more difficult to understand or explain. Both were generally considered as "brainy" and "very capable." Both were ranked high by the leadership nominees and the white friends, but less than one-half of the neighborhood leaders either knew or worked with them. Thus, without attempting to force the issue of a fixed number of top leaders in the Negro community, the list of the Executive Directors appeared to "make sense" in the light of the data of this study.

It did so even more when the obvious effort to make the group more broadly representative by adding three new members to it became known. The inclusion of the Rev. A. Hackett and the Rev. B. Herp into the group meant representation of the religious community among Negroes. Mr. B. Bendix, on the other hand, joined Mr. A. Rigg to give representation to organized labor in the Negro community. In this manner, the list of the Executive Directors of the Committee of 34 achieved a greater balance of representativeness which the original list of 12 members--mostly professionals and welfare executives--did not seem to have.

The final list of the Executive Directors also included Dr. A. Haviland and Dr. A. Baker, two academician-politicians, only mildly representative of the other politicians among the nominees who were regarded by the neighborhood leaders as high ranking top leaders in the Negro community but were not considered to be such by the leadership nominees and white friends.

Before attempting to draw any conclusions from these findings, however, it must be pointed out that the Executive Directors did not claim to speak for anyone but themselves. They did not present themselves as the top leaders of the Negro community. Their chairman was pleased to note, however, that "this is the first time in the history of Thrifty City, to my knowledge, that communication between groups on this level has been achieved. In fact, I don't think it's ever been attempted before." Indeed, the 15 member Voluntary Industrial and Business Group, which met with them, represented Thrifty City's major "economic dominants" in banking, insurance, manufacturing, construction, publishing, merchandising, public utilities, public relations, and labor unionism. Only two of the business and labor leaders involved were mentioned as "white friends" by the 47 leadership nominees of this study. While one of these two men was instrumental in enabling the two groups to get together, their members previously had had only minimal, if any, contact with one another. Public officials hailed the formation of the joint committee as a unique event of great promise to both Thrifty City and its Negro community.

Having made its appearance on the public scene, the Committee of We of Thrifty City almost immediately disappeared from the news. On December 16, 1963, however, the chief executive officers of 32 companies announced the formation of the Thrifty City Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council to deal with the employment problems of Negroes. Several other companies agreed to join, and still others were urged to do so. This group was formed

by a subcommittee of the Voluntary Industrial and Business Group, under the leadership of two of the founding members of its parent organization. Although most members of the Council also were associated with the Committee of We of Thrifty City, the latter proposed to function as a separate organization.

In fact, the Thrifty City Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council became an independent arm of organized business. As one of the high ranking leadership nominees remarked, "They prefer to do things quietly and in their own way." According to the Council's First Annual Report, by December 31, 1964, the number of member companies had increased to 127 with a combined labor force of more than 120,000 people in Thrifty City. In 1964, the increased number of member companies issued policy statements of non-discrimination to all of their employees. The Council held two seminars for personnel directors in Thrifty City. It organized man-marketing clinics in the Negro community. A cooperative training program was established with the Thrifty City public schools for students in business administration. The Council cooperated with the Urban League in setting up a Skills Bank of employment service. It established a Speakers' Bureau, published a monthly newsletter, held an annual recognition program, purchased a supplement in the Thrifty City Beacon to salute Negro high school graduates, and gained recognition from the Midwest State Industrial Commission.

In this manner, the issue of unequal employment opportunities had been transformed into a complex technical problem of

upgrading those Negro workers who were the victims of discrimination as employees, and assisting those who could not obtain or hold jobs because of the more pervasive effects of discrimination in general. As to the Executive Directors of the Committee of 34, they kept in touch with the work of the Council mainly through the Urban League, and were heard of only briefly amidst the ongoing controversy of de facto school segregation in the city.

## The Issue of De Facto School Segregation

While the issue of the commissioner and the problem of unequal employment opportunities ceased to be matters of open debate and negotiations within three and six months, respectively, the controversy on de facto segregation in some of Thrifty City's schools, which ran its course concurrently with the other two issues, was not brought to an end during the span of this study. At the time of the final revisions of this study, the civil rights leaders involved and the Thrifty City Board of School Directors were just as far from a solution as they were more than three years earlier when the controversy began.[10]

Amidst extensive exchange of written proposals and position papers, protracted public hearings, picketing of schools, school board meetings, two school boycotts--which lasted for five-

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[10]Since the writer continued to reside in Thrifty City, it was possible to observe events and people well beyond the formal closing date of systematic data collection, i.e., April 1, 1964. The final revision of this report occurred in January, 1967.

and-one-half days and kept from one-half to two-thirds of the city's Negro students out of school--the Thrifty City Board of School Directors failed to propose anything beyond "massive efforts of compensatory education" in predominantly Negro schools.[11] They refused to admit that de facto segregation existed in Thrifty City's school system. They maintained that the integration of Negro students into the classes of their temporary host schools, where they have been transported for years because of classroom shortages and remodeling, was administratively and educationally impossible. They refused to disperse Negro teachers throughout the school system and proposed the construction of new schools in the path of predominantly Negro population movement in the city. Positive steps along these lines constituted the major demands of the civil rights leaders from the Negro community.

Although the natural history of events would have provided an excellent case study of decision-making concerning de facto segregated schools, the local issue became a test of leader behavior for the principal subjects of this study only indirectly. The issue was created and shaped throughout its entire history by Mr. Z. Ond, president of the Midwest State Branches of the NAACP. Although in its early stages the Thrifty City Branch of the NAACP,

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[11]During the early part of the controversy, the Board of School Directors had conducted a "visual count of non-white" pupils and teachers in the public schools of Thrifty City. The results of this census permitted, among other things, a relatively precise identification of "predominantly Negro schools." The specific results of the count were incorporated in this study above, on pp. 23-24.

the local chapter of CORE, and a third group, the so-called Non-partisan Conference, had participated in the direct action programs and negotiations, later on all three became less and less visible as participants. The relative eclipse of these three organizations was in part due to the internal restructuring of the Thrifty City United School Integration Committee which they helped to form in preparation for the first school boycott that occurred on May 18, 1964.[12]

The boycott occurred under the leadership of Mr. Z. Ond, and 13 other civil rights leaders. Of these, Messrs. A. Green and A. Albion were among the leadership nominees of this study, and three ministers, B. Herp, B. Newman, and B. Cantwell, and a social worker, B. Mowrer were interviewed as neighborhood leaders. Of the remaining eight, Mr. Z. Ond and three others were among the leadership stratum identified by this study, Mr. Z. Dato was unknown previously, and so also were the two white women and the only white man in the group. Ranging from 26 to 55 years of age, the typical (average) civil rights leader in this group was 38 years of age. From the point of view of occupational background, one of the women was a former Catholic nun and teacher, and the other sold insurance. Among the 12 men, there were three lawyers, three ministers, an accountant, a politician, a social worker, and

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[12]The events which occurred after April 1, 1964 are described here on the ground that the "revolutionary period" had actually ended--in the writer's opinion--on October 18-21, 1965, the date of the second school boycott. The description is based upon the writer's running file of relevant newspaper clippings.

three industrial employees. Under the direction of Ond and one of the white women, this group handled the logistics of organizing freedom schools for about 11,000 boycotting students and their volunteer instructors. The group claimed that the boycott was a success.

The boycott was, indeed, a success in the sense that the member organizations of the Thrifty City United School Integration Committee presented a united front against the divided but unyielding Board of School Directors. Although reluctantly, the Committee was supported by the Greater Thrifty City Conference on Religion and Race--about 200 clergymen of all major denominations who on September 16, 1963 held a conference for promoting racial harmony which was attended by 4,600 persons. A dissenting voice against the boycott, on the other hand, was raised in the Negro community itself by Mr. A. Owens, a leadership nominee of top rank according to the leadership nominees and white friends. Within less than a month, Mr. A. Owens was in the news four times. On April 29, 1964, he openly repudiated the proposed boycott. On May 4, he was made Thrifty City's first Negro court commissioner. On May 19, he was named to the Council on Housing of the State Industrial Commission; the other Negro member of the five man Council was Mr. A. Adams, a top ranking nominee on all three rankings. Finally, on May 20, 1964, Mr. A. Owens publicly resigned from the NAACP after a continuous membership of 39 years. The local NAACP had some internal problems, of which a cautious officer of the group would only say that "there was some talk about the way in

which things were going."

The problems of CORE--another member organization of the Thrifty City United School Integration Committee--began after the boycott. Following a meeting on June 6, 1964, a faction within CORE--under the leadership of Mr. Z. Dato--withdrew from the Thrifty City United School Integration Committee on June 13, 1964. As a consequence of the internal dissension which ensued, the local chapter of CORE was placed under trusteeship by its national parent organization on August 9, 1964; it reappeared again on May 2, 1965 without Mr. Z. Dato as its president. Dato's losing faction was concerned about the possible loss of CORE's autonomy and initiative within the United School Integration Committee dominated by Ond whose intention of running for the Midwest State Assembly was known and became a successfully established fact in November, 1964. That Ond did not intend to use his Committee solely as a vehicle for election to political office was demonstrated by the second school boycott on October 18-21, 1965 when he was already in office. That boycott, in turn, was followed by a lawsuit--still pending in federal court--against the Thrifty City Board of School Directors.

Backed by local, state, and national NAACP, the suit was an answer to the often repeated claim that the School Board was operating within the law. In fact, the Board shelved the demands of the Thrifty City United School Integration Committee by a nine to four vote on June 30, 1964 and welcomed a lawsuit. One of the dissenting votes was cast by Dr. A. Haviland, the only Negro

member of the Board, and a top leader nominee on all three of the rankings. Beyond his able by ex officio involvement, the reported activities of Messrs. A. Green, A. Albion, and A. Owens, the other members of the leadership structure identified in this study were only minimally involved in the controversy. By "minimal" involvement were meant such broadly "educational" activities as giving speeches, appearances on panels and in group discussions, and ad hoc statements to newspapermen and TV reporters. An exception to this general type of participation were the unsuccessful attempts by the members of an Education Committee of the Urban League to probe for negotiable issues with the School Board. Although nine members of the Executive Directors of the Committee of 34 were reported to have met informally on January 29, 1964 for the purpose of urging the School Board "to take an affirmative policy stand toward eliminating de facto segregation" in the city's schools, it was the Urban League that attempted to keep cautiously in touch with the School Board. A formal meeting between school officials and representatives of the League on September 3, 1964 did not produce any satisfactory results.

