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Two papers are presented which were given before the Social Science Section of the 1968 Annual Conference of the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station. The first paper reports on the results of a research effort designed to identify factors associated with successful relocation of people from a rural or small community environment into large, industrialized metropolitan areas. Two principal factors pointed out as enhancing the chances of successful adjustment are the existence of a training and counseling program for the guidance workers before relocation and the availability of mobility money for relocation expenses. The second paper deals with the power structure of small communities, based on the comparison of 2 communities in Texas with widely divergent types of economic bases. (JM)

Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology 1968

Dimensions of Research in Rural Sociology

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TEXAS AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION • TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY
H. O. Kunkel, Acting Director, College Station, Texas

DIMENSIONS OF RESEARCH IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology
Texas Agricultural Experiment Station
Texas A&M University
College Station, Texas

Departmental Information Report Number 68-8

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PREFACE

The two papers presented in this report were given before the Social Science Section of the 1968 Annual Conference of the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station. They deal with two of the several aspects of the research being conducted by Sociologists as a part of the total effort of the College of Agriculture.

The authors of the first paper report on the results of a research effort designed to identify the factors associated with the successful relocation of people from a rural or small community environment into large, industrialized metropolitan areas. Finding means by which this can be successfully accomplished is a question at the forefront of national interest and concern. The second paper deals with the power structure of small communities. Considering the mounting interest in community development and the need to identify the focal point at which this development can or should be fostered is also an important social problem of the times.

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SUCCESS FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH RELOCATING WORKERS
FROM NON-METROPOLITAN AREAS

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It has been known for some time that mechanization and technological innovations are causing high unemployment in areas such as South Texas where much agricultural labor for the migrant stream originates. Predictors indicate that manpower displacement will continue for several years. For example, Stanley (1968) estimates that in Michigan, Ohio, and Kentucky, crops requiring 140,900 workers in 1967 may require only about 100,300 by 1971. While an overabundance of labor exists in certain areas, there are some industries that have labor demands which are not being met adequately from local sources.

In order to bring about a better manpower balance it appears that two alternatives are available: (1) industries could move to areas where labor is available or (2) people could relocate to areas where jobs are available. Moving industries is a long range program which requires a great deal of study and planning, which has limited most recruiting programs to within commuting range of the factory. Moving people is largely conjecture because most industries have felt that workers in relocation programs are subject to problems and stresses considered, for practical purposes, insurmountable. This inability to adjust is even more severe for Mexican-Americans from South Texas who have additional pressures caused by a traditionally entrenched minority group status which further retards cultural absorption.

In order to determine whether South Texans could be relocated, a cooperative effort between private industry and governmental agencies has been developed. A pilot project of training and relocation was undertaken by Vought Aeronautics Division of Ling-Temco-Vought Corporation (LTV). This mobility program was designed to recruit aircraft assembly workers from South Texas where there are limited employment opportunities for displaced migrant workers.

WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT THE ADJUSTMENT PROBLEM

Much has been written about the excess supply of agricultural labor which is being displaced by modern technology and the pressure of economic forces. There is also a great deal of information available on persons who have migrated from non-metropolitan to metropolitan areas. The volume and direction of movement as well as demographic characteristics of migrants is well documented.

For example, in the United States over a five-year period (1955-1959), 14.2 percent of all farm workers moved out of farming each year. However, there was a high rate of "back movement" resulting in an annual net reduction of only 3.5 percent, according to Perkins and Hathaway (1966). They found the off-farm mobility to be higher for younger persons and for those who were multiple job-holders or had previous nonfarm work experience. In a recent Texas study, Skrabanek (1966) found a rapid change taking place among Spanish-Americans who were going from farm to nonfarm occupations; however, he had no indicators concerning whether or not they ever returned to farm work.

The present research involves an analysis of the adjustment patterns of workers and their families in a new type of retraining-relocation program. While there are some programs which have been conducted in the

United States as well as other countries, there are no known studies involving both retraining and relocation of human resources. There are, however, several studies related to the adjustment of individuals who are voluntary migrants.

Factors associated with urban adjustment of rural Southern migrants were analyzed a decade ago by Omari (1956). Out of several variables hypothesized to be related to adjustment, length of residence appeared to be the most highly correlated with socio-economic status and community satisfaction.

The definition of the situation was considered by Moss (1956) as an important factor in the process of assimilation. Families who were new in a community felt that the status of the family's neighbor group or groups as well as the tightness of the community's web of relationship was a factor in deciding whether the family would seek further acceptance from the larger community or confine itself to the neighbor group. It was the initial contact with neighbors and community services which helped provide the individual with his own definition of the situation.

