

A STUDY OF THE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS
OF FORMAL COMMUNITY LEADERS

by

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

In any given community the power structure has at least three major facets: (1) the visible leadership (elected and appointed officials); (2) the informal "behind-the-scenes" decision-makers; and (3) the organizations and relationships through which leadership and power are organized and implemented. These three power groups are suggested by Form and Miller in their definition of community power--". . . the network of influences among persons and organizations involved in community issues or projects."¹

Voluntary associations comprise the least obvious yet a very real facet of the power structure. These associations might be thought of as parapolitical organizations since they can be relevant to the community government in many ways: (1) They act as pressure groups to promote decisions favorable to their particular interests; (2) They may either work actively for reform or attempt to block it; (3) They may form coalitions for added strength on particular issues; (4) They encourage their members to participate in the governmental process; (5) They provide a base from which community leaders may be recruited; and (6) The community leaders make use of associations to consolidate their position and to attain their ends.

Broadly speaking, the research reported here concentrates on community leaders and the role of voluntary associations in the community power structure. A brief review of the literature on these two aspects of community power will help to delineate the specific problems of this study.

Most sociological research on community power structures has focused on the identification of the informal decision-makers of the community. The researchers have assumed that while

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

elected and appointed officials formally enact and administer the law, the true makers of policy are other, less visible, persons of power. Vidich and Bensman have called these informal leaders the "invisible government" of the community.²

Researchers have identified the members of this "invisible government" in several ways. Some have defined community leaders as those persons holding major offices in the voluntary associations of the community. Christopher Smith in his study of an industrial city of 100,000 persons in Connecticut constructed a list of the thirty-nine most prominent community organizations. His sample of leaders consisted of the 119 persons who had held elective positions in at least three different organizations from the master list.³ Samuel Stouffer included a sample of community leaders in his book Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties. Most of these leaders were officers in the key voluntary associations of the community.⁴ Freeman and Mayo measured community leadership by the differential weighting of the offices held in the various voluntary associations of the community.⁵

Other researchers have identified the informal decision-makers of the community by reputation. Schulze, for example, determined his leaders from the opinions of the heads of the local voluntary associations. They were asked, "Who exercises major influence and leadership in community affairs."⁶

²Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society: Class, Power, and Religion in a Rural Community (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1960).

³Christopher Smith, "Social Selection in Community Leadership," Social Forces, XV (May, 1937), pp. 530-535.

⁴Samuel A. Stouffer, Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955).

⁵Charles Freeman and Selz C. Mayo, "Decision Makers in Rural Community Action," Social Forces, XXXV (May, 1957), pp. 319-322.

⁶Robert O. Schulze, "The Bifurcation of Power in a Satellite City," Community Political Systems, edited by Morris Janowitz (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1961), p. 20.

The most famous reputation study is by Floyd Hunter.⁷ He determined the top forty decision-makers of "Regional City" through nominations by individuals knowledgeable because of their formal positions in voluntary associations. Hunter found the policy-making machinery of the community to be largely in the hands of those men of great economic power and influence.

Business leaders are the community leaders in "Regional City" as they are in other cities. Wealth, social prestige, and political machinery are functional to the wielding of power by the business leaders of the community.

Thus, Hunter contends that the real leadership in "Regional City" is in the hands of forty power wielders from the business sector of the community. These leaders make the policy decisions but depend on a substructure to execute these decisions (the professions, the government and business bureaucracies, the church and the political organizations). Furthermore, Hunter found the leadership group to be integrated through a pattern of interlocking memberships in voluntary associations.

Hunter's study is based on several assumptions that have been widely criticized. He assumes that there is a power elite who control the decision-making process while not officially holding political office. His approach also posits that the decision-makers remain the same from issue to issue. In other words, Hunter assumes the community is a fully integrated whole, with policies in all sectors of community life being determined by a business oriented clique. Thus, there is no room for the interplay of power groups in "Regional City" and ". . . what from some indications may be a pluralist society emerges under Hunter's hands as a sternly monolithic organization."⁹

⁷Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963).

⁸Ibid., p. 81.

⁹Herbert Kaufman and Victor Jones, "The Mystery of Power," Public Administrative Review, XIV (1954), p. 209.

Kaufman and Jones give three additional criticisms of Hunter: (1) Since he does not have adequate tools to measure power his findings must be regarded as intuitive rather than scientific; (2) Hunter completely ignores the substructure's influence on the leaders (feedback constraints); and (3) "He has not given us a study of the power structure of 'Regional City' at all! Rather he has set forth a portrait of one of the groups having some power over some things at some times."¹⁰

Delbert C. Miller replicated Hunter's methods in Seattle and Bristol, England. He found that Hunter's model of community power did not fully explain the community structure in these two cities. Miller did not find a solidary clique of leaders. Nor did he find the full scope of community power to be within a power elite. There was, in fact, a considerable fluidity among key influentials as issues change.¹¹

The assertion that political power is concentrated in the business sector of the community has also been strongly disputed by Dahl, Polsby, Wolfinger and others. They suggest, rather, a diffuse pattern of power. In studying New Haven, for example, Dahl found that perhaps an economic elite capable of controlling major political decisions had existed in the past, but this is no longer the case. Because of the now dispersed nature of political resources, based in large part on changes in the composition and structure of the community itself, effective major decisions are made by the voters themselves or by their elected representatives.¹² Furthermore, Polsby discovered in his work with Dahl that economic, power and status elites in New Haven overlap very slightly.¹³

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 208-209.

¹¹ Form and Miller, op. cit., pp. 540-541.

¹² Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

¹³ Nelson W. Polsby, "Three Problems in the Analysis of Community Power," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1959), pp. 796-803.

Dick,¹⁴ Wolfinger¹⁵ and Danziger¹⁶ criticize the reputational approach per se on methodological grounds, for example: (1) the problem of obtaining a meaningful rank order of persons along a single dimension; (2) the problem of researcher and respondent sharing the same definition of power; (3) the problem of variability of power from one type of issue to another; and (4) the data are not power acts, but opinions of "informed people" on who has power.

Thus, Dahl and others have marshalled evidence to support their contention that political power is not exclusively in the hands of the business elite of the community. However, William V. D'Antonio and his associates using Hunter's methods found a striking correlation between key influentials and their occupations in the business sector of the eleven communities studied.¹⁷

The question remains--is the community a unitary structure (Hunter's position) or one of shifting coalitions depending upon the particular issue (Dahl's position)? Robert O. Schulze helps to reconcile these two views with his hypothesis that in relatively isolated and self-contained communities the power structure tends to be monolithic (leaders in the economic system tend to be the same persons who have the greatest power in the socio-political system). As the community increases in scale, i. e. becoming increasingly interdependent with the large societal complex, its power bifurcates, resulting in two power sets, the

¹⁴Harry R. Dick, "A Method for Ranking Community Influentials," American Sociological Review, XXV (June, 1960), pp. 395-399.

¹⁵Raymond E. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power," American Sociological Review, XXV (October, 1960), pp. 636-644; and "A Plea for a Decent Burial," American Sociological Review, XXVII (December, 1962), pp. 841-847.

¹⁶M. Herbert Danziger, "Community Power Structure: Problems and Continuities," American Sociological Review, XXIX (October, 1964), pp. 707-717.

¹⁷William V. D'Antonio, et. al., "Institutional and Occupational Representatives in Eleven Community Influence Systems," American Sociological Review, XXVI (June, 1961), pp. 440-446.

economic dominants and the public leaders.¹⁸ Schulze's statement, however, cannot be applied to Hunter's work since his "Regional City" is the large city of Atlanta.

The studies mentioned above make a strong case that the ultimate power of the community is in the hands of the "invisible government" whether it be one ruling clique or several diffuse cliques which emerge on various community issues. Conspicuously absent from sociological research of the community is the study of the elected representatives of the people. These officials make important decisions affecting the community (e. g., hiring and firing of employees, budgeting of money, taxation and policy-making). It would seem that a definitive work on the power structure of a community must include both aspects of community leadership--elected officials and community influentials who help shape the policy from behind the scenes.

Wherever the ultimate power of the community lies, there is nevertheless the necessity for coordination between the two types of leaders and there must be a base from which the leaders are selected and recruited. The studies of voluntary associations may help to show this process since these organizations are a means of economic and political control by particular groups and individuals over others.¹⁹

Study of the literature on voluntary association memberships which is pertinent to the analysis of community power reveals the following:

1. Individual members of voluntary associations as well as the voluntary associations themselves exert influence over the community as a whole.²⁰

¹⁸Schulze, op. cit., pp. 21-22; see also Scott Greer and Peter Orleans, "Political Sociology," Handbook of Modern Sociology, edited by Robert E. L. Faris (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1964), p. 827.