Amidst general groping for a breakthrough on any front in Negro-white relations in the city, the policy posture and "style" of the Urban League came under violent attack by Mr. Z. Ond in a letter addressed to Messrs. A. Adams and A. Washington, Mrs. A. Brown, and a white official of the Urban League. The letter that was published on May 6, 1965 referred to a policy stand taken by the League on April 23, 1965 with regard to a pending housing bill

in the Assembly of Midwest State. Whether or not the secondary purpose of the letter was to rally forces in and out of the Negro community for the school boycott to come, the second boycott on October 18-21, 1965 was longer but no more successful than the first. Meanwhile, on June 17, 1965, the Committee of We of Thrifty City announced the formation of interracial subcommittees to pursue social action in the fields of employment opportunities, housing, and education. On June 25, 1965, the chairman of the Executive Directors of the Committee of 34 felt compelled to set the record straight in a published letter about the mayor's role concerning his group's participation in the Committee of We of Thrifty City--he claimed that the mayor had nothing to do with it. The Committee of We of Thrifty City was in the news again on the eve of the second school boycott when it proposed a city-wide study of the public school system. Ultimately the Committee became a co-sponsor of the study, sharing the financing of it with the Thrifty City Board of School Directors (!) Still to be published, the results of that study could eventually be compared with the findings of a still ongoing study of the same subject matter for the Federal Civil Rights Commission. Both of these studies began at a time, however, when the leadership nominees and civil rights leaders in the Negro community were drawn into--what the writer prefers to consider--the post-revolutionary period of their history. On August 20, 1964, the Community Relations-Social Development Commission in Midwest County became the administrative body of the local War on Poverty and a new center of interest and

attraction appeared on the horizon of the Negro community.

## Leadership Structure and Change

Since it was the first time in the history of Thrifty City that three major community issues called attention to its "Negro problem," perhaps it was not surprising that the city's mayor wondered who the leaders of the Negro community were. While during the "normal period" the members of the leadership structure identified by this study were inclined to say that "there was no Negro leadership to speak of," the "revolutionary period" saw the emergence of other men who appeared to be the leaders of at least some segments of the Negro community. With only passing reference to the erroneous charge that community leadership studies tend to identify "static" leadership structures, the emergence of new leaders by itself imposed the task here to consider the findings from the point of view of changes in the leadership structure of the Negro community.

The literature of community leadership reviewed in this study had some important warnings, however, concerning the problem of change. The observation by Pfautz, that "the power structures of Negro sub-communities in American cities are in a process of schism and realignment under the impact of desegregation movements and activities"[13] points, indeed, to challenges of great practical as well as theoretical importance. Whether a bus boycott by new leaders can sweep away old leaders as swiftly and radically as

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[13]Pfautz, Phylon, XXIII, 166.

Killian and Smith claim to have found, on the other hand, seems to be a different matter.[14] Among other things, the exercise of power is only probable from issue to issue, and only powerless puppets can usually be swept away for a single option of non-involvement; really powerful men can subvert the issue-leaders of a social movement in the Negro community just as well as in the white community. As to the concluding remark by Barth and Abu-Laban that "protest" organizations "...may be about all that remain of a Negro sub-community,"[15] the finding is difficult to accept when another social scientist reports that Pacific City's Negro population continues to live in a rapidly expanding ghetto.[16] The point is that the interpretation of changes concerning the Negro community and its leadership structure by "many white and Negro scholars with liberal convictions" may indeed reflect "a very large measure of highly partisan analysis"[17] and hasty conclusions.

In spite of the somewhat conflicting evidence to the contrary, the full range of events examined here tended to show that members of the leadership structure identified by this study provided the leaders of the Negro Community. Prior to the "revolutionary period" in the life of the Negro community, the leadership

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[14] Killian and Smith, Social Forces, XXXVIII, 257.

[15] Barth and Abu-Laban, The American Sociological Review, XXIV, 76.

[16] Robert Merrill, "The Negro Ghetto--Alterations and Consequences," The Geographic Review, LV (July, 1965), 339-61.

[17] Everett Carll Ladd, Jr., Negro Political Leadership in the South, (Ithaca, N.Y.; Cornell University Press, 1966), 176.

nominees of this study were the leaders of Thrifty City's Negroes because no others could be found who had done more or other than what they actually accomplished in the Negro community. Although new men emerged during the "revolutionary period" it could not be said that the members of the leadership structure examined in this study were "caught napping," or that their leadership was indeed non-leadership. Their involvement in the three issues showed that they attempted to do more than merely "letting the new leaders' noses get bloodied" in Thrifty City's political arena of civil rights; they took part in all three of the major issues. How effective their stands were could not be evaluated because of lack of definitive evidence. The emergence of "new" leaders on the scene, of course, also was part of the findings.

The "new" leaders emerged as the event-makers of the "revolutionary period." In the beginning, mostly newspapermen led the way in bestowing the title of civil rights leader or Negro leader upon a man whose signature appeared on a letter of protest or who seemed to be in charge of a picket line. Besieged by activists of direct action programs, however, the leadership claims of the newly emerging leaders were honored at times with astonishing speed by the target groups in the white community. Resistance to their demands, on the other hand, tended to manifest itself through scrupulous legalisms and embarrassingly clumsy semantics rather than through appeals to the technical complexity of the problems which called for the recognition of qualified opponents. Briefly, the white community--including the mayor--did not seem to

know who the leaders of the Negro community were and tended to deal with "Negro leaders" on a "first-come-first-served" basis.

The specification of the changes which the emergence of "new" leaders brought about in the leadership structure of the Negro community must rely, first of all, upon the definition of "new" leaders used in the study. In discussing the reputational data of the study, a person was considered as a "new" leader (nominee) if his name was not on the original study list of 143 leadership nominees produced by the census of leadership reputations in the Negro community. By asking the selected leadership nominees, white friends, and neighborhood leaders to add names to the reduced study list of 50 leadership nominees, the writer became aware of an additional total of 61 "new" nominees. That is, the 47 members of the leadership structure examined in the study could be looked upon as part of a larger leadership stratum of 204 people in the Negro community. In addition, the names of 96 neighborhood leaders were known, and 31 of these actually were interviewed. Consequently, one way of determining who were the "new" leaders was to check the list of leaders who were active with regard to the three issues against the list of the 300 known members of the leadership stratum. Proceeding in this manner, only the three leaders of CORE, Messrs. Z. Brother and Z. Dato, and Miss Z. Bunning, could be called "new leaders." These three became known through the events of the "revolutionary period"; all others who were involved in them were not "new," as defined. On the other hand, if the leadership structure of 47 nominees examined in the

study is taken as the point of reference for identifying the new leaders, then eight of the 11 Negro men involved in the first school boycott must be added to the above three names. Mr. Z. Dato being a member of this group, the three ministers, B. Herp, B. Newman, B. Cantwell, and Mr. B. Mowrer were known as neighborhood leaders, and Mr. Z. Ond and three others were part of the smaller leadership stratum of 204 nominees. The emergence of these "new" leaders seemed to indicate only some fluidity in the leadership structure of Thrifty City's Negro community. Leadership style rather than the personnel of the leadership structure seemed to change.

Since the white friends in this study were interviewed during the summer months of 1964, i.e., during the "revolutionary period," it was possible to trace the reactions of these 24 whites to the leadership of the Negro community under the new circumstances. After having selected and ranked ten people from the unchanged study list of 50 leadership nominees, the white friends were asked whom they would add to the list. They mentioned 35 names, 15 of which were proposed by more than one interviewee. Of the latter, interest was centered on those four nominees who were mentioned by more than three interviewees. All four were among the civil rights activists whose names appeared almost daily in the local papers. Two of these four, the Rev. B. Herp and the Rev. B. Newman, were previously interviewed as neighborhood leaders. The remaining two were Messrs. Z. Dato and Z. Ond, the principal leaders of the issue of the commissioner and of the issue of

de facto segregation in the public schools. Of the 24 white friends, 11 wished to add Mr. Z. Dato to the list of the Negro community's leadership nominees, and four were willing to "make room for him" among their previous selections of the top ten leaders of the Negro community. As to Mr. Z. Ond, 17 of the 24 white friends thought of him as an addition to the list, and seven felt that he should be part of the Negro community's top ten leaders as they saw such a group. While most of the white friends were willing to "amend" the list, and expressed willingness to consider the "new" leaders as leaders, many felt that they "could not work with them," and had doubts about the "ability of the others I have selected to work with them." Indeed, of the 24 white friends, only two were temporarily among the supporters of Messrs. Z. Ond and Z. Dato; the others seemed to be in the camp of those who nominated them as white friends--the members of the leadership structure examined in this study.

If the recognition of the "new" leaders by the white friends seemed to be an appropriate response to the events of the day, however, only Mr. Z. Ond's leadership status withstood the test of future events. The fact that the activities of Ond ultimately were reduced to waiting for the outcome of a lawsuit, in turn, warrants the view that changes in community leadership ought to be examined within the leadership structure identified by this study rather than between it and "new" centers of leadership and power in the Negro community. That problem is part of the discussion in the following chapter where a final attempt is made to

interpret the data in the light of the second major hypothesis of the study.

# CHAPTER VII

## CONCLUSION

### Summary Statement: The Problem, Research Objectives, and Method

The purpose of this chapter is to restate the problem, research objectives, and method of the study, to summarize the findings in comparison with the findings of other community leadership studies among Negroes, and to attempt an overall interpretation of the data in the light of a specific but general hypothesis. Recommendations for further research conclude the chapter.

The theoretical significance of a leadership study in the Negro community of Thrifty City was seen in the problem of whether a monopolistic power elite rather than a loose pluralistic leadership structure is needed by a minority community from the point of view of its external relationships with the majority community within which it finds itself. The theoretical problem consists of two major lines of thought. First, a monopolistic power elite is objectionable on the normative ground of potential domination and abuse of power by such a leadership structure--even though its rejection creates difficulties in defining "good" leadership with regard to external relations. Second, inasmuch as community power is seen as the major explanatory variable of race relations, it is

necessary to develop a powerful Negro community--which Negroes may be reluctant to undertake in the segregated ghettos of large urban center which they regard as the most concrete results of discrimination based upon race as socio-political reality. That is, the problem of the study is stated within the context of the pluralistic conception of the community, even though the ideological claims of Negroes may conflict with the real consequences of pluralism.[1] The observations of Glazer, which follow, are quite to the point:

> The Negro now demands entry into a world, a society, that does not exist, except in ideology. In that world there is only one American community, and in that world, heritage, ethnicity, religion, race are only incidental and accidental characteristics. There may be many reasons for such a world to come into existence--among them the fact that it may be necessary in order to provide full equality for Negroes. But if we do move in this direction, we will have to create communities very different from the kinds in which most of us who have already arrived--Protestants, Catholics, Jews--now live.[2]

The exploration of the problem--limited to structural analysis of community power that excludes ideological considerations --involved two major tasks. First, it was necessary to identify and describe the leadership structure of the Negro community under study. Second, a hypothesis had to be developed that was relevant

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[1] "...it is mandatory that Americans of all ethnic backgrounds submerge their group loyalties in favor of the broad human values that undergird the democratic concept. This, to be sure, will take time; no one expects it to occur overnight. What we Negroes do expect, however--and now--is an announcement of this basic goal for American democracy." Louis E. Lomax, The Negro Revolt (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 187.