Adjustments of in-migrant Mexican-Americans in a northern industrial community were examined by Shannon and Lettau (1963). By using a control group of Anglo-white Americans, they found that external indicators (i.e., occupational level, family income, and material level of living) were almost totally unrelated to expressions of satisfaction and status in the community among Anglos or among in-migrant Mexican-Americans. In-migrants are faced with the two-fold problem of incomplete absorption into the economy and inadequate cultural integration, according to Shannon and

Krass (1964). They found a great deal of disparity in occupational levels of Mexican-Americans and Anglos. Some of the difference was attributed to the educational antecedents and initial work experience, but Mexican-Americans were not absorbed into the economy to the same extent as were the Anglos. Shannon and Krass concluded that other factors such as primary and secondary associations would need to be analyzed in order to better explain the disparity or absorption into the economic community.

In a Kentucky Mountain migration study it was found by Brown, <u>et.al</u>. (1963), that the extended family helps absorb the shock of moving, thus providing the individual with a better personal and social adjustment. The kinship ties had much to do with the migrant's destination, way of finding a job, and place to live in the community. The authors also emphasized that the extended family may deter rapid assimilation because social relations tend to remain within the kinship boundaries.

THE L.T.V. PROJECT

Certain industries in labor demand areas where unemployment rates are 1
are low find that they are not able to obtain enough help. Some of them have wondered about using manpower from labor surplus areas such as South Texas.

The unique approach of the program was conceived as a cooperative effort between a private industry, LTV, and several governmental agencies. The innovative aspects of the current program include: 1) training prior to relocation, 2) money for moving and relocation expenses, 3) a house-hunting service and, 4) counseling during training as well as after relocating to labor demand area.

The LTV program was made possible through financial assistance and cooperation with several governmental agencies such as: (1) the Economic Development Administration which provided for the remodeling of the training facility in Rio Grande City, Texas, as well as providing money for the training project itself; (2) the public school systems of McAllen, Harlingen, and Rio Grande City which sponsor five-week institutional phase of the LTV Project; (3) Community Action Agencies in the supply areas which refer applicants for Labor Mobility; (4) the Dallas Housing Authority which relieved the major problems by housing a large percentage of the Labor Mobility families, as well as conducting classes in homemaking, health, etc. for the wives; (5) the Department of Public Welfare which directs the Office of Economic Opportunity's Title V Program; (6) the Texas Education Agency which sets up the curriculum for vocational training related to Labor Mobility; (7) Urban Development which revised the somewhat unrealistic income-per-dependent qualifying criteria for public housing; and (8) the Texas Employment Commission whose involvement in Labor Mobility encompasses all phases of the program including recruitment, screening, counseling, testing, and Mobility payments from relocation to the actual settling down in the demand area.

THE RESEARCH PROGRAM

The primary purpose of the research reported in this paper is to analyze factors relating to the success of a pioneering effort to retrain and relocate workers from non-metropolitan areas. The purpose of this paper is to present the background of the study and to give a brief progress report concerning factors of success based on preliminary results, bearing in mind that this is a longitudinal study to be conducted in six-month intervals over a 24-month period.

The trainees who arrived in Grand Prairie during the month of May were interviewed in June of 1968, and all who remain in the demand area will be re-interviewed at six-month intervals for a period of two years. Because experiments have shown that individuals who are aware that they are a part of a longitudinal study sometimes adjust atypically, possible bias will be minimized by including two additional cohorts of workers also consisting of four classes each for a longitudinalcomparison. About half of the employees who arrived during December were interviewed in July of this year, giving a six months analysis of their adjustment. The other half of the same cohort will be interviewed one year later or at the end of eighteen months of employment; likewise, for the January, 1968, cohort. One-half will be interviewed after twelve months of employment and the other at the end of twenty-four months.

The December, 1967, and January, 1968, cohorts will be compared with the original May, 1968, cohort in an effort to determine any influence the research participation may have had upon their adjustment. At the present time, an analysis is being made on the adjustment during their first month for one set of individuals and the adjustment after six months for another set, plus those, who in these early stages, terminated their employment and returned to the Lower Rio Grande Valley. The personal and occupational adjustment process will be dealt with in other reports.

FACTORS OF SUCCESS

Training. The Texas Employment Commission (TEC) recruits and screens potential trainees, but LTV conducts the final selection in the Valley. Five weeks of concentrated institutional training is provided in South Texas at a training site relatively close to the residence of the trainees. LTV supplies one of their Grand Prairie instructors at each training site. Skills in riveting and sheet metal work are emphasized along with basic functions in mathematics, particularly fractions and decimals.

Trainees state that the initial training in the valley provides them with confidence for doing new work when they relocate. They indicate that there has been relative ease of moving into other types of aircraft assembly work because of their instruction. This preconditioning period prior to relocating is one aspect which certainly seems to aid in a more rapid adjustment when workers relocate to metropolitan areas.

Also, the fact that the training took place before relocation seems to be a key to success. Many of the trainees who were interviewed claimed that they probably would not have applied for the program if they had been required to move before training. They indicated that moving would have been too great a commitment to unfamiliar work prior to successful completion of the training.