¹⁹Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society: A Sociological Interpretation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), p. 471.

²⁰Arnold M. Rose, Sociology: The Study of Human Relations (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), p. 418.

2. The basic organizational framework of the local community includes the official organization of municipal government as well as the voluntary associations which act on behalf of the community.²¹
3. The frequency of contact of leaders in voluntary associations makes for community solidarity among the leaders.²²
4. There is a rank order of importance of organizations determined by membership of community leaders.²³
5. Key influential leaders in a community influence policy-making by acting in concert through cliques. These cliques develop through an overlapping of memberships in voluntary associations.²⁴
6. High organizational involvement is positively associated with high socio-economic status.²⁵
7. There is a relationship between memberships in civic organizations and economic or political dominance or both.²⁶

The foregoing conclusions are cited from some of the sociological literature on voluntary associations and community power. In Chapters II and III the findings of these studies and others will be compared to results from the present study.

²¹Peter H. Rossi, "The Organizational Structure of an American Community," Complex Organizations, edited by Amitai Etzioni (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), pp. 301-312.

²²Hunter, op. cit., p. 17.

²³Ibid., pp. 81-86.

²⁴Delbert C. Miller, "Decision-Making Cliques in Community Structures," American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (November, 1958), pp. 299-310; and Richard A. Schermerhorn, Society and Power (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 88.

²⁵William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity," American Sociological Review, XXIX (April, 1964), pp. 198-215; and John C. Scott, "Memberships and Participation in Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, XXII (June, 1957), pp. 315-326.

²⁶Erbe, loc. cit.; Robert O. Schulze and Leonard U. Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," American Journal of Sociology, LXIII (November, 1957), pp. 290-296; and Nicholas Babchuk, Ruth Marsey and C. Wayne Gordon, "Men and Women in Community Agencies: A Note on Power and Prestige," American Sociological Review, XXV (June, 1960), pp. 399-403.

From a review of the literature in the broad area of voluntary associations and community power structure we adopt the following assumptions:

1. The power in a community is not distributed randomly.
2. The power in a community is distributed among systems of relationships within the community.
3. There is a close relationship between high organizational membership and political power.
4. The real power structure of a given community is on two levels:
 - A. The elected and appointed leaders.
 - B. Those persons of dominance, prestige and influence who are more or less hidden from the community yet help shape the policies of the total community.
5. Voluntary associations exert influence over the community as a whole.
6. Voluntary associations serve a variety of functions for different individuals and groupings:
 - A. Avenue for advancing the social and economic interests.
 - B. Symbol of prestige.
 - C. Provide belongingness and a sense of community.
 - D. Influence community policy directly or indirectly.
 - E. Encourage²⁷ members to greater involvement in community affairs.

The general problem of this paper is the relationship of voluntary associations and voluntary association membership to the community leaders. Two deficiencies in the existing studies in this area will be stressed in this thesis: (1) the neglect of sociological research to study elected and appointed community leaders; and (2) the lack of research on the network of organizational ties among these leaders.

This study will focus on the voluntary association memberships of the formal community leaders. Specifically we will ascertain the following:

²⁷Rose, op. cit., pp. 420-424; Williams, op. cit., p. 471; and Herbert Maccoby, "The Differential Political Activity of Participants in Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, XXIII (October, 1958), p. 524.

1. What is the rate of organizational memberships of the formal leaders? How does this rate differ from the general population of the community?
2. What is the rate of membership in the various types of voluntary associations? How does this differ from the general populace?
3. Are the majority of formal leaders from the business segment of the community?
4. Is there an underlying network of associational memberships among the public officials?
5. What are the organizational ties between the elected officials and the persons they appoint?

The answers to these questions will aid in the understanding of the visible portion of the community power structure. They will add another dimension to the larger and more extensive program of research on voluntary associations conducted under the guidance of Professor Charles K. Warriner of the University of Kansas. Finally, they will show the extent of voluntary association memberships and the network that develops among a particular segment of the community population rather than a random sample of the population as in most studies.

Organization of the thesis. Chapter II of this thesis is concerned with the methodological procedures and a description of the sample used in this study. Chapter III reports the data and compares the findings with other empirical studies where applicable. Chapter IV presents the conclusion of this study and suggests areas for further research.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY AND THE SAMPLE

The problem is to determine the voluntary association memberships of formal community leaders and the possible network of organizational ties that exists among them. As previously noted, such a study will help to fill a research gap by focusing on the visible community leaders and by securing the voluntary association data on a particular universe within a community.

In one sense this research is a single case study of formal leaders in one community. As such it is an exploratory study which will point to certain hypotheses in need of additional verification. In another sense this research may have immediate value through comparison of some of the findings with other empirical studies. Such comparison will allow generalization about the differences between the formal leaders and the general population of the community and between the formal leaders of our sample and the informal leaders of other communities.

Lawrence, Kansas, the site selected for this research, is a university community of approximately 30,000 inhabitants located forty-five miles from a large urban center. This site was chosen because previous research has accumulated much data on individuals and their voluntary association memberships and on the organizations themselves within this community. Some of these data will be utilized in this paper for comparative purposes.

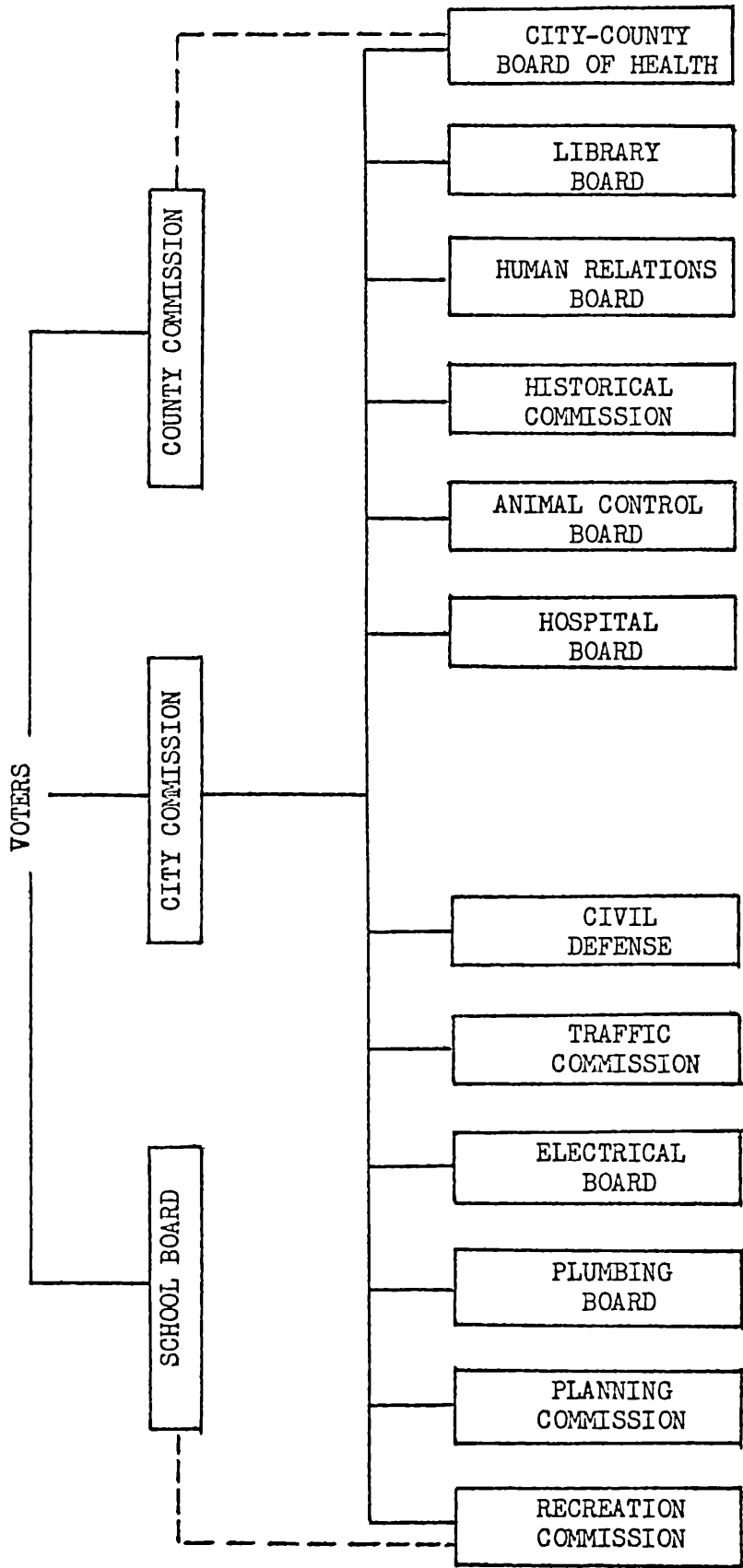
More than 780 voluntary associations have been identified in Lawrence. Previous research in Lawrence has included studies of several community-wide organizations (e. g., the Presbyterian Church, League of Women Voters) as well as studies of small intimate groups (e. g., bridge clubs, study clubs). Other studies have drawn samples of the Lawrence population to ascertain the number of associational memberships and the correlation of such memberships with occupation, housetype, neighborhood, education and religion of persons.