[2] Nathan Glazer, "Negroes & Jews: The New Challenge to Pluralism," Commentary, XXXVIII (December, 1964), 34.

to the problem as stated. That a disproportionate amount of effort and space had to be devoted to the identification and description of the Negro community's leadership structure was due to the methodological problems and work connected with those research objectives.

The identification and description of the Negro community's leadership structure was based upon a combination of the reputational method and issue-relevant leader behavior. The essentially dynamic character of leadership structure was respected by cautious interpretation of the structural tendency for closure as well as by examining the leadership structure during two qualitatively different periods of time in the life of the Negro community. Although the problem of structural changes could hardly have been disregarded, only tentative conclusions will be offered below about it because of the admittedly limited time span of the study.

The initial identification of the principal subjects of the study--the leadership nominees--was based upon a chain-referral type census of leadership reputations by an all-Negro group of informants. An initial study list of leadership nominees, in turn, was reduced to manageable size by a ten member biracial panel for purposes of intensive study. Two additional aggregates of secondary subjects--Negro neighborhood leaders and white friends--were selected for purposes of testing the reputed status of the selected leadership nominees. The neighborhood leaders were identified by a sample of adult men and women in the Negro community; the

white friends were nominated by the selected leadership nominees. Formal, structured interviews were conducted with these three aggregates of subjects on the assumption that they were reasonably, although not similarly, knowledgable about Negro community leadership in Thrifty City.

The socio-economic characteristics and social participation data of the three aggregates of subjects were used to show that the leadership nominees were members of the Negro community's institutional and associational elites--a theoretical stipulation. No direct comparisons were made to that effect with the typical (average) member of the Negro community on the ground that extensive use was made of census data in the first chapter of the study which described him; the differences between the typical Negro in Thrifty City and the typical leadership nominee were rather obvious. On the other hand, the selected leadership nominees were compared with the principal subjects of four other Negro community leadership studies in view of the variability of leadership structures in communities of the same kind, i.e., Negro communities within large urban centers.

The primary reason for the selection of the secondary subjects of the study was to test a methodological hypothesis of leadership reputations to the effect that the non-elite perspectives of neighborhood leaders with regard to the selection of the Negro community's top ten leaders were significantly different from those of the leadership nominees and the white friends. The obtained measures of rank order correlations and coefficient of

concordance were interpreted in the light of the subjects' ability to perform such a task, i.e., whether they knew and previously worked with those whom they could select and were asked to rank. The rankings were put to further analytical use when a distinction between top and lesser leaders was introduced, based upon the mutual selections by the leadership nominees for top ten leader rank. Finally, an attempt was made to see whether the converging perspectives of the three aggregates of subjects would hold true of top leader rankings derived from a unified rank order of top leadership nominees.

By asking the three aggregates of subjects to add to as well as to eliminate names from the study list of the selected leadership nominees, the principal subjects of the study could be placed within a leadership stratum in the Negro community. Although based upon reputational data, this stratum could be used later on for purposes of examining structural changes due to the emergence of new leaders.

Inasmuch as a leadership structure could be identified with the help of the reputational data, the description of it was completed by examining the potential power bases--people, wealth, social organization--of community leadership. Finally, the theoretically relevant question of power elite was raised by examining whether it could realistically be considered in view of the findings of the study.

The identification and description of the Negro community's leadership structure based upon reputational data was

supplemented by the study of issue-relevant leader behavior. The public character of issue-involvement by the leadership nominees was traced in the verified accounts of events in the local press and in official documents. Leader behavior was inferred from reported participation in public events by the leadership nominees whose ties with each other within the institutional and associational structure of the Negro community were previously established by interview data on social participation in general and by sociometric choice for top leadership nomination in particular. Issue-involvement by the principal subjects of the study was examined during two qualitatively different--"normal" and "revolutionary"--periods in the life of the Negro community as well as from issue to issue during the "revolutionary" period. The combined procedures of the reputational method and issue-test were aimed at answering the questions: who were the members, and what were the characteristics, of the Negro community's leadership structure during the period of the study?

The following section summarizes the findings concerning these two questions of identification and description. Inasmuch as the identification and description of the Negro community's leadership structure was only one of the research objectives, the summary is limited to a comparative discussion of the findings which will be examined again from the point of view of the basic problems of the study.

## Comparative Summary of Findings

Although the identification of the Negro community's leadership structure was pursued only in part through the reputational method, the findings must be considered in the light of the controversy surrounding the use of reputational data. To believe one of the critics of the reputational method, not much could be expected from the effort for "the gifts and energies of social scientists can be better used than in this pursuit."[3] This summary remark (or judgment) was offered, presumably, to a methodological orientation which tended to produce a static picture of community leadership and power. Many of the author's valid criticisms aside, the tenor of his comments was that the identification of community leaders was a mere beginning in the study of communities, for community life was in reality an ever-changing phenomenon. Since that author, a political scientist, did not seem to claim that the problem of community power was so complicated that only dialectic or traditional scholarship could adequately cope with it, the basic aim seemed to be to nudge empirical inquiry toward the study of more fluidly structured, issue-tested exercise of power as a political process.

Based upon the writer's experience with this study, the observation that the collection and processing of reputational data tend to challenge "the energies of social scientists" can readily be granted; the procedure is laborious and time consuming.

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[3]Wolfinger, American Sociological Review, XXV, 644.

Similarly, that the results represent a mere beginning is true, too. However, they represent a necessary beginning and the reputational method provides the most adequate methodological alternative for it in all but the most stable and well established minority communities. In a Negro community which does not have a fully documented history of past issues, or which cannot accomodate all of its leaders with formal positions of leadership within its limited institutional and associational structure, the leaders must be sought through the reputational method. In this study, the use of the reputational method produced a list of 50 leadership nominees, the accuracy of which was not seriously challenged either upon request to add "new" names to it or through the emergence of "new" leaders. The accuracy of the list remained uncontested in spite of the fact that the original study list of 143 leadership nominees produced by the all-Negro informants of the census of leadership reputations was reduced to 50 by a bi-racial panel. The use of a bi-racial panel in this study represented an important departure from the procedures of all four of the Negro community leadership studies, the methodology and findings of which were closely scrutinized for purposes of comparisons.

Although all four of the studies in question had used the reputational method, only Hunter and Burgess combined it with accounts of issue-tested leader behavior. Their major findings are reviewed here for purposes of facilitating the discussion of the findings of this study that was based on reputational data and issue-tested leader behavior.

Hunter's work in Regional City was one of those "early studies," of course, which became thought of as projecting a static and rigid conception of largely business-dominated power structures. Hunter found that the leadership of Regional City's Negro community was structurally similar to the leadership of the larger community. The major difference between the two power structures was seen in the relative role and position of professionals who were part of the leadership substructure in the larger community, whereas they were among the "upper-limits" leaders of Regional City's Negro community. The top leaders of Regional City worked mainly through and with the "lower-limits" leaders of the Negro community in all matters but political; the "upper-limits" political leaders from the larger community worked directly with some of the "upper-limits" leaders of the Negro community. In general, the top leadership of the Negro community did not function in a policy-making capacity for the larger community of Regional City.[4]

By the time the work of Barth and Abu-Laban in Pacific City was published, considerable critical comments and insights were available to help the authors in reporting their findings. Barth and Abu-Laban, who wished to duplicate Hunter's effort in a different type of Negro community, found no power structure in Pacific City's Negro community. Reportedly, the Negroes of Pacific City did not feel themselves to be part of the Negro subcommunity, and their leaders did not wield power <u>within</u> the ecologically

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[4]See Chapter 5, "Power Structure of a Sub-Community," in Hunter, <u>Community Power Structure</u>, 114-50.

identifiable "Negro community." In fact, Barth and Abu-Laban felt that the Negro leaders had been "remarkably successful" in participating in what presumably was a broadly conceived "ecology of games" in Pacific City, and the Negro leaders were those who were "active in 'protest' organizations--for these may be about all that remain of the Negro sub-community."[5]

Like Barth and Hunter, Burgess also found an identifiable structure of leadership in the Negro subcommunity of Crescent City. In contrast to Barth and Abu-Laban's conclusions, however, Burgess has shown that the Negro leaders of Crescent City were power wielders, for they held "positions of importance in the total community, as well as in the sub-community."[6] This was especially evident when the "power nominees" of the Negro and white leaders of Crescent City were considered. More importantly, however, Burgess has shown that the Negro community did not define "its leadership in terms of specialized issues";[7] there was a positive and statistically significant correlation between the rankings of 20 mutual selections of power and issue leaders as these were seen by her subcommunity sample.[8] There also was a "significant positive association between the rankings of the 25 mutual selections of the Negro leader informants and the subcommunity sample

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[5]Barth and Abu-Laban, The American Sociological Review, XXIV, 76.

[6]Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 76.

[7]Ibid., 88.

[8]Ibid., 91-2.

informants."[9] Finally, she found a significant positive concordance among the 21 mutual selections of all three groups of informants.[10] As to issue-tested leader behavior, Burgess reported that Crescent City's Negro community had a group of leaders that remained "much the same from issue to issue, owing, perhaps in part, to the fact that as a minority group it has had less opportunity and time to develop specialists."[11]

The work of Pfautz dealt with the Negro community of Providence, Rhode Island. Although he merely stated that the Negro leaders of Providence "meet one another in a variety of contexts,"[12] Pfautz felt that the most striking characteristic of his list of 16 leaders was the "complete unanimity regarding the top three leaders, which is indicative of the clarity with which the power structure of the Negro sub-community is perceived."[13] He tended to interpret this finding as evidence against the critiques of the reputational method by claiming that reputation and behavior were more closely matched in Negro communities in general, and that this was true "of places which involve relatively small numbers and proportions of Negroes in particular."[14]

Insofar as the socio-economic characteristics of their

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[9] Ibid., 97-98.

[10] Ibid., 98.

[11] Ibid., 149.

[12] Pfautz, Phylon, XXIII, 161.

[13] Ibidem.