Sheet-metal assembly training by LTV began in October, 1967 at McAllen, then in Harlingen and Rio Grande City shortly thereafter. The LTV contract provides for 750 trainees by September 30, 1968. According to Texas Employment Commission officials, the number of relocated workers will be closer to 600 because approximately 15 percent of the trainees dropped out of the training program during the first five weeks. These terminations have contributed to the stability of the classes which were actually relocated. Of those who terminated, some decided that aircraft assembly work was not what they wanted to do. Others had second thoughts about leaving South Texas. Some simply could not master the skills required.

Mobility Money. Money was made available to be used to help pay for relocation after being trained in South Texas. Those who were unemployed at the time they entered the training are eligible for mobility assistance, if they complete the training program. This assistance provides money plus an allowance ($112 for the worker, $112 for his wife, and $56 for each dependent up to four) for the relocation expenses such as paying utility deposits, or rent in advance. In addition, mobility funds were used for a travel allowance and to pay for transporting household goods.

Most of those interviewed stated that they might have a few friends who could relocate without mobility assistance but most of them do not have necessary assets to be able t) it themselves. They usually added that they themselves could not have moved at all without the allowance. A few of the trainees did not qualify for mobility money because they were employed at the time they began training. Out of the first 375 trainees, 11 received no mobility money. All 11 had difficulty the first few weeks in the Grand Prairie area because they did not have the necessary money for establishing their household. Community agencies such as Travelers Aid have had much more demand on their services by these relocatees than those who were mobility recipients.

Housing. Before the trainees arrived, they completed a housing questionnaire providing information concerning their residential needs. Upon arrival in Grand Prairie, trainees reported to the TEC Office to discuss housing. Then they were accompanied by a TEC counselor to view potential housing which was available within their price range and needs. Ideally, TEC hoped to have three choices from which trainees could select their housing. It turned out that often TEC had only one place within 15 miles of the factory to show. Families with one or two children desiring furnished apartments were the most difficult to satisfy because the supply was so limited. If the trainee accepts housing which he regards as unsatisfactory, the counselors are expected to work with him until he finds desired housing.

Many apartment managers were reluctant at first to rent to Mexican-Americans from South Texas. However, they soon learned that these people were excellent tenants and now some apartments are being held when vacancies occur in order to accommodate the next class.

Public housing drew the most comments during interviews. Families with three or more children are eligible for such housing as Elmer Scott in West Dallas, which is an area where most families with 3 or more children have been placed. Some personal clashes between "Valley workers" and the local residents occurred. Many objected to the fact that Elmer Scott is nearly 10 miles from LTV which they felt deprived them of extra leisure time due to the traffic problem associated with commuting to work.

Housing costs constitute another source of dissatisfaction. Since many trainees have been living with kin folks or in their own house in the Valley, the \$80 to \$110 per month for rent appears as a very sizable proportion of their take home pay. Although they were advised ahead of time concerning the amount they would need to pay for rent, it appears that it becomes harder to accept the depletion of their weekly paycheck when the rent is actually due.

In addition to the personal clashes, traffic problems and housing costs, participants frequently complained about living in close proximity to Negroes. With less than 2 percent of the Valley population being non-white, this becomes a concern of the trainee when he is moved to metropolitan areas where he is likely to live next door to a Negro, particularly if he goes into public housing. The term "nigger", often with a four-letter word preceding it, was frequently heard to describe the neighbors in the public housing area.

The positive aspects of public housing are recognized by the relocatee. Homemaking, English, and health classes are conducted in centers at the public housing area. There the wives who speak no English have friends with whom they can communicate. Friendships develop, car pools evolve, and small mutual aid subgroups are formed so that "valley people" do not feel isolated from the rest of society.

Counseling. Counseling has been integrated into the program at three different levels. When a trainee begins his first five weeks of institutional training in South Texas, both an LTV counselor and an LTV instructor work with the class. These two individuals help prepare the trainees for moving from South Texas to the more urbanized environment of the Grand Prairie area.

Another kind of counseling comes from TEC when the trainee arrives in Grand Prairie. At this time, counseling is normally concerned with, but not limited to, housing needs.

The third type of counseling begins when employees start there eight weeks of on-the-job training (OJT) with LTV. One of three Mexican-American counselors is assigned to the class. These counselors are "on call" day or night to be available for rendering all types of occupational or personal family assistance in all kinds of emergency situations.

Just how effective the counseling is cannot be determined at this time; however, a few impressions might be noted. Respondents were asked whether any of the counseling they received before arriving in Grand Prairie was misleading. In general, there was little dissatisfaction expressed with the counseling; however, a few indicated they expected more overtime and/or that more houses would be available for their inspection. Occasionally, they mentioned that they saw pictures of housing areas, especially public housing, which were misleading.