Our task is to accurately and systematically portray the associational characteristics of the formal leaders--those persons elected to positions in the city government and those appointed to the various city boards and commissions. A five year time span (1960-1964) was used in order to correspond with the data already collected by Dr. Warriner and his researchers.

Three groups in the Lawrence municipal government are elected: the School Board, City Commission and the County Commission. The County Commission is excluded from this study because it is almost totally separate from the city government. Table I designates the elective and appointive bodies in the government. This table also shows the authority of the City Commission with its power to appoint all the members of the various city commissions and boards. It shows, in effect, a network of social relationships, consisting of the chief organ (City Commission) and the many subgroups responsible to it. This network is one marked by a hierarchy of status and power.²⁸

²⁸Irwin T. Sanders, The Community: An Introduction to a Social System (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958), p. 209.

TABLE I
LAWRENCE CITY GOVERNMENT
BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS



The population universe for this study can be grouped logically into two segments: elected officials and appointed officials. It is appropriate to distinguish a further breakdown of the appointed officials: (1) those from commissions of broad public interest and high public visibility; and (2) those from commissions of special interest and low public visibility. In order to divide the commissions on this basis it was necessary to interview several individuals knowledgeable of the local situation. Dr. James Titus, Professor of Political Science at the University of Kansas and a former candidate for the Lawrence City Commission, was asked how he would place the commissions on the criteria mentioned above. Two others asked the same question were Mr. George Catt and Mr. Ronald Adams, Administrative Interns to the City Manager of Lawrence. Mr. Catt was especially knowledgeable, having formerly been a reporter for the Lawrence Journal World. There was general agreement among the interviewees that only the Planning Commission would fit in the "broad public interest and high visibility" category. The Planning Commission (which during this time span was also the Board of Zoning Appeals) has a great deal of power. Its decisions, usually publicized in the local newspaper, greatly affect the incomes, businesses, and residences of many individuals and groups in Lawrence. Of the remaining commissions, some had greater power than others (e. g., Hospital Board compared with the Historical Commission) but it was decided that the Planning Commission eclipsed the other commissions and boards to such a degree that all the remaining should be grouped in the third category. Thus the population universe is divided into three groups:²⁹

1. Elected (School Board and City Commission).
2. Appointed:
 - A. Broad public interest and high visibility (Planning Commission).

²⁹When an individual served on more than one commission, his data in the tables were classified in the higher of the two commissions.

B. Special interest and low visibility (all the remaining boards and commissions).

The data for this study were derived from mailed questionnaires. A two-page questionnaire asked the respondent to state his name, address, occupation, employer, spouse's occupation, spouse's employer and the length of time he had lived in Lawrence. He was then asked for a listing of all Lawrence organizations of which he is presently a member and any group from which he had resigned in the past two years, the length of time for such memberships, and offices held within the organizations.³⁰ Women in the population universe were asked to fill out the voluntary association data for their husbands as well as themselves. Some of the tables in this study include the data of these husbands as well as their wives and occasionally of the husbands alone. The explicit assumption for including the husband's data is: If a man, his wife's organizations do not count in his being elected or appointed--if a woman, the organizational memberships of both husband and wife do count in her election or appointment.

With the establishment of the population universe and the construction of the questionnaire, the next step was to secure the names of the formal city officials who served from 1960 to 1964. The total number of formal leaders during this "instant of time" was 108 according to the files of the City Clerk. Fifteen of these 108 were not available for our research (moved away or deceased). Questionnaires and two follow-up letters were sent to the remaining 93 persons, bringing a response from 77.³¹ The data for this study, then, represent 71 percent of the total universe and 83 percent of the officials still living in Lawrence.

Before coding the returns certain limitations were set as to the inclusion of data:

³⁰See Appendix A for samples of the questionnaires.

³¹Of those failing to return the questionnaire, one was a City Commissioner, two were Planning Commission members and thirteen were in the Appointed "B" category.

1. Only local organizations and local chapters of state and national organizations were included.
2. Church sub-groups, municipal boards and commissions were not used in the tabulations on voluntary associations.
3. Those voluntary associations listed by a respondent which were not contained in Dr. Warriner's catalogue of 780 organizations and were not listed by another in the sample were excluded.
4. Only those organizations to which the respondents belonged between 1960 and 1964 were included in the data.

The returns were coded³² and punched on I. B. M. cards.

These cards were then sorted by machine to give the analyses desired.

Description of the sample. The data secured from the questionnaires help us to identify some of the distinguishing characteristics of the formal leaders of Lawrence. From these data we can pinpoint some obvious but important criteria for being a public official--occupational identity, length of residence in the community and proven leadership. A significant part of the description of leaders will be to relate the results found with other empirical studies on community leaders.

1. Occupational identity of public officials. William Erbe³³ cites a number of studies which have shown:

1. That the higher the social class, the greater the political activity (18 studies).
2. That individuals who are involved in voluntary organizations tend to participate more in political activity than those who are not (14 studies).
3. That organizational involvement is positively associated with socio-economic status (20 studies).

Thus an important part of the description of these public officials in Lawrence is to ascertain the class positions of these leaders. Taking occupation as the basic indicator of social class, Table II shows 83% of the sample of leaders to be in the "white collar" category (Warner's 1 through 3 classification). This compares with Rothrock's sample of the Lawrence population where 38% are

³²See Appendix E for the coding information.

³³Erbe, op. cit., pp. 198-199.

in this classification. Just as striking is the finding that 49% are in Warner's highest occupational category while only 6% of the Lawrence sample were so designated.

TABLE II
OCCUPATIONAL IDENTITY OF LAWRENCE PUBLIC OFFICIALS^a

A. Number										
Type of Official	Occupation ^b							N	Mean	N.A.
	High			Low						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			
Elected	7	6	0	0	0	0	0	13	1.46	0
Appt. "A"	6	2	0	2	0	0	0	10	1.80	1
Appt. "B"	22	13	4	8	2	0	0	49	2.80	5
Total Sample	35	21	4	10	2	0	0	72	1.93	6
Lawrence Sample ^c	12	42	22	35	46	33	11	201	4.01	-

B. Percentage										
Type of Official	Occupation							Total Percent		
	High			Low						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			
Elected	54	46	0	0	0	0	0	100		
Appt. "A"	60	20	0	20	0	0	0	100		
Appt. "B"	45	27	8	16	4	0	0	100		
Total Sample	49	29	5	14	3	0	0	100		
Lawrence Sample	6	21	11	17	24	16	5	100		

^aTable II includes the husband's occupation for the married women in the sample. The "N" and mean disregard those individuals without occupations (N. A.).

^bThe occupational categories are taken from W. Lloyd Warner, Marsha Meeker and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1957), pp. 140-141. See Appendix B for this classification system.

^cKenneth Rothrock, "A Study of Voluntary Association Membership," Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Kansas, 1966.

D'Antonio and his associates found that 67% of the community influentials (informal leaders) in eleven cities were in business and only 15% in the professions.³⁴ His data substantiate Hunter's assertion that the business leaders tend to control the decision-making process. The study of formal leaders in Lawrence, on the other hand, finds 49% in business (finance, retail and manufacture) and 39% in the professions (lawyers, doctors, educators and ministers).³⁵ Of the formal leaders in Lawrence, then, business is the largest category, but slightly less than half. One concludes that business interests in Lawrence are well represented but not to the great extent that Hunter and D'Antonio found of the informal leaders. The difference can be explained by either of the following:

1. There is a significant difference between the formal community leaders (as in our study) and informal leaders.
2. In the university community there is not such a preponderance of businessmen among the leaders (formal or informal) as in the average community.