[14] Ibid., 166.

principal subjects were concerned, all four of the studies, as well as this study, made use of the data only for descriptive purposes. That is, the actual findings on the leadership aggregates' tendency to exhibit upper rather than lower class characteristics were merely reported without drawing any inferences from them concerning the nature of the decisions which such people may tend to make. The "social elite" rather than "non-elite" character of the principal subjects of this study was seen in the following findings. Of the 47 selected leadership nominees, 91.5 per cent were college educated as opposed to 14.3 per cent of all non-whites in Thrifty City who were exposed to some college education as of 1960. While 85.1 per cent of the leadership nominees had a white collar occupation, 19.2 per cent of Thrifty City's non-whites earned their living in white collar jobs according to the 1960 census. Finally, the median family income of the leadership nominees was $12,857 as opposed to the median income of $4,842 that Thrifty City's non-white families had in 1959. Since the differences between the typical leadership nominee and the typical Negro in Thrifty City were so obvious, the socio-economic characteristics of the leadership nominees were compared to those of the Negro neighborhood leaders and white friends, i.e., the local, secondary subjects of the study. Inasmuch as 54.8 per cent of the Negro neighborhood leaders were college educated, 45.2 per cent were white collar workers, and 67.7 per cent had a family income of less than $10,000 at the time of the interviews, they were different from both the typical leadership nominee and the typical Negro

in Thrifty City.[15] As to interracial comparisons, the leadership nominees compared favorably to the white friends, but the consequences of discrimination in terms of equal opportunities even for a local elite of Negroes must be kept in mind. On the other hand, the intercommunity comparisons showed a marked similarity between the socio-economic characteristics of the leadership aggregates of Pacific City and Thrifty City. Both of these non-southern leadership aggregates differed from those of Regional City and Crescent City in the South.[16]

Although reference will be made again to the social class characteristics of the leadership nominees, this study, as well as the other four, were of the elitist orientation in the sense that the locus of community leadership was seen in the institutional and associational elites of the Negro community. The elite status of the leadership nominees was measured not in terms of general socio-economic characteristics, but in terms of social participation, i.e., membership and officeholding in groups and organizations. The 47 leadership nominees of this study were members of

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[15]To the extent that comparisons could be made, the neighborhood leaders of this study appeared to be somewhat similar to the middle class respondents of Crescent City's Negro sub-community. For comparisons, see Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 84, Table 3.

[16]In referring to the work of Hunter and Burgess, Ladd noted that, "The cities involved in these two studies, Atlanta and Durham, are, of course, centers for Negro business. Few Negro sub-communities have leaders with such formidable economic bases, then, as those in these two cities." Ladd, Negro Political Leadership in the South, 132, n. 11.

an average of 6.9 groups and organizations as opposed to an average of 3.7 memberships by the neighborhood leaders and an average of 9.5 by the white friends. The leadership nominees' involvement in groups and organizations was indeed marked in a Negro community where about three of every ten adults were members of at least one group or organization. In this study, unlike the other studies,[17] no reputational data were collected on the "most important or powerful" groups and organizations; the frequency of memberships and officeholding was used to establish the relative importance of groups and organizations. Based upon reported memberships, and without taking into consideration the "new" groups of the "revolutionary period," the NAACP, Urban League, and the Y's (YMCA and YWCA) were the organizations in which all three of the interviewee aggregates of the study held memberships. As to overlapping memberships and officeholding by the leadership nominees, of 134 instances of social participation in nine local groups and organizations, 68 referred to officer status and 66 were simple memberships. The 68 instances of officeholding were distributed among 39 of the 47 leadership nominees who were interviewed.[18] Thus,

[17] "A total of twenty-two organizations of top influence were selected by Negro leaders from a listing of more than 350." Hunter, Community Power Structure, 115. Barth, on the other hand, started with 84 groups and examined 27 of them as the most influential. Barth and Abu-Laban, American Sociological Review, XXIV, 71.

[18] "The 31 power nominees were all members of at least one of the ten (top) associations, with an average of 3.6 memberships per leader." Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 153, n. 2. Comparatively, the 47 leadership nominees of this study held an average of 2.8 memberships in the nine local groups, membership in which accounted for 41.5 per cent of all memberships

descriptively, the leadership nominees of the study could indeed be looked upon as members of the Negro community's institutional and associational elites.

Just as the authors of the other four studies, the writer was interested in the socio-economic and social participation characteristics of the principal subjects of the study as members of a leadership structure. The leadership structure of Thrifty City's Negro community was sought through the identification of non-random relationships among the leadership nominees who--reputedly--"could make decisions and initiate community-wide action." The structural characteristics of non-random relationships were measured in terms of whether the 47 leadership nominees knew, worked with, and selected each other as one of the top ten leaders of the Negro community. It was found that the 47 leadership nominees knew personally an average of 46.1 people on the study list of 50 nominees, and they worked on community projects with an average of 34.4 persons on the list. In the process of selecting and ranking the top ten leaders of the Negro community, the leadership nominees produced a final ranking of reputed leaders within which 57.3 per cent of "votes" were cast for mutual choices among 37 of the participating nominees; the other votes were "scattered" among nominees who did not reciprocate. Thus, in the manner of the other four studies, an initial identification of a leadership structure was made in Thrifty City's Negro community.

In order to check whether the secondary subjects of the

reported by them.

study, i.e., the selected neighborhood leaders and white friends perceived leadership essentially in the same way as the leadership nominees did, the rankings produced by the 31 neighborhood leaders and the 24 white friends were compared to the one established by the leadership nominees themselves. It was found that not only the ranking produced by the white friends--as expected--but also the ranking established by the neighborhood leaders--contrary to expectations--was significantly correlated with the ranking made by the leadership nominees themselves; there was a statistically significant concordance among the three rankings. Based upon the full slate of 50 leadership nominees--the accuracy of which was not seriously challenged by any one or all of the three aggregates of subjects--the select leadership nominees, neighborhood leaders, and white friends saw the leadership structure of the Negro community essentially in the same way.

A more specific and qualified meaning of this finding could be made by comparing it to the findings of Hunter and Burgess. Since the white friends were people who--according to the leadership nominees who selected them--"understand the problems of the Negro community and are known to work effectively toward their solution," the writer could not claim that the white leaders of Thrifty City ("the power structure"!) knew the leadership structure of the Negro community--as Hunter attempted to, and Burgess was entitled to claim with regard to the communities which they had studied. In Thrifty City, only <u>some</u> whites knew the leaders of the Negro community, and--short of more adequate information--

the writer would anticipate finding perhaps two of them in a very broadly construed top leadership group of the larger community of Thrifty City. As to the neighborhood leaders of this study, the writer would argue that they were at least as adequate subjects for reflecting "non-elite" perception of the Negro community's leadership structure as were the members of the stratified sample of sub-community respondents used by Burgess in Crescent City. The writer's view is, however, that the perception of top leadership structures by the non-elites of a community is a very difficult problem and needs considerably more study. Therefore, the positive finding of Burgess, and of the writer as well, should be considered with caution, as was in fact done in this study.

A common characteristic of this study and the other four studies was that an attempt was made in each to introduce a distinction between categories of leaders within the leadership structure that was identified. Hunter started his inquiry with 34 nominees, had comparative data on 23 persons of influence and power, but divided the 34 into 10 "upper-limits" and 24 "lower-limits" leaders based upon mutual choices for leadership by his subjects.[19] Barth and Abu-Laban began with 154 "potential influentials," reduced by two panels to 36 "probable influentials," of whom seven "had been mentioned as 'top leaders' by one half or more of the 36 people interviewed."[20] Pfautz had 38 "different individuals," of

[19]Hunter, Community Power Structure, 133.

[20]Barth and Abu-Laban, American Sociological Review, XXIV, 73.

whom 16 "top leaders" were interviewed and three of these were found to be top leaders by a unanimity of mutual choices.[21] In the study of Crescent City by Burgess, 189 Negroes were nominated by Negro leaders themselves, white leaders, and a general sub-community sample; of these, 31 were studied in depth as "power nominees" and 10 of them were identified as "top power" and 21 as "sub-power" leaders according to sociometric ratings.[22] Beginning with Hunter, attempts like these created the furor in the literature of community leadership--with the generous help of critics in need of straw-men--which is only slowly subsiding into acceptance of the view that leadership structures range along a continuum of relative "closure."

In this study, a "natural break" in the data of mutual selections at the twenty-first rank of the ranking established by the leadership nominees suggested that within the leadership structure under study about 20 people may be the top leaders of the Negro community and all others could be considered lesser leaders. Based upon this suggestive evidence, the first 20 ranks of each of the three rankings were comparatively examined. Of all votes cast by the leadership nominees, 75.5 per cent were cast for the first 20 ranks in their own ranking. In the ranking established by the white friends, on the other hand, 69.6 per cent of all votes were cast for those 15 nominees who were among the first

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[21] Pfautz, Phylon, XXIII, 161.

[22] Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 77.

20 ranks produced by the leadership nominees.' Finally, 50 per cent of the votes cast to produce the ranking by the neighborhood leaders went to 13 of those who were among the first 20 ranks in the ranking made by the leadership nominees, i.e., the subjects who were the most knowledgable informants about leadership in the Negro community on the grounds of their knowledge of and work experience with each other.

In view of the fact that the criteria for distinguishing between top and lesser leaders were admittedly arbitrary in each of the studies examined here, several observations could be made about the above findings. First, that 75.5 per cent of the leadership nominees votes determined the first 20 ranks took on additional meaning when it was noted that the top 10 sociometric leaders selected by the Negro leaders, white leaders, and sub-community respondents "received 74.5 per cent of the total number of votes cast for the 31 power nominees," i.e., the principal subjects of the study by Burgess.[23] Such a concentration of nominating votes at the very beginning of her study goes a long way in explaining the statistically significant correlation and concordance which Burgess had found concerning mutual selections by three independently selected groups of informants.[24] Of all five Negro community leadership studies considered here, only the study by Burgess demonstrated the existence of a top leadership group with formally convincing precision. No such findings can be reported here about

[23] Ibid., 102.

[24] See above, pp. 295-96.

a top leadership structure in Thrifty City's Negro community. The statistically significant correlations and concordance which were found concerning the three rankings of the full slate of 50 leadership nominees by the 47 leadership nominees, the 31 neighborhood leaders, and the 24 white friends did not hold true for the first 20 reconstructed selections from a unified ranking by the three aggregates of subjects. Therefore, what could be argued at best would be the application of Barth and Abu-Laban's arbitrary principle to the data of this study: 50 per cent or more of all votes were cast for 13 people who were among the top 20 leaders on all of the three rankings.[25] Or, as it was, in fact, done, the "natural break" in the sociometric mutual choice hierarchy of ranks produced by the leadership nominees themselves was looked at as a mere indication of a tendency toward closure, i.e., an indication of a certain degree of "congeniality" with high action potential which--if and when activated--remained subject to situational contingencies. At no time during the analysis of the data was the distinction between top and lesser leaders considered to be crucial. It could not be, for the study did not explicitly stipulate a model of leadership and power structure based solely on reputational data.

In fact, none of the five studies considered here has explicitly stipulated a model of power structure, although all had reported operational findings to the effect that the leadership structures tended toward closure. To the contrary, Hunter, in

[25]See above, p. 216.

discussing the leadership structure of the larger community, explicitly stated that "I doubt seriously that power forms a single pyramid with any nicety in a community the size of Regional City. There are pyramids of power in this community which seem more important to the present discussion than a pyramid."[26] Burgess--who could have been encouraged to conclude otherwise by the findings based upon her reputational data--had this to say about the leadership structure of Crescent City's Negro community in the light of the issue-test applied to it:

> Any attempt to develop a precise hierarchy of power among the leaders would be abortive. Many leaders whose sociometric ranking placed them as sub-power nominees were found to have as much--and in some cases more--access to decision-making roles as did those six power leaders who were among the top ten power nominees. And below these power leaders were a large number of lesser leaders who did not initiate sub-community policy and action but who were vital in implementing decisions once they were arrived at. These lesser leaders had, through their participation in the more influential associations, rather direct access to sub-community power.[27]

This conclusion was drawn about minority leaders in a community where "...Negroes have gained access to community-wide policy-making organizations...and the avenues for the exercise of a reciprocal influence over the white community leaders have been strengthened"[28]--a claim that Hunter could not make for the leaders of Regional City's Negro community. In Thrifty City the

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[26]Hunter, Community Power Structure, 62.