Questions concerning counseling included "Do you think that the counseling in Grand Prairie should do more for you?". The replies to this question generally fell into two categories, i.e. either "they have done a great deal for me" or "I really haven't seen any counselors since the first days." Many who indicated no contact stated that they knew the counselors were available but they didn't feel their problems were large enough to bother them. A few were disturbed because the counselors had promised to do something but they evidently forgot because no results were obtained. The six-month respondents thought most of their help came during the first two months of employment and many of the May respondents indicated that friends were doing the same thing for them that counselors did for earlier classes.

From this brief preliminary analysis, it may be concluded that counseling at the training site as well as in the demand area is very important to the success of the program. While LTV counseling in Grand Prairie was equally as important at first, perhaps it will become less important as more Valley people move to Grand Prairie. This idea finds support in Brown's study, et. al., of the extended family, but it is the "Valley folk" in this instance who act as counselors for adjustment.

Satisfaction with work. One measure of satisfaction on the research instrument was a question concerning the kind of reaction respondents have when asked whether they would advise their friends to enter a similar training program. The one-month respondents were highly motivated and all but one said they would recommend that their friends enter the program unless the friends were lazy or had a physical reason such as a wooden leg to prevent many hours of standing. Several stated they had already recommended the program to friends and relatives, and four of them called this the "opportunity of a lifetime". The six-month respondents toned down their enthusiasm slightly by saying that the work was good but they were concerned about housing, espically public housing, so would tell friends to investigate this aspect of the program first.

Another measure of satisfaction concerns an adaptation of the Kilpatric Self-Anchoring Technique.[1] Responses are obtained on a scale from one to ten. The score representing the present situation is compared with a score

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[1]The trainee looks at a ladder with ten rungs where the top of the ladder, number ten, is symbolic of the best of everything, where they have achieved the very finest kind of life they ever dreamed of having. Everything is perfect. The bottom of the ladder, number one, represents a complete reversal, where nothing goes the way they think it should. They are asked to look up and down the ladder and select the rung which represents where they feel they are at the present time.

representing where they would place themselves on the scale before leaving South Texas.

The one-month respondents indicated a mean score of 6.24 as compared to 4.40 while in South Texas. Four individuals reported a score in South Texas which was higher than when working for LTV, and ten indicated scores which were the same in both places. Thus, about 75 percent view the new life as being better than in South Texas. Of those who had been in Grand Prairie six months, the mean scores were 6.80 for LTV and 3.95 for South Texas employment or a mean difference of 2.85 compared to 1.84 for the one-month employees. Only one of the six-month respondents selected a score higher for South Texas than for LTV and only two thought their score was the same. This would indicate that the longer an individual is in Grand Prairie the greater the difference between his satisfaction with life there as compared to South Texas.

VALLEY RETURNEES

Governmental agencies were concerned primarily with helping relieve the unemployment of Mexican-American migrants, while LTV was interested in obtaining assemblers who were not available in the Grand Prairie area. At the beginning of the project, the possibility of locating migrants from South Texas to the more industrial areas of Texas was a matter of conjecture.

Why did trainees quit or return to the Valley? To obtain these reasons, respondents were asked to state why any trainee did or would quit working for LTV. The answers were varied and yet appeared to reflect a picture not obtained directly from the respondents who did terminate employment with

LTV. Most responses centered around work, housing or personal problems.

Work conditions included excessive noise, not working hard enough, bored from routine, promised overtime or raises which didn't work out, working too much overtime with no free time, problems with the foremen, or not wanting a night shift. Housing dissatisfaction usually centered around paying too much rent, living in integrated areas such as public housing, or having to travel too far in heavy traffic. Personal reasons usually included dissatisfaction of the wife, dislike for the city, home sickness for family or girl friend, or prices too high for items purchased, (therefore, not getting ahead financially), or the family needed help back home. Only four of the 68 interviewed in Grand Prairie stated they had been thinking about going home to the point where they probably would quit. Sixteen others indicated there were certain conditions under which they might quit. The most predominant answers were if the company opened a plant in South Texas or if there were better employment opportunities around Grand Prairie, but three stated they might quit if they were needed by their family in South Texas.

Those who terminated LTV had mean Kilpatric scores as discussed in satisfaction of work of 6.72 compared to 5.42 for what they were doing after termination. Even though there is some difference, only two out of twelve indicated that their South Texas scores were higher and only one gave a response of the same for both places. They simply did not see much difference in their way of life between LTV employment and what they were doing now. Perhaps they are trying to rationalize that the

South Texas way of life is providing them with nearly as much satisfaction as they could achieve with LTV. Of those interviewed, over 50 percent who terminated employment with LTV stated they would like to return if the company would take them back. Some of them had already initiated contact with an LTV counselor.