If, however, we take only the occupations of the City Commissioners we find evidence to support the findings of Hunter and D'Antonio. Five of the seven City Commissioners who responded to our questionnaire have a marked business orientation: executive vice-president of a corporation, president of a corporation, self-employed funeral director, owner of a retail store and the owner of several large grocery stores. The two remaining Commissioners are a dentist and a former restaurant owner.

2. Length of residence in Lawrence. One qualification which enhances one's chances for election or appointment to city office is a long residence in the community. Table III presents the data from the sample.

³⁴D'Antonio, op. cit., p. 444.

³⁵Twenty percent of the sample were University of Kansas professors.

TABLE III
 FORMAL LEADERS' LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN LAWRENCE^a

Type of Leader	Years of Residence						N	True Average
	Less than 2	2 - 5	6-10	11-15	16-25	26+		
Elected	0	0	1	1	4	7	13	30.46 Yrs.
Appt. "A"	0	0	2	3	1	5	11	22.45 Yrs.
Appt. "B"	0	4	7	5	7	30	53	28.06 Yrs.
Total Sample	0	4	10	9	12	42	77	27.67 Yrs.

^aTable III omits the husbands' data.

This table measures length of residence in two ways: (1) the number of leaders grouped by years of residence and (2) the average length of residence for each type of leader and the total group. Both measures indicate that, generally, one must reside in Lawrence for a considerable length of time before one is elected or appointed to city office.

3. Proven leadership. The questionnaire sent to the official leaders requested them to list the voluntary associations to which they belonged as well as any formal leadership positions they had held in each organization. Table IV indicates the results of this part of the data.

TABLE IV
 FORMAL LEADERS' OFFICE HOLDING IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS^a

Type of Leader	Percentage of Organizations where an Officer										N	Mean
	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90+		
Elected	2	1	0	1	2	3	1	1	2	1	14	46.4%
Appt. "A"	3	1	0	4	2	1	0	0	1	2	13	39.2%
Appt. "B"	13	1	2	17	5	7	2	6	6	5	64	40.3%
Total Sample	18	2	2	22	9	11	3	7	9	8	91	41.0%

^aTable IV includes the data of the husbands.

Table IV indicates a somewhat smaller percentage of voluntary association leadership by city officials than one might suspect. The results ranged from 20% of the total with no formal leadership positions (board member, president, treasurer, etc.) in their voluntary associations to 9% who had been leaders in 90% or more.

Schulze and Blumberg³⁶ recorded a much higher percentage of leadership in formal organizations than is found in Table IV. They found that 89% of the informal leaders in "Cibola"³⁷ had, at one time, served as president of at least one of the local voluntary associations. This compares with 54% of the total sample of Lawrence public officials and 80% of the elected officials alone.

In summary, the data indicate the formal leaders of Lawrence are primarily business and professional men. Using type of occupation as a measure of social class, the data suggest that the leaders are from the middle and upper classes (77% of the sample are in Warner's top two occupational categories). The leaders are, with few exceptions, long-time residents of Lawrence (82% had lived in the community for at least eleven years and the average length of residence is 27.67 years). Finally, the average formal leader of Lawrence had proven his leadership ability by holding offices in 41% of his voluntary association memberships.

There are no data for comparing our findings on length of residence and proven leadership with the Lawrence populace. We can tentatively surmise that such data, if available, would show a significant difference in the two samples, as was found with occupation.

³⁶Schulze and Blumberg, op. cit., p. 295.

³⁷"Cibola" is a community very similar to Lawrence. It is located approximately 30 miles from a large urban center. The population of this midwestern city was 20,000 in 1957.

CHAPTER III

THE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS OF LAWRENCE FORMAL LEADERS

Having identified the visible portion of the community structure, our task is to determine the relationship between these formal leaders and another part of the power structure--the voluntary associations. This chapter will present the data that get at the primary purposes of our study--to determine the rate of organizational memberships of the formal leaders, the rate of membership in the various types of voluntary associations, the organizational preferences of these leaders and the possible network of organizational memberships among the formal leaders of Lawrence.

Number of memberships. Table V shows the maximum number of voluntary association memberships for each of the Lawrence officials. It also includes the same information for Rothrock's sample of Lawrence.³⁸

It is apparent from comparison of our sample with that of Lawrence that the voluntary association memberships are much greater for the formal officials. A Chi square test was run on Table V to determine whether the frequencies observed could have occurred by chance. The test indicates that the distribution could not have occurred by chance except one time out of 1000.³⁹ Furthermore, the association between being a city official and having a greater number of voluntary association memberships is high ($Q = .79$). The great difference in voluntary association memberships between public officials (average of 6.14) and the general populace of Lawrence (average of 2.44) is a function of either:

³⁸ See Table V on page 21.

³⁹ Table V was collapsed into those officials belonging to 0 - 6 organizations and those belonging to 7 or more. This split is a logical one for the comparison of our sample with the Lawrence sample. See Appendix C for the Chi square table.

1. The higher the social class of the individual the greater the organizational involvement.
2. The greater the organizational involvement the greater the tendency to participate in political activity.⁴⁰

TABLE V
NUMBER OF OFFICIALS BELONGING TO A SPECIFIED
TOTAL NUMBER OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS^a

A. Number

Type of Leader	Number of Voluntary Associations														N	Mean	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13			14
Elected	0	1	2	0	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	14	6.14
Appt. "A"	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	1	4	1	2	1	0	0	0	13	7.13
Appt. "B"	1	4	5	8	5	8	9	7	6	2	0	2	4	1	2	64	5.91
Total Sample	1	5	7	9	9	10	10	9	12	5	3	4	4	1	2	91	6.14
Lawrence Sample	98	80	62	52	31	18	10	8	6	←————— 17 —————→						382	2.44

B. Percentage

Type of Leader	Number of Voluntary Associations														Total % ^b	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		14
Elected	0	7	14	0	14	7	7	7	14	14	7	7	0	0	0	100
Appt. "A"	0	0	0	8	15	8	0	8	31	8	15	8	0	0	0	100
Appt. "B"	2	6	8	13	8	13	14	11	9	3	0	3	6	2	3	100
Total Sample	1	5	8	10	10	11	11	10	13	5	3	4	4	1	2	100
Lawrence Sample	26	21	16	14	8	5	3	2	1	←————— 4 —————→						100

^aThis table includes the data of husbands.

^bRounded to 100% to compensate for rounding errors.

To further substantiate that voluntary association memberships of public officials are significantly greater than those of the general population Table VI is included which summarizes the findings of a number of empirical studies on such memberships.

⁴⁰Erbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-199.

TABLE VI
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FREQUENCY OF MEMBERSHIPS
 FOR LAWRENCE IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER STUDIES^a

Studies	Number of Cases	Percentage of Persons in the Sample Belonging to a Specified Number of Organizations					Total %
		0	1	2	3	4 or more	
Formal leaders of Lawrence (Eitzen)	91	1	5	8	10	76	100
New York City-- Professional men (Komarovsky)	295	21	17	16	16	30	100
Lawrence, Kansas (Rothrock)	382	26	21	16	14	23	100
Bennington, Vt. (Scott)	232	36	25	16	9	15	100
Lawrence, Kansas (Challman)	346	43	21	17	8	11	100
Boulder, Colorado (Bushee)	12031	29	38	16	8	9	100
Detroit, Michigan (Axelrod)	749	37	31	16	8	8	100
National Sample (Wright & Hyman)	2379	64	20	9	4	3	100
New York City-- "white collar" men (Komarovsky)	304	53	30	11	4	2	100
New York City-- skilled & unskilled labor (Komarovsky)	460	60	31	8	1	1	100
New Haven, Conn.-- working class men (Dotson)	50	60	26	10	4	0	100

^aThese studies use different techniques and different criteria for the inclusiveness of the concept of voluntary associations.

The comparison of empirical studies in Table VI reveals two generalizations pertinent to the high rate of organizational memberships for formal leaders: (1) the higher the social status of the individuals in the sample, the greater the rate of individual memberships; and (2) the smaller the city from which the sample is drawn, the greater the tendency for a higher rate of organizational memberships. These generalizations help to explain in part the extraordinarily high rate of organizational memberships in our sample from the middle and upper classes of Lawrence. Even more significant is the conclusion of Erbe that politics attracts those individuals with the highest organizational involvement.⁴¹

Types of voluntary associations. Through systematically comparing organizations with each other and focusing upon their typically recurring acts, Dr. Warriner has identified four distinct forms of integration: performance, personal, ideological and production. The basic assumption of Warriner's typology of voluntary associations is that ". . . in most organizations there is a single predominant form of integration. . ." ⁴² Furthermore, it is assumed that this form of integration (or design factor in human organizations) is ". . . found in the function, source of definition, and nature of articulation of the acts and sets of actions typically recurring in the organization." ⁴³ The particular form of integration has certain crucial effects upon organizations. This is evidenced by the differing reward systems, characteristics of members and structure found in each type. Table VII summarizes Warriner's four types of integration.