[27]Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, 149.

[28]Ibid., 162.

combination of reputational data and issue-test did not warrant conclusions like Burgess could draw in Crescent City.

Before July 1, 1963, the leadership structure of Thrifty City's Negro community looked somewhat similar to the leadership structure described by Barth and Abu-Laban in Pacific City. Without being "remarkably successful," the leaders of Thrifty City's Negro community were not involved in genuine community issues--as community issues were defined for purposes of this study. They also were relatively powerless both within and beyond the Negro community. Within an adult population which accounted for about seven per cent of all adults in Thrifty City, the "skeleton crews" of active participants in the programs of the NAACP, Urban League, an "umbrella organization," and the churches represented the organized bases of potential community power; in terms of indispensable votes and skills, the inherent bargaining power of the Negro community was virtually nil within the Democratic Party and the local labor movement. Insofar as either personal or corporate wealth was concerned, no Negro leadership nominee could realistically "threaten to move his business out" of Thrifty City as a tactic to influence either Negroes or whites in the community.[29] Seen against the background of such community power potential, the

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[29]The reference is to Mr. Hanson of Regional City who used his business, representing "about a twenty-million-dollar capital investment," in such a manner. See Hunter, Community Power Structure, 121. The largest Negro business in Thrifty City represented about a fifth of that value in assets.

public events of the "normal period" in the life of the Negro community reflected Negro leadership as a mere ecology of games. As shown, the members of the leadership structure identified in this study were the principal players in the social game of style and status, and in the game of Negro self-help. Only the game of Negro self-help--mediated by the formal executive positions in welfare agencies and memberships on appointive welfare-related boards and commissions of about a dozen leadership nominees--was part of the welfare game of the larger community, whereas the race-related game of civil rights was not a major game at all in Thrifty City. Although the public events of the "normal period"--which were reported in the local press--reflected the concerns of Thrifty City's Negroes with the problems of their race, they were largely routine and/or ceremonial; they could not be construed as constituting a genuine community issue or issues. Such issues have been created only when the so-called Negro Revolution arrived in Thrifty City. The lack of issues during the "normal period" and the issues of the "revolutionary period" could be regarded as sufficient proof by themselves that Thrifty City's Negro community did not have a power elite prior to July 1, 1963. It had, at best, a leadership structure, the members of which undoubtedly presided over the segregated affairs of Negro civic life but gave only token leadership concerning the unmet proximate needs of the majority of Negroes in Thrifty City.

## Community Leadership Structure and Change

Within the theoretical framework of this study, members of the Negro community's institutional and associational elites were expected to demonstrate the existence of a leadership structure through active participation in genuine community issues. Inasmuch as community leadership was defined as the assumption of differential responsibility for reaching certain goals outside of the institutional channels of doing things in the community, the definition implied that such responsibility can successfully be assumed --by those members of the elite who freely exercise their option to assume it--only if the institutional structure of the community in question meets the proximate needs of its non-elites. Since this condition seldom, if ever, prevails in a segregated Negro community, which exists as a consequence of the relative distribution of power within the larger community, the problem of the study was seen in whether a power elite, which internally controlled the resources of the Negro community, rather than a less closed or looser leadership structure could bring about changes in prevailing conditions. It was assumed, of course, that Negro community leadership did not aim at the assimilation (loss of independent social identity) of the individual Negro but at the socio-political integration (selective fusion of identities) of Negroes. That is, the problem was seen as a case study of the development and deliberate use of socio-political power by a minority community within a pluralistic framework of community power relations.

In accounting for the findings concerning the first research objective of the study--the identification and description of the Negro community's leadership structure--it was reported that Thrifty City's Negro community did not have a power elite, which controlled the internal resources of the Negro community and used that control for the purposes of actively pursuing the socio-political integration of Negroes through community issues. The discussion which follows summarizes the findings concerning the second research objective of the study, i.e., the hypothesis concerning the conditions which were contingent upon the absence of a power elite in the Negro community. Changes in the leadership structure are traced from the "normal period" to the "revolutionary period" in the life of the Negro community.

What happened during the "revolutionary period" was not characteristic only of Thrifty City. The general phenomenon of imminent structural changes in Negro community leadership was effectively described by Pfautz, as follows:

> The power structures of Negro sub-communities in American cities are in a process of schism and realignment under the impact of desegregation movements and activities. On the practical side, lack of knowledge of the dramatic changes taking place with regard both to the personnel and the tactics of the sub-community leadership on the part of the dominant group power structure invites communication breakdowns which can lead to mutual miscalculations and, ultimately, to civic violence. Within the Negro community, the lack of experience and of a full complement of perspectives to bring to bear on community problems as well as the often wasteful competition among leaders and agencies for power and status (all of which are the heritage of the vicious circle of discrimination and prejudice) further complicate the problem.[30]

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[30]Pfautz, Phylon, XXIII, 166.

In Thrifty City, the "revolutionary period" was marked by the emergence of three groups which did not exist as such before July 1, 1963: Congress of Racial Equality, the Thrifty City United School Integration Committee, and the Executive Directors of the Committee of 34. The emergence itself of these groups, their demands, and the spectacular aspects of direct action tactics in connection with the issues of the commissioner and de facto segregation--which resulted in about 100 arrests--characterized the "revolutionary period." Prior to it, Thrifty City knew mostly "hat-in-hand" demands and "disturbances" by Negroes--both almost equally devoid of political significance.

The hypothesis under consideration here stipulated that in the absence of a power elite, independent rather than dependent groups in the minority community attempt to change prevailing policies of majority-minority relations. In what sense were these three groups independent?

First of all, they were independent of each other in the sense that each had its issue as more than primus inter pares in creating and handling it. At best, a pattern of "getting in on it" rather than of mutual support by all three groups was manifest with regard to the issues of the commissioner and of de facto segregation. CORE and the Thrifty City United School Integration Committee had nothing to do with the issue of equal employment opportunities as described in the study.

CORE was independent in the manner of a fledgling, a new group which earned its national charter by creating and pursuing

the issue of the commissioner. Founded by two experienced CORE members who were new to Thrifty City, its approximately 75 members --about one-third of whom were whites--were young people in their middle or late twenties whose position was only of personal rather than of political significance either in the Negro or in the white community. In fact, the group was formed under conditions of a special kind of independence. According to its first president, Mr. Z. Broth: "Some of the so-called Negro leaders in Thrifty City discouraged me from starting a CORE chapter here. There is too much condemning of the new Negro in the United States by the people who used to be the leadership...Some of them have nothing to lose and something to gain personally by riding the fence." Broth had relinquished his office to Mr. Z. Dato who, in turn, lost it by wishing to remain independent of Mr. Z. Ond's group, the Thrifty City United School Integration Committee. The factional fight that ensued had virtually ruined CORE as an independent organization. Its third president, the antagonist of Dato, became, by 1967, a "labor recruiter" among Negroes for the Midwest State Industrial Commission and CORE kept its ties with the Thrifty City United School Integration Committee.

Founded in March, 1964, the Thrifty City United School Integration Committee originally was sponsored by the local chapters of the NAACP and CORE. In fact, it drew away from both their militants as opposed to those whom Ond likes to call "phonies" among both Negroes and whites. At any rate, Ond did not elect to use the local chapter of the NAACP as the vehicle for his fight

against de facto segregation in Thrifty City's schools. His violent attack on the officials of the Urban League was noted. The political power base of Ond, as a state legislator, is a predominantly Negro electoral district. As of February, 1966, the Thrifty City United School Integration Committee had 115 members and only 55 per cent of these members were Negroes. Based upon its objectives and tactics used in connection with the issue of de facto segregation, however, in no manner could the Thrifty City United School Integration Committee be considered a group that is dominated or controlled by whites. It was--and is--independent in that sense. More than that, its strategy and tactics were independent of what the third "new" group, the Executive Directors of the Committee of 34, attempted to do in the community.

In spite of the public claim about being merely a group of professional men "who are concerned," the Executive Directors of the Committee of 34 represented an offer--act of leadership--to establish a channel of communication between white and Negro leaders at a time when the so-called Negro Revolution was well under way elsewhere in the country. That the 15 Executive Directors were looked upon as leaders was part of the findings produced by the subjects of this study. As to their relative independence of white control, the following must be kept in mind. The chairman of this group was an employee of the Thrifty City Board of School Directors, another was one of the members of the School Board who are elected by a city-wide electorate. A third was appointed by the mayor of Thrifty City to his position of executive rank in

city government. Of the three welfare executives in the group, the agencies of two received, respectively, about one-half and one-third of their operating funds from United Community Services --the private source (businessmen) of welfare funds in Thrifty City and one of the sponsoring agencies of the Community Social Development Commission. The third welfare executive worked for a private agency. Two other members of the Executive Directors were ministers of large Negro churches, and the remaining seven were "independent" professional men whose exposure to potential pressure by whites was less obvious. However, the point to be made here is not that these men were more or less vulnerable as individuals. The point is that the same results could not have been obtained without joint action and at no social costs to the individuals involved. In other words, as a group, they achieved a degree of independence which they did not possess as individuals. What they could do with it is discussed below in connection with the closing propositions of the interpretive hypothesis under consideration here.

The hypothesis stated that the independent groups of the minority community cannot compensate through tactics for the loss of power due to their uncoordinated activities, unless a wide ranging and sustained series of related issues--some of which may acquire a larger scope than the groups originally involved--forces a new alignment of opposing groups in the community.

That the three major issues of the "revolutionary period" did not stem from a single strategy that was carefully considered

and devised by a unified Negro leadership needs no documentation; at best, each of the three Negro groups had its own strategy and tactics. With regard to the issue of the commissioner, CORE had acted alone. While it attempted to enlarge the scope of the issue, CORE seemed more interested in "putting more people on the spot" among its opponents--the heads of the Community Social Development Commission's sponsoring agencies--than in actively seeking the help of other groups for purposes of exerting more pressure on those who were already "on the spot"--the members of the Commission. In fact, the help which CORE received was voluntarily offered by "interested agencies or individuals" in the form of testimony and resolutions rather than by groups which were actively recruited to deploy a strategy that was to be implemented also through direct action tactics. In addition to the 13 Negro men and women who supported CORE, five white groups were represented by individual citizens--Catholic Interracial Council, Catholic University Faculty Association for Interracial Justice, Thrifty City Citizens for Equal Opportunity, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Thrifty City Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. In terms of effective power politics, the resources of the white community were hardly explored, let alone deployed. The fact, of course, that an out-of-town, regional director of CORE was in a group of arrested pickets could not be interpreted as an attempt to socialize the issue of the commissioner beyond the confines of Thrifty City. On the other hand, CORE's contribution to creating a series of related issues consisted in negotiations with five

department stores for the integration of their work force and in the picketing of a real estate firm which was simply done and abandoned. The point at issue here is, of course, that the independent strategy and tactics of a single group within the minority community cannot be equated with the development and deliberate use of minority community power; they merely create an atmosphere for, and dramatize, the pervasive "issue of race" which more solidly organized power must exploit for other than token concessions as results.