THE MIGRANT FARM WORKER

The retraining-relocation project was designed in part to assist migrant workers from the Lower Rio Grande Valley where employment opportunities are limited. It was designed to demonstrate the effectiveness of using financial assistance to reduce unemployment for migrant workers. Thus far the program has attracted mostly the younger, better educated, and more trainable type individual from South Texas. Based on the first 375 trainees, the average aged trainee is slightly under 25 years (median of 24.697) with the range being 18 to 43 years of age; about five percent were over 35. The median educational level was over 11 years of school completed. More than 40% had completed high school and 11 individuals had some college credits. Only two persons completed as little as five years and over 90 percent completed more than six years of school. Twenty-two percent were single and only thirty-eight percent of the 273 married couples had three children or more. The average hourly income prior to entering the training program was between \$1.50 and \$1.51. About one out of every four and a half persons screened were actually taken into the training program. From these statistics it may be inferred that the trainees are not what one would expect for unemployed or underemployed persons, thus the program is not dealing with many hardcore unemployed or unemployables.

High unemployment rates in the Valley are caused by two main factors: (1) workers who annually migrate to the Northern harvest, but winter in the Valley; and (2) those who are employed seasonally or are employed on jobs of short duration in the Valley. However, information available at the present time does not provide adequate information concerning whether relocatees were migrant workers. But careful analysis of the work performed during the 12 months prior to entering training shows that very few had done migrant labor during that period.

About ten percent stated they were doing agricultural work as their last employment prior to the training program. During the 12 months prior to the training, 22 percent of the December classes and 37 percent of the May trainees indicated some type of agricultural employment but farm labor included only 17 percent and 13 percent respectively for each class with the balance in processing or other related industries, with much of this being local rather than migratory work. Thus, the conclusion that migrant workers are being reached would be based on a more lengthy work history than 12 months prior to training. Current information indicates that it is primarily the non-migrant who is involved in the retraining-relocation program, thus such workers would be more receptive to routinized employment.

CONCLUSIONS

This pilot project with cooperation between private enterprise and government agencies provides an excellent workshop for testing applicability of relocation programs. It appears that at least for certain types of jobs, and under the proper conditions, South Texas residents are willing to live in areas other than South Texas. Perhaps the tie to geographical area and families is overridden by other aspects of the value system, particularly occupational employment. Relatively prestigious jobs, such as working with aircraft, have certain appeals that may not be found in other occuaptions.

While much information remains to be analyzed, one thing is very clear at this point--retention success in mobility projects where training and counseling was included prior to relocation has a very positive influence on trainees staying in a metropolitan area. This preconditioning period provides a mental buffer due to the fact that the trainee begins to identify with the new employer prior to moving, and he is forced to think about the change in his life before he actually moves. The second facet of successful adjustment appears to be the advantage of mobility money for relocation expenses. Anxiety due to financial pressure encountered by expenses for moving and setting up housekeeping in a new area is kept to a minumum; therefore, the individuals are less heaitant in trying a new way of life as found in metropolitan areas.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

There are many issues concerning the success of the program as well as the adjustment process that are not yet known. Naturally, further analysis of available data will clarify many of these although all possible facets of the program could not be included in this research project. The next research should include all of the social science disciplines as well as home economics.

One omission from the training program as well as the research is the lack of emphasis on adjustment by the wife, which is of major importance. This ommission showed up forceably when it was learned that out of the first 16 unsuccessful relocations, 10 returned to the supply area because their wives, in various ways, could not adjust to the move. Some of these men left their wives in South Texas and were then later unable to convince them to join them in the Grand Prairie area at a later time. Other wives simply did not like the metropolitan pace and would not stay even if their husbands were making more money than he had ever earned before.

Further research might include such topics as economic influence; family influence; reference group influence; more concentration on educational, occupational and economic aspirations for husbands and wives as well as children; differences between those who apply and those selected for training; employment of applicants who do not meet program requirements; how the receiving communities react to the relocatee; and what happens when certain predetermined goals are met--such as payment of debts, saving enough money to buy the store, or farm, and so forth. In order to learn more about the adjustment process as applied to displaced agricultural workers, in-depth research should be conducted on those individuals who had a recent history of migrant work.

More information is needed in order to predict how much surplus rural manpower there will be and where they will be located in order to develop training programs that are able to match labor demands and supply before an area has too many unemployed workers. Such information would require inputs from agricultural engineers, crop and soil scientists, livestock specialists, agricultural economist, and others who may be developing innovations which substitute capital and technology for labor.

Much discussion has centered around what ought to be done for agricultural laborers. However, economic or social aspirations they hold for themselves or their families are not well known. Such knowledge could be an important beginning point for other types of ameliorative programs.

On the surface it appears that the return rate for dollar invested is extremely favorable for the approach described in this paper. An in-depth analysis of the total cost including administration and private contributions should be included in future research in order to compare this type of training program with other types of programs designed to assist the unemployed.