⁴¹ Erbe, loc. cit.

⁴² Charles K. Warriner, "The Forms of Social Integration," Unpublished Article, p. 3. See also Charles K. Warriner and Jane Emery Prather, "Four Types of Voluntary Associations," Sociological Inquiry, XXXV (Spring, 1965), pp. 138-148.

⁴³ Warriner, loc. cit.

Form of Integration	Characteristics of the typically recurring acts			Reward System	Membership Characteristics	Example Organizations
	Primary Function	Source of Definition	Nature of Articulation			
Performance (alpha)	Any acts.	Given performance instructions.	Time, place and sequence only.	Play which provides the more direct hedonistic pleasures of doing itself.	Acts are defined & articulated arbitrarily with respect to persons and relationships beforehand.	Square dance and bridge clubs.
Personal (beta)	Interactions.	Emergent in interaction from the presented characteristics of actors.	In terms of the relationships of the actors to each other.	Interactions provide a definition of who & what the person is in relation to others.	In such groups each actor will be a unique person with an elaborate and complex identity	Friendship clubs.
Ideological (gamma)	Representations.	Given ideology & symbol system.	In terms of relations of belief elements to each other.	Representations provide satisfactions in the expressions of belief and in the placement of the ind. in a cosmology.	Actions are based on belief. The ideology requires certain types of actions.	Religious and fraternal groups.
Productive (delta)	Operations	Given ends & instrumental beliefs expressed in a technology	In terms of the product & the relation of sub-ends (means) to larger ends.	Operations result in products or services that may be used by participants or exchanged with the environment for other values that are rewarding.	The division of labor & the allocation of activities to individuals make possible the development of persons associated with these activities.	Chamber of Commerce, American Legion, and League of Women Voters.

^aAdapted from Figure I of Charles K. Warriner, "The Forms of Social Integration," Unpublished Article, pp. 14 and 20-21.

Tables VIII, IX, X and XI indicate the number of Lawrence officials belonging to a specific number of Alpha, Beta, Gamma and Delta organizations respectively. Included in each table is the same information from Rothrock's sample of Lawrence. Each of the tables is from the total sample of formal officials including husbands.

TABLE VIII
NUMBER OF OFFICIALS BELONGING TO SPECIFIED
NUMBER OF ALPHA ASSOCIATIONS

A. Number

Type of Official	Number of Alpha Associations								N	Mean
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Elected	13	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	14	0.21
Appointed "A"	11	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	13	0.38
Appointed "B"	46	11	5	2	0	0	0	0	64	0.42
Total Sample	70	12	5	3	1	0	0	0	91	0.38
Lawrence Sample	305	57	14	4	2	0	0	0	382	0.27

B. Percentage

Type of Official	Number of Alpha Associations								Total %
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Elected	93	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	100
Appointed "A"	85	8	0	0	8	0	0	0	100
Appointed "B"	70	17	8	3	0	0	0	0	100
Total Sample	76	13	5	3	1	0	0	0	100
Lawrence Sample	80	15	4	1	1	0	0	0	100

TABLE IX
 NUMBER OF OFFICIALS BELONGING TO SPECIFIED
 NUMBER OF BETA ASSOCIATIONS

A. Number

Type of Official	Number of Beta Associations								N	Mean
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Elected	4	6	1	2	0	0	1	0	14	1.43
Appointed "A"	2	7	1	2	0	1	0	0	13	1.54
Appointed "B"	29	11	13	7	3	1	0	0	64	1.17
Total Sample	35	24	15	11	3	2	1	0	91	1.26
Lawrence Sample	340	32	10	0	0	0	0	0	382	0.14

B. Percentage

Type of Official	Number of Beta Associations								Total %
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Elected	28	43	7	14	0	0	7	0	100
Appointed "A"	15	54	8	15	0	8	0	0	100
Appointed "B"	44	17	20	11	5	2	0	0	100
Total Sample	38	26	16	12	3	2	1	0	100
Lawrence Sample	89	8	3	0	0	0	0	0	100

TABLE X
 NUMBER OF OFFICIALS BELONGING TO SPECIFIED
 NUMBER OF GAMMA ASSOCIATIONS

A. Number

Type of Official	Number of Gamma Associations								N	Mean
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Elected	3	5	3	0	2	1	0	0	14	1.71
Appointed "A"	1	9	1	2	0	0	0	0	13	1.30
Appointed "B"	8	37	10	2	5	2	0	0	64	1.45
Total Sample	12	51	14	4	7	3	0	0	91	1.47
Lawrence Sample ^a	338	34	5	2	2	1	0	0	382	0.16

B. Percentage

Type of Official	Number of Gamma Associations								Total %
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Elected	21	36	21	0	14	7	0	0	100
Appointed "A"	8	69	8	15	0	0	0	0	100
Appointed "B"	12	58	16	3	8	3	0	0	100
Total Sample	13	56	15	4	8	3	0	0	100
Lawrence Sample	88	9	1	1	1	-	0	0	100

^aThis sample of Lawrence excludes churches which are included among the organizations of the formal leaders.

TABLE XI
 NUMBER OF OFFICIALS BELONGING TO SPECIFIED
 NUMBER OF DELTA ASSOCIATIONS

A. Number

Type of Official	Number of Delta Associations													N	Mean
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		
Elected	2	1	2	4	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	2.79
Appointed "A"	0	0	4	1	3	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	13	4.08
Appointed "B"	7	14	13	11	7	5	3	1	1	1	0	0	1	64	2.81
Total Sample	9	15	19	16	13	8	6	2	1	1	0	0	1	91	2.99
Lawrence Sample ^a	204	73	38	24	15	6	7	6	3	←	6	→	382	1.26	

B. Percentage

Type of Official	Number of Delta Associations													Total %
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Elected	14	7	14	28	21	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
Appointed "A"	0	0	31	8	23	8	23	8	0	0	0	0	0	100
Appointed "B"	11	22	20	17	11	8	5	2	2	2	0	0	2	100
Total Sample	10	16	21	18	14	9	7	2	1	1	0	0	1	100
Lawrence Sample	55	19	10	6	4	2	2	2	1	←	2	→	100	

^aThis sample of Lawrence excludes labor unions which are included among the organizations of the formal leaders.

Table XII is a summary table comparing our sample of public officials with the Lawrence sample in the percentage of individuals belonging to each type of organization.

TABLE XII
COMPARISON OF THE PERCENTAGE OF OFFICIALS IN EACH TYPE OF ORGANIZATION WITH THE LAWRENCE SAMPLE

Type of Organization	Sample			
	Public Officials (91)		Lawrence (382)	
	# of Organizations		# of Organizations	
	0 - 2	3 or more	0 - 2	3 or more
Alpha	96 (87)	4 (4)	98 (376)	2 (6)
Beta	81 (74)	19 (17)	100 (382)	0 (0)
Gamma	85 (77)	15 (14)	99 (377)	1 (5)
Delta	47 (43)	53 (48)	82 (315)	18 (67)

As in previous comparisons with the Lawrence sample, the public leaders differ from the general population. The differences between the percentages from the two samples are significant at the .05 level for all of the organizational types except Alpha.⁴⁴ Delta type organizations in particular are more attractive to the public leaders. It should be re-emphasized that the Delta organizations are goal oriented--for a specific cause or for the members' benefit. Thus, we might assume that those individuals attracted to public service (elective or appointive governmental positions) are those most goal oriented--for themselves and others.

⁴⁴Vernon Davies, "Table Showing Significance of Differences Between Percentages and Between Means," (Pullman: State College of Washington, Department of Rural Sociology, 1951).

Relative popularity of organizations. An important aspect of this study is to determine which voluntary associations are most important in terms of the number of memberships of these leaders.⁴⁵ Table XIII shows the hierarchy of organizations in Lawrence in terms of the number of public officials belonging. It is a total table including the data of husbands. Tables XIV, XV and XVI are also total tables which show the relative popularity of organizations by the elected, appointed "A" and appointed "B" officials respectively.

⁴⁵This is a superficial measure of the organizational hierarchy yet a necessary beginning in determining the organizational power structure of the community.