While in the issue of the commissioner CORE could identify also the supporting agencies of its immediate target group, and called into play a certain number of proponent rather than opponent groups, the issue of de facto segregation created a differently structured field of protagonists. A more complex issue of real rather than symbolic significance for political localism, the issue of de facto segregation saw a single governmental body, the School Board, opposed, at least in the beginning, by several Negro groups. Under the leadership of Mr. Z. Ond, the state NAACP, CORE, and the Nonpartisan Conference were conducting the negotiations together. In fact, Ond's decision to abandon negotiations was prompted by a refusal of the School Board to hear the testimony of CORE and Nonpartisan Conference representatives at a specially scheduled meeting. The issue, on the other hand, was singularly devoid of participation by white groups; only the Greater Thrifty City Conference on Relgion and Race, the Thrifty City Ministerial Alliance, the Thrifty City Citizens for Equal Opportunity, and the

Thrifty City Commission on Community Relations made attempts to avert a deadlock between the School Board and its Negro opponents. Again, the point is that help was offered rather than actively sought as the issue--as often warned by Ond--ran its course from demands to negotiations, to demonstrations, to boycotts, and to lawsuit. The first boycott marked the end of unity among the previously cooperating Negro groups, and from then on the Thrifty City United School Integration Committee was successful only in "getting the cold issue of integrated, equal education on people's minds"--claimed its leader. As Thrifty City and its Negro community were waiting for the outcome of the lawsuit in January, 1967, the outcome of three commissioned studies of race relations also were pending. One was sponsored by the Committee of We of Thrifty City and the School Board ($125,000), the second aimed at helping the Thrifty City Commission on Community Relations to "wage war on prejudice" ($25,000), and the third, commissioned by the Federal Civil Rights Commission, may be fateful by influencing whether Thrifty City will be eligible for funds from the federal demonstration cities program--a "post-revolutionary" opportunity which the city needs and seems to want.

While CORE and the Thrifty City United School Integration Committee deployed strategies of independent action and tactics which included direct action, the Executive Directors of the Committee of 34--the third "new" group of the "revolutionary period" --fell heirs to the classic strategy of co-optation with perhaps less spectacular but probably more effective tactical opportunities

at their disposal. If CORE and the Thrifty City United School Integration Committee sought immediate victories rather than broadly based political solutions, however, the achievements of the Executive Directors also seem to be in the future. Short of a political power base of votes with a serviceable appeal to the major politicians of Thrifty City--"What have you guys done for the mayor?" said the mayor's secretary to one of them--now, the Executive Directors can "go to" the businessmen of Thrifty City. Of the 15 business, industrial, and labor leaders who founded the Committee of We of Thrifty City, 11 were listed among the board of directors of the Greater Thrifty City Committee at the occasion of its 20th anniversary, in 1966. The Greater Thrifty City Committee is the civic group of Thrifty City; there is no other formal structure in the community which could match this group in terms of power based upon corporate wealth and its attendant forms of social organization. In addition to its role as the sponsor of the community's largest civic projects, the Greater Thrifty City Committee has strong structural ties with both the Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau and United Community Services. While the former is the "civic watchdog" of bureaucratic experts who provide the "facts" for the governmental decision-makers of greater Thrifty City as a metropolitan center, the latter is the community's private fund raising agency and one of the sponsors of the Midwest County Community Relations-Social Development Commission (--the War-on-Poverty-name of the Community Social Development Commission) The point is that the Executive Directors--as members of the

Committee of We of Thrifty City--had gained access to channels through which the exercise of power concerning matters of importance to Negroes runs--so to speak--full circle in Thrifty City. Of course, no interpretation is attempted here to the effect that the Negro community became an ally of the "business community" of Thrifty City (to save the central city?!); the Executive Directors of the Committee of 34 were merely co-opted into the regulation of the city's labor market--largely for the benefit of those Negroes who could immediately take advantage of equal opportunities. Beyond that, the Executive Directors of the Committee of 34 gave no more evidence of their leadership in seeking politically lasting solutions of the problems of the Negro community than the other "new" leaders of the "revolutionary period" did. If the Executive Directors' strategy of co-optation was appropriate not only in view of the Negro community's extant resources and power but also in terms of results which it <u>may</u> produce, however, it hardly could have been adopted with an increased probability of success without the effects of the strategies of independent action pursued by the other "new" leaders of the "revolutionary period." On the other hand, the uncoordinated activities of these three groups did not produce effective leadership; at best, they had put into motion a mechanism for change within the Negro community, i.e., the leadership structure itself was undergoing changes.

It has been shown that the Executive Directors of the Committee of 34 could be regarded as an active and discrete leadership group within a broader leadership structure that was

undergoing changes rather than being replaced by a new structure. Having an average rank of 13, 12, and 21 on the rankings produced by the leadership nominees, white friends, and neighborhood leaders in the order here listed, the 12 Executive Directors--whose rank could be determined--were playing leading roles in the events of both the "normal" and "revolutionary" periods. That the Executive Directors considered themselves and were considered by others as leaders could be documented by reporting that they had cast 110 "mutual selection" votes for each other which accounted for 63.2 per cent of all such votes cast by men--for no women were included among the Executive Directors in spite of the fact that eight of the "first 20 ranks" in the ranking established by the leadership nominees were women and 78 of the 252 "mutual selection" votes involved women. It also must be noted, however, that one of the three men who were added to the Executive Directors at a later date was a neighborhood leader who was active also among the 11 "new" leaders of the "revolutionary" period, i.e., those who were "new" in the sense of not being members of the leadership structure of 47 nominees examined in this study. The fact that this man, the Rev. B. Herp was "new" only in that sense but otherwise was known, just like the other 10 "new" leaders, led the writer to the tentative conclusion that changes were occurring within the Negro community's leadership structure, i.e., "lesser" leaders within a broad leadership stratum were attempting to emerge. Such a tentative conclusion appeared to be warranted for the following reasons.

First of all, the fact that Negro community leadership is closely tied to race leadership should not be allowed to mask the sociologically valid distinction between community leadership and leadership in a social movement. Troublesome as it may be in a study based upon current events, the distinction between Negro community leaders and Negro civil rights leaders should not either explicitly or implicitly be discarded. In this study, Messrs. Z. Broth and Z. Dato, and Miss Z. Bunning--who were not mentioned as leaders by any of the informants and interviewees of this study prior to their leadership in CORE--were not community leaders but civil rights leaders; within about one year they ceased to be even that. The point is that the local leaders of a social movement, such as the civil rights movement, may become community leaders but do not necessarily do so. The issue of the commissioner was initiated and developed by the leaders of CORE as "zealot-innovators" or "active sub-influentials"[31] who were engaged in a "genuine positive"[32] protest, whereas the role played by the Executive Directors was largely that of "influentials" or "prestige influentials,"[33] who tended to remain on the sidelines until the issue had been developed and its ultimate outcome was at hand.[34] At the

[31] Cothran and Phillips, Phylon, XXII, 108-9.

[32] Cox, Studies in Leadership, 270.

[33] A. Alexander Fanelli, "A Typology of Community Leadership Based on Influence and Interaction Within the Leader Sub-System," Social Forces, XXXIV (May, 1956), 336.

[34] For observation that the opportunities of new groups and their leaders "...are in part results of the immobility of responsible organizations and leaders" who are shackled by community norms and internal cross-pressures, see James S. Coleman, Community Conflict (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), 13.

end, one group lost its leadership role whereas the other retained it.

Second, inasmuch as no rigid line could be drawn that would separate a leadership structure from those who were not studied as part of it, the 11 "new" leaders who were developing the issue of de facto segregation but also were known prior to it could be considered as "lesser" leaders within a larger network of non-random relationships than the one which was studied. That the argument proposed here is other than a more or less clever way of attempting to absorb the "new" leaders into what is claimed to be an "old" structure seemed to be supported by the following findings. Of the 11 Negro men among the 14 people in the Thrifty City United School Integration Committee who were the principal organizers of the first school boycott, seven had easily identifiable institutional and associational posts in the Negro community and all--with the exception of Z. Dato--were suggested as leaders by the informants and interviewees of this study without accumulating enough votes (4) for inclusion into the study. By educational and occupational standards, they were of the Negro middle class; on the average, they were about six years younger than the typical leadership nominee; three of them were elected politicians and another three were political hopefuls who ran for political office. As a group, they could be thought of as "lesser" leaders who rallied around Mr. Z. Ond and participated in the creation and development of a genuine community issue. The four leadership nominees (Messrs. A. Albion, A. Condoe, A. Green, and A. Swanson)

--two of whom were members of this group--who were the most visible supports of Ond had an average rank of 34, 27, and 17 in the ranking produced by the leadership nominees, white friends, and neighborhood leaders in the order here listed. In other words, the issue of de facto segregation tended to draw together "lesser" leaders and their support came primarily from those who tended to rank relatively high only in the ranking produced by the neighborhood leader interviewees of this study. Therefore, since it was found that the neighborhood leaders replaced seven of the leadership nominees' "first 20 ranks" by people with political ties in the ranking produced by them, one could be tempted to predict that Mr. Z. Ond and the people around him assembled the nucleus of a rival leadership structure in the Negro community which will soon replace the one examined in this study. In January, 1967, however, no such prediction can be made, for the Thrifty City United School Integration Committee was and remained a single-purpose organization with no other achievements than the educational effects--for whites and Negroes alike--of two school boycotts and a pending lawsuit.

The third reason for discussing changes within the Negro community's leadership structure rather than between the "old" and a "new" structure was that six of the 12 Executive Directors whose rank could be considered comparatively were among the "first 20 ranks" in the ranking produced by the neighborhood leaders. These six men (Messrs. A. Adams, A. Mathews, A. Washington, A. Williams, Dr. A. Haviland, and the Rev. A. Hackett), together with

the six most widely known and active women in the Negro community who shared high rank with them, could hardly be replaced overnight, and especially so, by municipal politicians and political hopefuls. The writer could not find any evidence which showed that the personal followers of the former were either less numerous or less active than those of the latter--and it is the "new" leaders who consider such a test to be of prime importance. Although the largely ideological claims and counter-claims about followers could not be substantiated, the "first 20 ranks" of the ranking produced by the neighborhood leaders did not make sense in any other way than in terms of the direct service activities which municipal politicians and welfare executives can and do render to the people of the Negro community. So much so that two of the highest ranks (the first five) in the ranking established by the neighborhood leaders were held by people who were widely known as political supporters of the mayor of Thrifty City--something which the leadership nominees and white friends knew and reacted to in making their top 10 selections. Neither could the neighborhood leaders have anticipated that four of the six Executive Directors regarded by them as leaders were to be on the governing boards of the Midwest County Community Relations-Social Development Commission--Thrifty City's administrative body for fighting the War on Poverty, a post-revolutionary development.