It has been established by this pilot program that pressure created by the manpower imbalance might be alleviated through retraining-relocation programs. Even though adjustment problems associated with relocation have not been analyzed yet, it is felt that with the proper approach, relocation is possible. When there is a surplus of rural disadvantaged people, is it more feasible to relocate people or relocate industry? This decision gets at the basic social and economic costs associated with each alternative. It cuts across economic, psychological, political, educational, as well as social lines of inquiry.

The point is that research is needed to determine consequences associated with the selection of one alternative over the other.

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IDENTIFYING THE POWER STRUCTURE OF SMALL COMMUNITIES

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Frequently sociologists are called upon to act as advisors for community development programs and for various other programs involving community action. One of the assumptions underlying many such programs is that the best way to reach the masses and to have an effective action program is to have the program enacted by the local community leaders. Therefore, the identification of leaders is especially significant for community action programs. One of the first steps of a successful community action program is identifying the key leaders in a community and gaining their support in accomplishing the proposed change. With the support of the leaders, the action program can be greatly facilitated in being communicated to other members of the community, in eliciting a decision from community members to act on the problem, and in carrying forth the proposed plan of action. Many change agents have been made painfully aware of their failure to involve or at least inform key people in the power structure of their intentions by the failure of their project. Therefore a basic understanding of how to identify leaders and involve them in or make them aware of his program becomes an essential criterion for the community change agent.[1]

Review of Literature

Studies on delineating the power structure of communities may be grouped into at least three broad categories according to the approach utilized in identifying leaders. The three distinct approaches are the reputational approach, the decisional or action analysis approach and the positional approach. Each approach has its own conception of what constitutes power and leadership; each makes certain assumptions; and each appears to get results which can be predicted to a certain extent.[2]

Reputational Approach. The reputational approach is probably the most frequently used within the discipline of sociology. It is straightforward and easy to apply in any community, regardless of size; it possesses face validity, and obtains results that can be easily verified.[3] The basic technique of the reputational approach consists of asking the local residents of a community to identify the leaders of their community; the form of the question varies from describing a hypothetical situation[4] to simply asking for names of those individuals "who get things done around here."[5] The respondents may be selected by using a random sample of the entire community members, by beginning with individuals designated as "community knowledgeables" or a panel of experts or by using a "snowball" or "cobweb" technique.[6] With the snowball technique, the naming of leaders is pursued until some consensus is found among the respondents' nominations.

The basic assumption of the reputational approach is that local residents can perceive which of their associates are leaders. The conception of power utilized in the reputational approach is that one who leads in local activities will be known as a "leader" by other community residents and that the best way to identify leaders is simply to ask local residents.[7] The dimension of leadership measured by the reputational approach is the reputed power or influence of local residents. Critics of this approach maintain that reputation for power is not a valid index of actual power and purpose instead that a series of community decisions be studied to see who is most influential.

Decisional or Action Analysis Approach. In studying community power structure political scientists appear to prefer using an action analysis approach.[8] This approach involves an analysis of community actions and of the participators. The underlying assumptions of action analysis are that a study of vital community actions will reveal the nature of participation within the community and that active participation in such actions is a valid index of community power. The collection of data usually must depend upon "historical reconstruction" by community residents. This method is usually supplemented by utilizing records, newspaper accounts, correspondence, and other sources.

Action analysis has the advantage of identifying overt power rather than power potential or diffuse reputed power. Action analysis also has several weaknesses. First of all, any act of behavior in any action selected for analysis is defined as a leadership act which leads to over-inclusion. The criteria used in selecting actions for analysis also vary from study to study.[9] No study reviewed has considered the full range of actions which come before a particular decision-maker. Most actions chosen for analysis are also on the more dramatic side, many of which are controversies. These perhaps bias the analysis against issues which are settled without becoming controversies. This technique thus ignores the community actors who keep latent issues from emerging into controversies.[10]

Positional Approach. Another alternative to studying the power structure of a community is provided by the positional approach.[11] The basic assumption of the positional approach is that those individuals holding key positions in a community actually make key decisions in community affairs.[12] This approach possesses face validity; that is, once the key positions are identified, there is little question as to who occupies each position. However, there is the problem of deciding which positions are indeed key positions. There is further question as to whether all formal positions are actually leadership positions, thereby suggesting the possibility of over-inclusion.13 It appears that the positional approach can designate individuals who possess "potential" power, but these individuals may or may not exercise their power.

The findings of community power structure studies are varied. The types of power structures described are numerous. Some researchers claim that the type of power structure identified may be viewed as an "artifact" of the method used.[14] For example, Walton stated that the reputational method tends to identify pyramidal power structures while the action analysis approach discovers factional and coalitional power structures. On the other hand, a recent research project undertook the study of two communities by using all three approaches, each approach partially compensating for the weaknesses of the others. It was reported that a relatively small grouping of individuals would have been identified in each of the communities studied, regardless which of the traditional approaches had been used.[15]

Community Characteristics as Explanatory Factors

There may be a better explanation for the various findings than their just being an artifact of the methods used. Duncan and Schnore were among the first to suggest that there exists an association between types of communities and types of power structures.[16] This explanation was corroborated by the data in this research project.