TABLE XIII
 ORGANIZATIONAL PREFERENCES OF CITY OFFICIALS

Name of Organization	Type	Total # of Officials Belonging N = 91	%	Elected N = 14	Appt. "A" N = 13	Appt. "B" N = 64
Chamber of Commerce	D	29	32	7	7	15
American Legion	D	28	31	4	4	20
Country Club	B	24	26	6	4	14
Methodist Church	G	18	20	3	2	13
Elks	G	15	16	5	3	7
Congregational Church	G	15	16	3	0	12
Masonic Lodge	G	14	15	3	0	11
Veterans of For. Wars	D	12	13	3	1	8
Episcopal Church	G	11	12	0	1	11
Rotary Club	D	10	11	1	2	7
Kiwanis Club	D	10	11	2	3	5
K. U. Faculty Club	B	10	11	1	2	7
Humane Society	D	8	9	0	1	7
A. A. U. P.	D	7	8	0	2	5
Presbyterian Church	G	7	8	1	3	3
Scottish Rites	G	7	8	1	0	6
Cosmopolitan Club	D	6	7	1	1	4
University Club	B	6	7	2	1	3
Knife and Fork Club	D	6	7	0	1	5
Historical Society	A	6	7	0	3	3
Hospital Auxiliary	D	6	7	0	3	3
League of Women Voters	D	6	7	1	2	3
Olympic Swim Club	B	5	5	0	5	0
Quarterback Club	B	5	5	0	1	4
University Women	B	5	5	1	1	3
Christian Church	G	5	5	0	2	3
Bar Association	D	5	5	0	2	3
Lutheran Church	G	5	5	1	2	2
Democratic Party	D	5	5	0	1	4
Boy Scouts	D	5	5	0	0	5
Real Estate Board	D	5	5	1	1	3

TABLE XIV
RELATIVE POPULARITY OF ORGANIZATIONS FOR ELECTED OFFICIALS

Name of Organization	Type	Total # of Elected Officials Belonging N = 14	%	# of Appt. "A" Officials N = 13	# of Appt. "B" Officials N = 64
Chamber of Commerce	D	7	50	7	15
Country Club	B	6	43	4	14
Elks	G	5	36	3	7
American Legion	D	4	28	4	20
Plymouth Congregational	G	3	21	0	12
Lions	D	3	21	0	0
Veterans of For. Wars	D	3	21	1	8
First Methodist Church	G	3	21	2	13
Masons	G	3	21	0	5

TABLE XV
RELATIVE POPULARITY OF ORGANIZATIONS
FOR TYPE "A" APPOINTIVE OFFICIALS

Name of Organization	Type	Total # of "A" Officials Belonging N = 13	%	# of Elected Officials N = 14	# of Appt. "B" Officials N = 64
Chamber of Commerce	D	7	54	7	15
Olympic Swim Club	B	5	39	0	0
Country Club	B	4	30	6	14
American Legion	D	4	30	4	20
Elks	G	3	23	5	7
Kiwanis	D	3	23	2	5
First Presbyterian	G	3	23	1	3
Historical Society	A	3	23	0	3

TABLE XVI
RELATIVE POPULARITY OF ORGANIZATIONS
FOR TYPE "B" APPOINTIVE OFFICIALS

Name of Organization	Type	Total # of "B" Officials Belonging N = 64	%	# of Elected Officials N = 14	# of Appt. "A" Officials N = 13
American Legion	D	20	31	4	4
Chamber of Commerce	D	15	23	7	7
Country Club	B	14	22	6	4
First Methodist Church	G	13	20	3	2
Plymouth Congregational	G	12	18	3	0
Masons	G	11	17	3	0
Veterans of For. Wars	D	8	12	3	1
Trinity Episcopal	G	8	12	0	1
Rotary Club	D	7	11	1	2
Elks	G	7	11	5	3
Humane Society	D	7	11	0	1
Scottish Rites	G	6	9	1	0
Kiwanis	D	5	8	2	3
A. A. U. P.	D	5	8	2	2
Knife and Fork Club	D	5	8	0	1
Boy Scouts	D	5	8	0	0

The data from the preceding four tables can be compared with the findings of Olmstead⁴⁶ and Hunter.⁴⁷ It should be remembered, however, that these were both studies of the informal decision-makers of the community. Hunter, in particular, found more business oriented organizations than our study of Lawrence indicates. Table XVII compares the top organizations found in these studies.

⁴⁶Donald W. Olmstead, "Organizational Leadership and Social Structure in a Small City," American Sociological Review, XIX (June, 1958), p. 278.

⁴⁷Hunter, op. cit., p. 83.

TABLE XVII
COMPARISON OF THREE STUDIES ON THE HIERARCHY OF ORGANIZATIONS

Eitzen	Olmstead	Hunter
Chamber of Commerce	Chamber of Commerce	Chamber of Commerce
American Legion	Elks	Community Chest
Country Club	Kiwanis	Rotary Club
Methodist Church	Masons	Y. M. C. A.
Elks	Episcopal Church	Community Council

A further comparison of empirical studies reveals a greater emphasis on business type organizations than does our study of formal leaders. Schulze and Blumberg⁴⁸ found in "Cibola" that each leader belonged to at least one of the three most prominent civic luncheon groups (Rotary, Kiwanis and Lions) and that 14 out of the 18 leaders were members of the Chamber of Commerce. If we take our data from the most business oriented of our three groups--the elected officials--we find that 7 out of the 14 or 50% belonged to the Chamber of Commerce and only 5 out of the 14 or 36% belonged to one or more civic luncheon groups.

Overlapping memberships of formal leaders. A central problem of this paper is to determine whether there is a network of voluntary association memberships among the formal leaders of the community. Table XVIII shows the extent of overlapping memberships between the City Commissioners and the officials they appoint. The School Board is excluded from this table because it is an autonomous body while there is a definite "umbilical cord" between the City Commission and the members they appoint to city boards and commissions.

⁴⁸Schulze and Blumberg, op. cit., p. 295.

TABLE XVIII Continued

Name	Cham. of Comm.	Amer. Leg. Club	Coun- try Club	Meth. Ch.	Elks	Mas- ons	Vet. For- Wars	Ki- wan- is	Lut- her- an	Cos- mo. Cl.	A.C. L.U.	Phi Gam Del	Li- ons	Phi Del Kap	# of Shared Memberships	Mean
Appointive "B" continued																
9				x		x	x								35	
10											x				3	
11	x		x												33	
12	x	x	x		x	x	x								100	
13	x	x	x	x				x							87	
14		x	x	x					x						66	
15		x													24	
16		x		x							x				47	
17		x					x	x							44	
18									x						4	
19	x		x	x		x									69	
20				x											15	
21			x												18	
22		x	x			x									55	
23												x			2	
24				x											15	
25		x													24	
26	x	x													49	
27				x						x					18	
28		x		x											39	
29		x				x	x								47	
30	x		x												43	
31	x			x				x		x					52	
32	x														25	
33	x	x		x											64	
34	x	x				x	x								69	
35								x							8	
36	x		x						x						47	

TABLE XVIII Continued

Name	Cham. of Comm.	Amer. Log. Club	Coun-try Club	Meth. Ch.	Elks	Mas-sons	Vec. For. Wars	Ki-wan-iss	Lut-her-an	Cos-mo. Cl.	A.C. L.U.	Phi Gam Del	Li-ons	Phi Del Kap	# of Shared Memberships	Mean
Appointive "B" continued																
37		x			x	x									47	
38		x			x										36	
39	x				x										38	
40	x														25	
plus thirteen with no corresponding organizations																28.96
Totals	26	25	19	16	14	12	10	9	5	4	4	3	2	2		33.00