To conclude, the events of a "revolutionary period"--local reflections of the nation-wide civil rights movement--did not bring about the replacement of the leadership structure that

Thrifty City's Negro community had prior to the occurrence of those events. Although the leadership structure identified by the study tended toward closure, the existence of a top leadership group within it could not be demonstrated by standards of statistical significance. Based upon mutual sociometric choices by the leadership nominees of the Negro community, whose personal knowledge of and community work experience with each other was extensive, the top leadership group was estimated to consist of about 20 people. Of these, however, only 13 were regarded as top leaders by all three of the interviewees--leadership nominees, white friends, and neighborhood leaders--who were considered to be reasonably, although not similarly, knowledgable about Negro community leadership in Thrifty City. Although they occupied positions of formal authority within the Negro community's major groups and organizations, the power bases of the members of the leadership structure were weak; particularly conspicuous was the absence of economic power in terms of both personal and corporate wealth. Those who were policy-makers for the larger community of Thrifty City were the only, if not the "first," Negro members of the group in which they served in such capacity. In view of their lack of significant power within and beyond the Negro community and of the largely routine and ceremonial nature of their leadership during the "normal period," the leadership structure identified by the study could not be considered a power elite that controlled the internal resources of the Negro community and used its control to bring about changes in majority-minority relations within the

larger community of Thrifty City.

That no power elite was found to exist, of course, was not surprising--as a matter of theoretical expectation. Theoretically, a power elite--conceived of as that end of a continuum of leadership structures which tends toward closure and monopoly of decision-making--could have come into being only if the associational and institutional structures of the Negro community had met the proximate needs of its non-elites. Consequently, the events of the "revolutionary period" could be interpreted as a demonstration of that condition not having been met in the Negro community of Thrifty City: individual groups within the Negro community exerted direct pressure on those who were seen by them as responsible for the unacceptable status quo. CORE created an issue by raising the question of how a governmental commission could solve a series of social problems within the larger community if a "bigoted" official served on it. The Thrifty City United School Integration Committee confronted the School Board with the present and future plight of Negro youth within a de facto segregated public school system. Finally, for the first time in its history, the institutional and associational elites of the Negro community produced a discrete leadership group--the Executive Directors of the Committee of 34--that engaged in open protest against the status quo of unmet proximate needs in the Negro community. Although the cumulative effects of the independent strategies and tactics of these three groups did not amount to substantial changes concerning the proximate needs of the Negro community's non-elites, the

Executive Directors, i.e., the core members of the leadership structure, had gained access to Thrifty City's "business community" and increased their participation in the activities of a potentially important policy-making body, the Midwest County Community Relations-Social Development Commission. That is where matters stood in January, 1967.

Within the theoretical framework of this study, the data did not support any other general conclusion but the one that follows. As of January, 1967, Thrifty City's Negro community did not have "good" community leadership. Furthermore, it cannot and will not have such leadership without the satisfaction of the most elementary and pressing proximate needs of its non-elites. Without developing an all-Negro institutional structure which is generally undesirable and certainly unacceptable to most Negroes in Thrifty City, the strategy of the Executive Directors to accept co-optation into the institutional structure that ultimately will have to accomplish that task could hardly be criticized--as it was by some of the "new" leaders who, however, offered no other viable alternative. Whether the voluntary associations--including also the new civil rights groups--can develop new bases of power within the Negro community must be considered rather skeptically, for they did not do so in the past. Especially of doubtful value seem to be the efforts of those groups which purged themselves of all but radical whites and avoided any attempts to enlist the cooperation of white groups without which no lasting political solutions can be brought about locally. Should such issues as de

facto segregation and open housing be solved on the national level, the "isolationist" groups in the Negro community would still have failed to gain practical experience in the exercise of political power which real community leadership demands. On the other hand, while cooperation with whites certainly sharpens the political skills of those who already had accepted the challenge of pluralistic politics in Thrifty City, it hardly provides them a monopoly of acting on behalf of the Negro community--they must produce results or the community faces further demonstrations of militant strategies and tactics, and also white resistance to what is essentially a Negro-white problem of institutional reform. In the absence of such power bases as Burgess found in Crescent City's Negro community, the members of the leadership structure of Thrifty City's Negro community in general, and the Executive Directors of the Committee of 34 in particular can be challenged by other Negroes for failure in bringing about institutional arrangemnts which were acceptable to the Negro community; in the white community, the creation and maintenance of acceptable institutional arrangements constitute the basis and not central task of community leadership. Consequently, the problem of the study could more appropriately be explored if and when Thrifty City has a Negro community which enables its community leaders to assume differential responsibility for goals outside of the institutional ways of doing things in the community.

## Recommendations for Further Research

It is rather difficult to make recommendations for further, theoretically significant research in a topical sub-area of study, i.e., Negro community leadership, which is part of a larger field of inquiry beset with theoretical and methodological controversies, i.e., community leadership. In this study, the writer refused to accept the theoretical orientation which tends to absorb the study of community leadership into political science. Such attempts seem presumably to be made on the grounds that the exercise of power by community leaders is basically a political process which has to be sanctioned, sooner or later, by the agents of formal government. However, the origins and many of the concrete manifestations of pluralism are purely social rather than political; community leadership makes use of social groups which are not necessarily recognized as formal political agents. Finally, people can effectively be moved toward goals because of their acceptance of certain demands made upon them as a socially appropriate response to the situation-bound status position of others (the social power of leaders) rather than because of unavoidable pressures which ultimately derive from a culturally defined monopoly to use punitive sanctions and physical violence (the political power of certain leaders). Briefly, the writer's view was that community leadership is a supererogatory but necessary social function to be performed as a matter of personal option by politicians as well as by any other members of a community's institutional and associational elites. Furthermore, community leadership ought to be

defined essentially in the same manner for majority and minority communities.

If the accuracy of these observations can be granted, then the following recommendations for further research can be made. To make them, of course, it is necessary to take into account the major deficiencies of the extant Negro community leadership studies. The scarcity of explicit theoretical formulations tend to lead the authors to subtle analytical shifts from Negro community leaders to Negro leaders, and from the specific community issues which the leaders of a given community were able to create and pursue to the "cause" of Negroes which seem obvious in view of general social problems. Similarly, if issue-relevant behavior of Negroes is the major source of empirical evidence of their leadership then it could hardly have been unknown to their opponents of allies who are usually whites and therefore whites should not be excluded from the collection of reputational data. Finally, the existing structural analyses of community leadership and power are difficult to accept as such, for they seem to be, at best, predominantly structural or a dubious mixture of structural interpretation and illustrative use of motivational or ideological evidence.

Although both the number and quality of extant studies may not warrant the development of formal theories of minority community power, they seem to warrant it more than the acceptance of programmatic exhortations to abandon case studies. The lack of studies based upon designs of inter-community comparisons may be

due to the absence of theoretical developments as well as to the tremendous efforts and resources that they demand.

Inasmuch as the reputational method is necessary for the identification of minority community leaders, technique studies are needed for standardizing the chain-referral type of leadership census and the use of bi-racial panels to yield valid and reliable reputational data. There is a strange tendency in the literature to equate the followers of some leaders with informants who could give valid and reliable information on the leaders of the Negro community. Lack of clarity concerning the relative importance and role of followers in identifying the leaders of a Negro community seem to be related to the reluctance to use whites for attempting to assess the role and rank of Negro leaders as well as to the confusion concerning the sociologically valid distinctions between a "cause" and a community issue on the one hand, and between community leaders and leaders of a social movement, on the other.

Closely tied to the problem of followership is the upper-middle class status of Negro community leaders whom allegedly "nobody is following," but who tend to be challenged by middle class opponents with Negro upper class potential and no more followers and actually less experience than those whom they wish to replace. There seem to be more facile assumptions than solid evidence in the literature about the "tangible benefits" of segregation to community leadership elites who may not necessarily have "a good thing going for themselves." Social-psychological studies which focused upon class differences within the Negro community could

yield not only technical and scientific data, but also could clear up confusions about the actual range of options for meaningful policy commitments which are held within the Negro community. The propensity of some Negro leaders to communicate feelings (which are justified enough) rather than desirable policy preferences may well be independent of social class, to the confusion of both whites and Negroes.

Finally, virtually nothing is known about the ideological considerations through which Negro community leaders--regardless of the nominal labels under which they might appear in public light--are reaching their decisions. Just as class differences between upper class "established" leaders and middle class "aspiring" leaders may be negligible from the point of view of political options, also the ideological bases of seemingly different strategic and tactical decisions may virtually be identical. While a "natural history" of events may provide an adequate source of data in a structural study of community leadership, such studies call for additional efforts to explore the motivational forces and value positions which made those events a reality. Without knowing the answers to the question of "do Negroes really want to build a Negro community in Thrifty City?", the problem of this study, for instance, may be a technical problem of social science that was derived from a theoretical framework which Negroes reject: those whose independent past was destroyed may not wish to have or believe in an independent future that pluralism makes possible if not explicitly calls for. Structural studies of Negro community

leadership ought to be supplemented by studies of the thought processes and value positions which led to the events and issues that a structural study, as this study, elected to interpret.

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APPENDIX I

LEADERSHIP CENSUS FORM

NAME: (last, middle, first)

ADDRESS: (number, street, city, zone)

TELEPHONE:

OCCUPATION:

GROUP or ORGANIZATION: Name:

Address:

Telephone:

TITLE, if any:

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REASONS FOR SELECTION:

# APPENDIX II

## CORRESPONDENCE WITH MEMBERS OF PANEL

Dear Mr.
Mrs.
Rev.

We appreciate your willingness to serve on a ten member panel for our study of Leadership in the Negro community of Thrifty City. The identity of the panel members will be kept strictly confidential. In fact, only the faculty members responsible for the research project will know the names of the entire panel.

The attached set of cards contains 152 names and addresses which we regard as a potential leadership pool of the Negro community. However, this list should not be considered complete or exhaustive. The names were collected from various informants in the Negro community. Some of the people on the list were described to us as "leaders," others as "very active," "popular," "powerful," "well liked," "vocal," etc., that is, all seem to occupy some position of leadership, depending upon one's conception, of course, of what leaders are. You are asked to reduce this list to fifty names by using your own knowledge of the Negro community. You are free to use your own criteria for leadership in making your choices within the limits of the following broadly defined purpose:

> "If you were responsible for a major project which was before the Negro community that required a leadership pool, a group of leaders who could make decisions and initiate community-wide action, which 50 on this list would you choose regardless of whether they are known personally to you or not?"

As mentioned earlier, the list is not necessarily complete or exhaustive. You are free to include among the 50 leaders of your choice anyone else who in your judgment is an important leader even though he or she was overlooked by our informants. If such additions are needed, please write their names on the blank cards provided for this purpose.