The research was designed to partially reduce some of the deficiencies in the present research: (1) the methodological question as to which approach is the most valid; (2) the lack of comparative analysis between communities, especially dissimilar communities; and (3) the lack of a general theory of community power structure. The research project is divided into three phases. It will involve using all three approaches for identifying the power structures of two communities which are distinctly different. Currently, only the first phase of the project has been completed; the findings reported herein are based upon the data gathered by using the reputational approach.

Research Sites. Two communities in Texas within a population range of 8,500 to 11,500 were selected primarily because they differed consistently on the following variables: (a) ethnic and occupation composition, (b) occupational mobility, (c) metropolitan influence, and (d) population increase. Oiltown was located in West Texas in one of the largest oil-producing counties of the United States. It had a population of 11,135 which represented a 238.0 percent increase over the 1950 population. It was during the 1950-60 time period that the region reached its height in oil production. Less than one percent of the community's population was employed in agriculture; the occupational mobility index indicated that the proportion of the labor force in manufacturing occupations was increasing rapidly. Oiltown had a very low proportion of nonwhites (2.4 percent) as well as a very low proportion of families with a Spanish surname (3.9 percent). The proportion of families with incomes under $3,000 was low and the proportion with incomes over $10,000 was high; this resulted in a median family income of $6,432. The median number of school years complete was 11.7. In addition to the above characteristics, Oiltown was within 45 miles of two metropolitan areas.

Farmersville was located in Southwest Texas in a fertile agricultural region. Its population of 9,101 had increased only 26.4 percent since 1950. Farmersville had a low proportion of nonwhites; however, 74.4 percent of its population had a Spanish surname. It had a higher proportion of persons employed in agriculture than Oiltown, and the population had experienced very little change to manufacturing since 1950. In contrast to Oiltown, over 66 percent of Farmersville's families had an annual income of less than $3,000 and a very small percent had an income over $10,000; this resulted in a median family income of only $2,190. In addition, the median education level of the population was 3.9 years. Finally, Farmersville was over one hundred miles from the nearest metropolitan area, and, consequently, was assumed to be under little metropolitan influence.

Selection of Respondents. Beginning with the Manager of the Chamber of Commerce of both communities and continuing with the chain-referral technique, each respondent was asked to name those individuals whom he considered to be leaders on many types of issues and the individuals who were leaders in special areas of community life. After 31 interviews in Oiltown and 30 in Farmersville yielded lists of leaders with far more duplications than new names the interviews were terminated. It was then assumed that to be a general leader an individual would have to receive more than the mean number of nominations. Utilizing the mean number of nominations for those who received two or more nominations as a cut-off point, 20 general leaders receiving 68 percent of the nominations were identified in Oiltown and 13 receiving 60 percent of the nominations in Farmersville.

Power Structure Characteristics. One of the major criticisms of the reputational approach is that the earlier researchers assumed that the leaders identified acted as a group when in fact they have been merely an aggregate of individuals.[17] Sociograms and the sociometric statistic ratio of interest indicated that the power structures of Oiltown and Farmersville possessed group-like characteristics. Farmersville's power structure was slightly more cohesive, whereas, Oiltowns power structure had a small cohesive grouping of leaders within the larger grouping of top leaders. Both communities had leaders with a wide scope of influence. This was determined by the significant correlation between the general leaders and the limited interest leaders; however, the leaders of Oiltown were nominated in slightly more areas of community life than the leaders of Farmersville.

The concept differential perception refers to the fact that different segments of the population perceive different individuals as being leaders. This study analyzed the perception of leaders by the leaders and by the non-leaders. Spearman's rank correlation indicated that the power structures of both communities were recognized by both the leaders and the non-leaders. Eighty to eighty-five percent of the power structures were classified as visible leaders because they were attributed approximately the same amount of power by both the leaders and the non-leaders. It was also concluded that concealed and symbolic leaders existed in these small communities; that is, the leaders attributed more power to some individuals (concealed leaders,) than the non-leaders did, and the non-leaders attributed more power to a few other individuals (symbolic leaders). Oiltown had a power structure that was highly recognized by both leaders and non-leaders, whereas in Farmersville there was slightly less consensus. In general, the power structures of both communities were highly visible; this was partially explained by the fact that the leaders held the majority of the formal leadership positions in both communities.

In substance, Oiltown's power structure was more overt, had more formally constituted power, had slightly less group-like characteristics, and tended to be generalized in scope of influence. In contrast, Farmersville's power structure was more covert, had a more cohesive grouping of leaders representing fewer authority positions, and tended to be generalized in scope of influence.