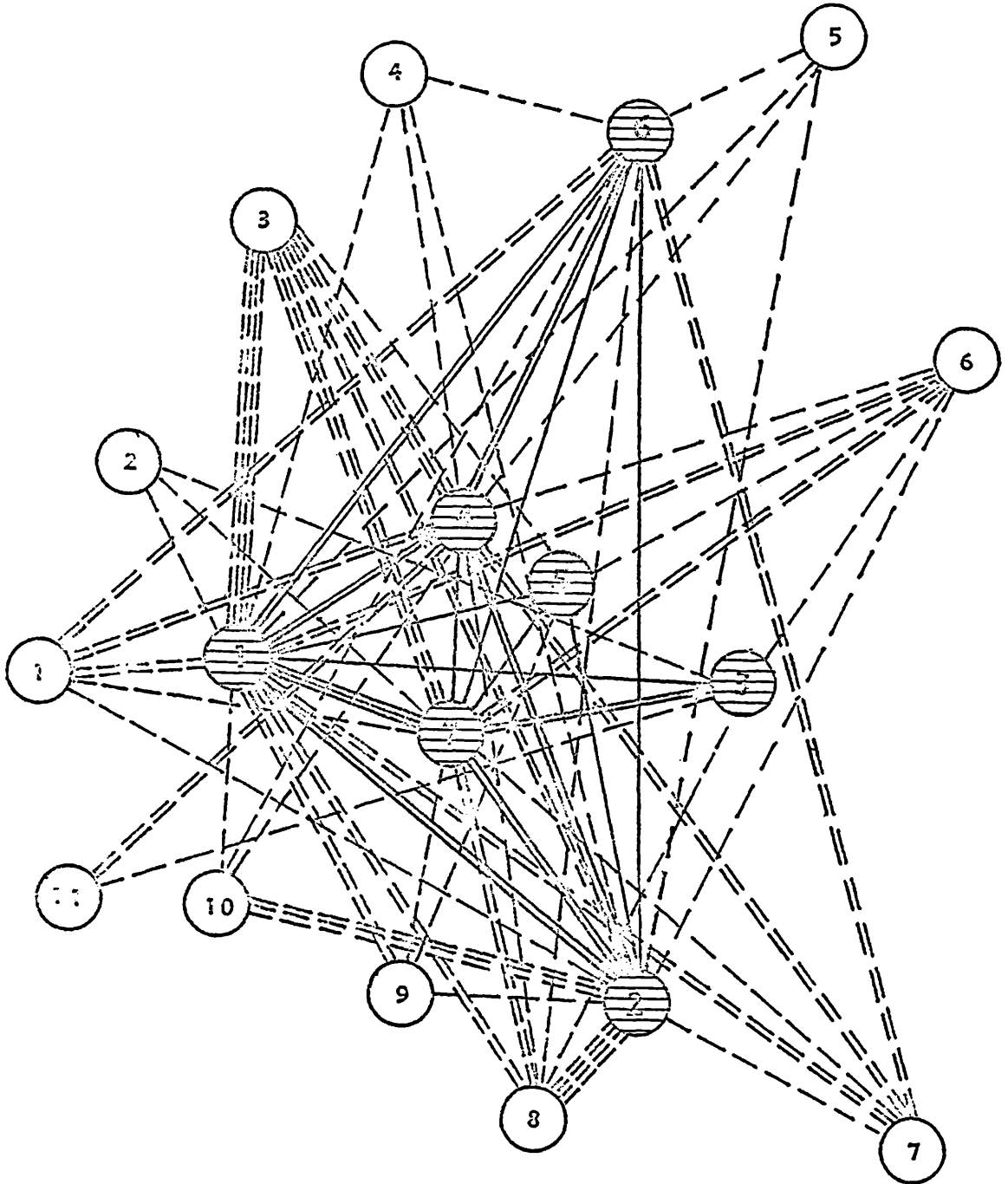
^aThis table excludes the data of the married women. It includes only those organizations to which at least one commissioner belongs.


^bThe number in this column represents the number of memberships in common with the other leaders minus the individual's number of memberships.

Table XVIII shows graphically that there are a great many overlapping memberships. Eighty-two percent of those persons in the sample were in one organization or more with at least one member of the City Commission. All but one of those persons in the remaining 18% had some voluntary association memberships--hence membership ties with others in the sample, excluding the City Commissioners. This table shows, in fact, that each Lawrence official has an average of 33 memberships in common with the other officials. Thus from Table XVIII one might tentatively conclude that these extensive overlapping memberships result in the building of common ties through interaction in common voluntary associations. It is also very possible that leadership reputations are built in voluntary associations. The data found in this table could be the starting point for research on cliques of community decision-makers.

Table XIX pinpoints the phenomenon suggested by the preceding table. It depicts the common memberships among the City Commissioners and between the Commissioners and the members of the most important appointive body--the Planning Commission. Table XX quantifies what is said pictorially in Table XIX.

TABLE XIX
 OVERLAPPING MEMBERSHIPS OF CITY COMMISSIONERS
 AND PLANNING COMMISSION MEMBERS



 = CITY COMMISSIONER. The solid lines designate the common memberships among the City Commissioners.


 = PLANNING COMMISSION MEMBER. The broken lines designate the memberships in common among the City Commissioners and the Planning Commission members.

TABLE XX
NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS IN COMMON

Common Organizational Ties Among the City Commissioners		Common Organizational Memberships of the Commissioners with the Planning Commission Members		Common Organizational Ties Between the Planning Commissioners and the City Commissioners	
Name	# of common memberships	Name	# of common memberships	Name	# of common memberships
1	11	1	17	1	8
2	7	2	14	2	3
3	6	3	8	3	13
4	3	4	3	4	4
5	3	5	4	5	4
6	10	6	11	6	8
7	8	7	15	7	8
				8	11
				9	5
				10	6
				11	3
Mean = 6.86		Mean = 10.29		Mean = 6.64	

Tables XVIII, XIX and XX show graphically the interconnections among the officials through common organizational memberships. It is an obvious fact that to be appointed to city commissions and boards, one must be known by the City Commissioners. One way to accomplish this is to belong to the same voluntary associations as the Commissioners. The data from these tables suggest rather strikingly a high degree of common membership.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

This study has assumed that community power structure is composed of three major parts: (1) the visible leadership; (2) the informal decision-makers; and (3) the organizations and relationships through which leadership and power are organized and implemented. Implicitly we have assumed community power to be the capability to control the behavior of others (formation and implementation of community policy). Thus, the formal leaders are vested with authority (power residing in their formal role) and the informal leaders have influence (power residing in the individual rather than the role).

A significant part of our study has been the comparison of the data on the formal leaders of Lawrence with various studies on informal community leaders. To summarize, the data suggest that the two types of leaders share the following characteristics:

1. A high socio-economic status.
2. A high proportion of business and professional men.
3. A high organizational involvement.
4. A network of organizational ties among the leaders.
5. A marked preference for certain types of organizations, especially, the Chamber of Commerce.

Among the elected leaders, in addition to the above similarities, there is a higher incidence of leadership in the voluntary associations and the dominant occupational group is that of businessmen.

This paper has stressed the organizational memberships of the formal leaders of Lawrence. Underlying this emphasis is the assumption that voluntary associations are a significant part of the power structure of the community. The data secured from the formal leaders suggest the following about their organizational memberships:

1. A much higher rate of voluntary association memberships than in the Lawrence sample or other samples.
2. A significantly greater number of Beta, Gamma and Delta type affiliations than the rate found for the Lawrence sample.
3. A particular attraction to Delta type (goal-oriented) organizations.
4. The most popular organizations of the City officials are the Chamber of Commerce, American Legion and the Country Club.⁴⁹
5. There is a significant network of organizational ties among the elected officials and between the elected officials and the persons they appoint.

Previous studies have established that voluntary associations in the community serve as effective pressure groups, seeking to shape community policy in ways they deem desirable. Prior studies have also determined that leaders of key voluntary associations in the community are members of the informal power structure. Several studies have further established a significant correlation between memberships in civic organizations and economic or political dominance or both. The study of formal leaders adds to understanding of community leadership and community organization. We have found community leadership and power to be organized and implemented through voluntary associations in the following ways:

1. The extensive overlapping memberships among the leaders result in the formation of cliques through interaction in common voluntary associations.
2. To be appointed to city boards and commissions one must be known by the City Commissioners. One way this is accomplished is through membership in some of the same voluntary associations as the Commissioners.
3. This study leads us to speculate that voluntary associations are an important vehicle for the political aspirant:
 - A. They are a kind of "proving grounds" for establishing a reputation for leadership.
 - B. They are a convenient place to become more intimately acquainted with the "right people" in the formal and/or informal power structure.

⁴⁹This raises the question--are these organizations as organizations the key to formal political power or are the qualities required for membership in these organizations those which people seek in their leaders (businessman, veteran, upper class)?

Suggestions for future study. Several qualifying statements need to be made about the data secured for this study: (1) The samples for the elected group (14) and the appointed "A" group (13) are small. Such small samples are the result of the nature of the universe studied. Even so, it suggests that our generalizing powers are limited concerning these two groups; (2) Our unit of time, being removed from the present, has made it impossible to reach all of the universe (one is known to be dead and 14 have moved away). This fact, in addition to the 16 who refused to answer the questionnaire, has given us a response from only 71% of the total universe (83% of those currently living in Lawrence); (3) Lawrence, being a university community, is heavily populated with professional people, and the university adds to the proliferation of voluntary associations in the community; and (4) Questionnaires qua questionnaires are somewhat suspect.⁵⁰ These weaknesses lead us to conclude that much further work must be done before any real interpretations and generalizations can be made.