Thank you for your cooperation,

(signatures)

We wish to express our sincere appreciation for your generous

assistance with our project.

As soon as our information is analyzed, we will be glad to share it with you and hope that you will find it interesting and useful.

(signatures)

## APPENDIX III

### INTERVIEW GUIDE: ASSOCIATIONAL CENSUS*

Name of Group or Organization:

Address:

Telephone:

Officer to contact for further information, if needed (name, address, telephone):

Purpose or principal functions:

Date, founded or established in Thrifty City (year only):

Affiliate of regional or state body (name):

Affiliate of federal body (name):

Number of members (in good standing) in 1963:

Number of full-time, paid staff:

Amount of operating budget for 1963: $

Eligibility requirements for members or clients:

Proceeds of activities used for or donate to:

Principal activities and auziliary services:

(Attach additional sheet if needed)

* Used in conjunction with data obtained from the Midwest County Organization File maintained by the Thrifty City Public Library.

## APPENDIX IV

### LEADERSHIP INTERVIEW SCHEDULES**

(This is a Confidential Interview)

*How old were you on your last birthday?

*Where were you born? City, State.

Where did you life just before you came to Thrifty City?

*How old were you when you came to Thrifty City?

Why did you come to Thrifty City?

*Are you now married, single, separated, divorced, widowed?

How old were you when you (first) married?

*Do you have any living children?

*How many children do you have?

Are any of these children adopted?

How many are adopted?

*How many years have the members of your immediate family completed in school?
(Subject, S's Father, S's Mother, S's Father-in-Law, S's Mother-in-Law)

About what percentage of your expenses in college came from the following sources?
(Parents, Scholarships, Personal Earnings, Other)

*What is your present occupation?

Could you tell me something about the principal occupation of the members of your immediate family?
(S's Father, S's Father-in-Law, S's Spouse)

---

**Interview schedules of leadership nominees and neighborhood leaders were identical. *Denotes questions asked in interviews with white friends.

*What is your religious preference--None, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Other?

*Are you now a member of a local church or congregation?

What is the name of your church?

Do whites also attend church there?

Do you belong to any church group or religious organization?

*Are you a registered voter?

Did you vote in the last presidential election?

Did you vote in the election last November?

*What is your political party preference--Republican, Democrat, Socialist, Other?

Do you think Thrifty City Negroes vote as a group on all issues?

Do you think they should vote as a group on all issues?

*Do you belong to any non-church group or organization?

*Name of Organization, Member, Officer.

In your opinion, what is the single most important problem facing the Negro community today?

To your knowledge, which one of the organizations now active in the Negro community is doing the most about the problem you have named?

What is the "issue" or "cause" that means the most to you personally?

Why?

Have you received an award, or have you been formally honored in any other way for your work in the Negro community during the past five years?

Awards or honors.

How do you hear about what goes on in the Negro community, here in Thrifty City?

What means do you use to find out what people want in the Negro community, things that leaders like you ought to work for?

Do you read any of the following magazines or papers? Thrifty City Beacon, Jet, Ebony, Negro Digest, Other: Frequently, Infrequently, Never.

Do you own an automobile?

What year was it made?
What "make" is it?

*Is the total annual income of the household of which you are a member less than $5,000, between $5,000-$7,5000...more than $22,500?

Would you say that this income makes your family, by general American standards, a working class, middle class, an upper class family?

Do you feel that it is legitimate to talk about a different social class system for Negro communities?

By Negro standards, is your household a working class, a middle class, an upper class household?

*Do you own or rent your present place of living?

You have noticed we are using the expression, "Negro community." In your opinion, do Negroes in Thrifty City have a community of their own?

When you use the term "Negro community," what do you mean by it?

If you were to select three white men or women in Thrifty City who understand the problems of the Negro community and are known to work effectively toward their solution, whom would you name?

Here is a list of names. For the rest of the interview, I would like to talk with you about the people on it.
The list contains 50 names of people who are in the top leadership group of the Negro community in Thrifty City today. --By the way, you will notice that your own name is on the list. It is Number.. --These 50 names were selected by a panel of ten people who know the Negro community from a list of 143 persons who were originally mentioned to us as leaders.
Let us begin. You notice that every name is identified also by a number. This will help us to keep our information strictly confidential. Would you study the names one by one, please, and tell me the number of each person whom you know personally and whether or not you have had occasion to work with them on group or community projects in the past. Do you know Number 1? Have you ever worked with him?

(*I would like to talk with you about Negro leaders in Thrifty City. To facilitate our discussion, would you look at this list of Negro leaders and tell me how well you know them. What I would like to know about each person on the list is briefly noted in the upper right corner on your sheet.)

Now that you are familiar with the list, could you tell me as objectively as possible, why do you think you have been included in the group?

(*A group of leaders in Thrifty City's Negro community, who had been interviewed about a year ago, were asked the following question:

"If you were to select three white men or women in Thrifty City, who understand the problems of the Negro community and are known to work effectively toward their solution, whom would you name?"

Why do you think your name has been mentioned in response to this question?)

(**Neighborhood leaders. --A group of people here in the Negro community, who were interviewed, were asked this question:

"Do you know any man or woman in this neighborhood who is actually a leader because they know how to get things done or who people look up to?"

Why do you think your name has been mentioned in response to this question?)

Would you look, please, at the list again and tell me how many people should not be on it at all, in your opinion. I want to know how many of them you would exclude from the list; do not mention any names or identifying numbers.

Could you think of people in the Negro community who, in your opinion, should replace those you would like to eliminate from the list? Could you suggest three names?

Now, would you select 10 names from the list, people you would consider to be the top leaders of the Negro community. You can use your own conception of what a top leader is or ought to be within the broad limits of the instruction typed at the bottom of your leadership list:

"If you were responsible for a major project which was before the Negro community that required a group of leaders who could make decisions and initiate community-wide action, which ten on this list would you choose regardless of whethere they are known personally to you or not?"

Please, circle the numbers of 10 people you would select on the list, and tell me when you are finished.

Do you have the 10 names?

Now, could you rank order these 10 names? Who is the most

outstanding leader, the second, the third, and so on?
You can use the ten lines in the lower right corner of the sheet to record your choice and ranking. I will note only the identifying number of the people when you are finished.
May I have the number of your first choice? The second...

(White friends only: You wished to add a few names to the list, Mr....would you consider placing any of these among the ten selections you made a moment ago? Which one?)

Do you think that the leaders you have selected are concerned with the problems of the average Negro in the community?

In your opinion, how close are the leaders you have named to the average Negro in the community? Very close, Close, Not close at all.

## APPENDIX V

### A STATEMENT OF CONCERN

W, The Undersigned citizens, interested in establishing the kind of community where every individual may develop his full potential, are gravely concerned with the apparent negative reaction of official Thrifty City to the present rightful demands of this country's Negro population. The fact that these demands are in keeping with democratic principles is too elementary and fundamental for extended argument. In the present world-wide struggle for individual freedom, America cannot afford to waver in its commitment to democratic ideals lest the very foundations of freedom are endangered.

President John F. Kennedy, in his recent nationa-wide address on civil rights, challenged all Americans to totally commit themselves to the realization of equal opportunity for all, regardless of race, religion, or national origin. The President thus set the moral tone for dealing with this crucial question, and committed himself and his administration to achieving this goal, the legal basis of which no longer can be doubted. Mr. Kennedy asked state and local leaders to fulfill their responsibilities in reaching a peaceful and immediate solution to this problem.

In view of these developments, it is disappointing that the mayor of our city, by his words and actions, has beclouded the hopes and aspirations of Thrifty City Negroes, and the entire city of Thrifty City in achieving the goals so ably outlined by the President. Of course, this lack of concern with racial problems has been all too sadly apparent long before now.

Thrifty City has racial problems of a most serious nature. Attention must be given to these immediately if Thrifty City is to enjoy an orderly adjustment to social changes which are inevitable.

Fair housing policies are desperately needed in the city of Thrifty City. It is not enough to say that this is a problem of state-wide concern--it is a problem which must be dealt with at both state and local levels. Legalisms and jurisdictional issues must give way to the realization of legislation designed to aid in the achievement of equal opportunity for good housing.

Employment opportunities for Negroes, both in the skilled and unskilled categories, are grossly inadequate. Unions have failed to provide adequate opportunities for apprenticeship

training, and industry has not generally accepted Negroes in "on the job" training programs. Equal opportunity for decent jobs can instill human dignity and responsibility. Segregated neighborhoods in Thrifty City have resulted in de facto segregation of schools and recreational facilities. These need immediate attention.

In addition, we note the meager involvement and participation of Negroes in the operations of city government. Presently, too few Negroes serve on appointed policy making boards and commissions. Five Negroes are members of the Thrifty City commission on community relations, which is only advisory and not policy making. We are keenly aware that political considerations are inevitably involved in the selection of such appointees. However, leadership in a democracy must consider incentive or motivational implications for involving, in a substantial way, the Negro segment of the community in running the affairs of the community. This is a must for self-government, and an important consideration for the maintenance of a stable democratic society.

These problems are so closely interrelated that they must be attacked on all fronts in order to make meaningful achievement in any one area. These problems must be faced; they will not solve themselves. These problems must be dealt with in a constructive and progressive manner.

In this effort, the leadership of the mayor's office, despite its legal limitations, is imperative and essential. Could not the mayor, for example, following the leadership of President Kennedy, begin to use all the powers at his command--legal, persuasive, ceremonial and otherwise--to foster the kind of communication and cooperation between white and Negro leaders in these various areas? Could he not see that city hall policies, by his own example, influence that which community leaders do? Could not the mayor and common council provide moral leadership in the present crisis?

It is praiseworthy that the press (e.g., several editorials have appeared in the Thrifty City Journal and Thrifty City Beacon), an important public opinion shaper with corresponding important responsibilities, has expressed its concern that city hall should assert more leadership in facing racial problems. As praiseworthy as this is, however, only the mayor has the over-all vantage point, power and prestige to rally the kind of forces necessary, including the press, to cope with these problems.

The present mayor is in a position to make enduring the positive contributions in race relations. Whether he takes immediate action now can have an impact on all Thrifty City for many years to come, or he can remain complacent and allow the racial situation to worsen as it has in other communities.

As President Kennedy stated in his nation-wide address on civil rights, "Those who do nothing are inviting shame as well as violence. Those who act boldly are recognizing right as well as reality."

We call upon labor, business, the press, civic groups and churches to encourage the mayor to assume the responsibilities of leadership in this area of race relations. We call upon the common council to give leadership in this area also.

In a democracy, leaders sometimes have to deal with problems that might not be politically popular or expedient, but the solutions to which can bring about more enduring democratic foundations.

---

(Thirty-four names, titles, home addresses)

This advertisement authorized and paid for by the Committee on a Statement of Concern. (Name, title), Acting Secretary. (Address)

## APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Steven I. Pflanczer has been read and approved by members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 29, 1967
Date

Francis Q. Cinon
Signature of Adviser