These methodological weaknesses could be eliminated by: (1) Conducting open-ended interviews to get at the possible formation of cliques through common memberships (our data show the common memberships only); (2) Contacting those of the universe who have moved away; and (3) Increasing the size of the universe to be studied by extending the unit of time.

As a descriptive and exploratory study, this project has generated some hypotheses for future research:

1. Businessmen dominate the most important decision-making body of the community (the City Commission).
2. Professional men dominate the appointive boards and commissions of the municipal government structure.

⁵⁰ Since 17% of the sample refused to return the questionnaires, the sample is biased. This bias is not measurable--we do not know the characteristics of those who did not answer nor do we know why they refused to answer. A further difficulty with written questionnaires is that they are answered with varying degrees of accuracy and understanding.

3. Members of the City Commission and School Board do not differ significantly from the informal community leaders in the following characteristics:
 - A. Social class.
 - B. Occupational types.
 - C. Rates of organizational memberships.
 - D. Organizational ties with other leaders.
4. The Chamber of Commerce is the most influential organization in the shaping of community-wide policy.
5. Appointees to city government boards and commissions have organizational bonds in common with those who make the appointments.
6. Frequency of contact in several voluntary associations leads to solidarity and the formation of cliques among those with these memberships in common.

Further research is needed to verify the data found in the present study. This could be accomplished through increasing our sample size and comparing the data with the findings of a community of similar size. It would be interesting to see whether Lawrence, as a university community, is noticeably different from a more typical community in its organizational make-up.

Another suggestion would be to do a "reputational" study to determine the informal leaders of Lawrence. This would allow us to make a true comparison of formal and informal community leaders rather than a comparison of formal leaders and the composite findings of informal leaders from the sociological literature. It would also be important to ascertain the relationship between the formal and informal leaders of the community.

A suggested study, though peripheral to our main interest, would be to explore the myth of the inability of University of Kansas professors to attain positions of real authority in Lawrence municipal government. The data of our study indicate a liberal sprinkling of Kansas University professors and/or their wives on the various levels of city government other than the City Commission. Are these knowledgeable and presumably community-minded residents kept off the seat of community power?

Finally, this study has suggested that voluntary associations themselves play a dominant role in the community power structure. Further study needs to be made to determine the role of voluntary associations in forming community-wide policy (e. g., putting their people in positions of authority, assuring the passage or failure of such items as school bonds). In short, what role do the voluntary associations as organizations play in the community power structure?

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C. OTHER SOURCES

- City Hall, Lawrence, Kansas. Personal interview with George Catt, Administrative Intern to the City Manager. March, 1966.
- _____. Personal interview with Ronald Adams, Administrative Intern to the City Manager. March, 1966.
- University of Kansas. Personal interview with James Titus, Professor of Political Science. March, 1966.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is being distributed as part of a research study conducted by Stan Eitzen under the guidance of Dr. Charles K. Warriner. This research is part of a larger scientific study of social organizations in Lawrence. Its aim is to develop a better knowledge of the nature of organizations and their place in the community. If this project is to be of any value it is imperative that we receive a large percentage of these completed questionnaires as soon as possible. Thank you for your cooperation.

- A. Your name _____
- B. Your home address _____
- C. Your occupation _____
- D. Your employer _____
- E. Occupation of spouse _____
- F. Employer of spouse _____
- G. How long have you lived in Lawrence? _____

Lawrence, Kansas
March 21, 1966

Dear

Enclosed is a questionnaire identical to the one previously mailed to you. Perhaps you inadvertently mislaid the previous forms. It is most important that we receive these completed questionnaires from the representative sample in order for the study to be valid. Of course this material will be kept confidential.

Your help on this project will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

D. Stanley Eitzen
Department of Sociology
University of Kansas

APPENDIX B

OCCUPATION CODE FOR TABLE II

- 1 = University faculty, doctors, dentists, lawyers, C. P. A.'s, owners of large businesses, architects and ministers graduated from a school of divinity.
- 2 = High school teachers, trained nurses, undertakers, some ministers, owners of medium sized businesses, real estate and insurance salesmen and accountants.
- 3 = Social workers, grade school teachers, bank clerks and owners of small businesses.
- 4 = Owners of very small businesses, bookkeepers, sales people in dry goods stores, electricians and plumbers who own their businesses and factory foremen.
- 5 = Firemen, dime store clerks and radio repairmen.
- 6 = Tiny business owners and semi-skilled workers.
- 7 = Heavy laborers, migrant workers and janitors.

This is a sample of the types of occupations as given by W. Lloyd Warner, Marsha Meeker and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1957), pp. 140-141.

APPENDIX C

CHI SQUARE CALCULATIONS

A. TABLE V:

	0 - 6 orgs.	7 - 14 orgs.	
Total Officials	51	40	91
Lawrence Sample	351	31	382
	402	71	473

$$X^2 = 61.51$$

$$P < .001$$

$$C = .36$$

$$Q = .79$$

B. MISCELLANEOUS

	0 - 6 orgs.	7 - 14 orgs.	
Elected	7	7	14
Appointed "A" & "B"	44	33	77
	51	40	91

$$X^2 = .219$$

$$P < .70$$

	0 - 6 orgs.	7 - 14 orgs.	
Appointed "A"	4	9	13
Appointed "B"	40	24	64
	44	33	77

$$X^2 = 4.38$$

$$P < .05$$

$$C = .24$$

$$Q = .58$$

APPENDIX D

A SAMPLE OF LAWRENCE ORGANIZATIONS CLASSIFIED
 ACCORDING TO THE WARRINER-EMERY TYPOLOGY*

Alpha Organizations:

No-name Bowling Team	Sewing Circle
Lawrence Music Club	Lawrence Flower Club
Bridge Club	Ladies Literary League
Lawrence Stamp Club	Historical Society

Beta Organizations:

Twentieth Century Club	Alpha Delta Pi Alumni
Evening Coffee Club	K. U. Faculty Club
Lawrence Country Club	University Club

Gamma Organizations:

B. P. O. E.	Eagles
I. O. O. F.	Masonic Lodge
Knights of Columbus	Scottish Rites

Delta Organizations:

American Legion	New England Society
U. S. Army Reserve	Veterans of Foreign Wars
American Red Cross	Boy Scouts of America
Cosmopolitan Club	Hospital Auxiliary
Kiwanis Club	Chamber of Commerce
Lions Club	Parent Teacher Association
Rotary Club	L. L. P. D.
League of Women Voters	N. A. A. C. P.
Young Republicans	P. E. O.
Farm Bureau	Lawrence Educators Association
Alpha Phi Alumni	Delta Sigma Theta
Alpha Kappa Delta	Kappa Sigma Alumni
Optimist Club	A. A. U. P.
Beta Sigma Phi	Knife and Fork Club

* Rothrock, op. cit., Appendix F.

APPENDIX E

CODING OF IBM CARDS

A. MEMBERSHIP CARDS

Column Number	Item
(1 - 5)	Identification number of the individual.
(6 - 24)	Name of the individual.
(50 - 52)	Organization identification number.
(60)	The classification of the organization. Code: 1 = Alpha 2 = Beta 3 = Gamma 4 = Delta
(66)	Type of official. Code: 1 = Elected 2 = Appointed "A" 3 = Appointed "B"

B. PERSON CARDS

Column Number	Item
(1 - 5)	Identification number of the individual.
(6 - 24)	Name of the individual.
(25 - 28)	House number.
(29 - 33)	Street name.
(38)	Length of residence in Lawrence. Code: 1 = less than 2 years 2 = 2 - 5 years 3 = 6 - 10 years 4 = 11 - 15 years 5 = 16 - 25 years 6 = 26 or more years
(46)	Occupation. Code: 0 = no occupation, retired. 1 = upper professional 2 = high school teachers, etc. 3 = bank clerks, etc. 4 = bookkeepers, etc. 5 = radio repairmen, etc. 6 = semi-skilled workers. 7 = heavy labor, etc.
(48 - 49)	Total number of memberships.
(50)	Total number of Alpha memberships.
(51)	Total number of Beta memberships.
(52)	Total number of Gamma memberships.
(53)	Total number of Delta memberships.
(60)	Percentage of organizations where a leader. Code: 0 = 0% 1 = 10% 2 = 20% 3 = 30% etc.
(66)	Type of official. Code: 1 = Elected 2 = Appointed "A" 3 = Appointed "B"