Community Characteristics. Jonassen and Peres have identified and measured seven variables--urbanism, welfare, influx, poverty, magni-complexity, educational effort, and proletarianism--which can fully describe a community;[18] the variables operate independently of each other and appear to differentiate types of communities. In terms of these factors, Oiltown possessed such characteristics as a heterogeneous economic base, high employment rate, continuous population growth, adequate wealth, and high educational health levels. Farmersville ranked higher in characteristics indicating a relatively stable population, a less diversified economy, unskilled workers with low wages, and low educational and health levels.

The Relationship Between Power Structure Characteristics and Community Characteristics. It was hypothesized in this study that as the characteristics of communities vary, the characteristics of their power structures also vary.[19] The relationships between the community characteristics--urbanism, welfare, influx, poverty, magni-complexity, educational effort, and proletarianism--and the power structure characteristics--cohesiveness, visibility, specialty, and authority--were examined;[20] seventeen of twenty-eight hypotheses were supported by the data. It was determined that communities such as Oiltown which rank high in the factors of urbanism, welfare, influx, and low in poverty and proletarianism would produce a power structure which is more overt in nature or visible to the community at large, has more formally constituted power, and is less group-like in its characteristics or less cohesive. In contrast, communities such as Farmersville which rank higher in the factors of proletarianism and poverty and lower in urbanism, welfare, and influx would have a power structure characterized by a cohesive grouping of leaders, fewer authority positions, more covert action, and generalized leadership.

Except for the community characteristic educational effort, these conclusions correlate those of Bonjean's study; he surmized the following: "A large community growing even larger, having a small working class, and putting forth a relatively high degree of educational effort...seems more likely to be guided by recognized leaders with some degree of legitimized power...Smaller, stable, less complex communities with larger working classes and less expenditure for education appear more likely to be 'ruled' by the covert type of economic elite..."[21]

The community characteristics associated with Oiltown may be considered indicative of a community with numerous vertical ties to extracommunity systems such as a national manufacturing company, governmental agencies, etc; this in turn would indicate a community with diversified elements. This diversity of the community denies the leaders association with each other and, thereby, prevents the cementing of personal relationships. In other words, the power structures of urbanized communities are less cohesive because of the absense of opportunities for cooperative associations to develop among its various leaders.

A community with characteristics capable of producing a less cohesive power structure would also produce a power structure that is visible to the community at large. This visibility would result from a competition of interests among the leaders, activity in public affairs by an educated public, and broad economic and political bases within the community.

It is also reasonable to assume that an urbanized community is constituted by many more people who have the same type of problems. These numerous people seek a solution to their problems by presenting those problems to community leaders. This creates a demand for the development of an administrative organization designed to aid or formulate a solution for their problems. Therefore, the more urbanized the community, the greater the number of authority positions found in the power structure. In addition, Vidich and Bensman suggested that frequently these authority positions are bestowed upon the leaders of a small community as an honor.[22] An outstanding leader of the community may be nominated for an office in the context that "it is about time Lee is made president because of everything he's done."[23]

Implications

In conclusion, several theoretical, methodological and practical implications will be drawn. In terms of theories of community power, it was concluded that the type of power structure that exists in the community is determined by the characteristics of the community. Power structure characteristics refer to whether the leaders are visible or covert and types of power structures in the literature have been referred to as ruling elites, fluid coalitions and pluralistic structures. Furthermore, one may hypothesize that the community characteristics discussed in this paper are related to the number of vertical ties of the community under observation. It appears, therefore, that the increasing strength in development of vertical ties is producing pluralism within the power structures of the communities. Thus, it may be anticipated that as communities with strong vertical ties develop in the future, a pluralistic power structure will also develop. There is a need, however, to know more about the nature of the vertical ties of a community. In other words, are there different types of vertical ties, and, if so, will all types contribute to a pluralistic power structure, or will only certain types of vertical ties have such an effect? Also relevent is a method by which the number of vertical ties a community possesses could be determined; this would allow a community to be characterized as increasing or decreasing in vertical relationships, and therefore, as progressing toward or away from a pluralistic power structure in lieu of the hypothesis suggested above.

The major methodological implication is that the research can be taken as partial validation of the reputational approach. That is, the reputational procedure appears to have in fact identified the leadership structures of Farmersville and Oiltown. The second step in the research, an analysis of the roles of the individuals identified as reputational leaders in conducting community development programs, will either substantiate or refute this contention.

The major practical implication is the suggested methodology for identifying community leaders. By systematically selecting community informants, it is possible to identify the major community leaders within a relatively short time span. This procedure should be of great utility to change agents who have the responsibility for conducting community action programs.

FOOTNOTES

1. Obviously, community action programs may fail for reasons other than failure to involve community leaders. For example, the people may fail to understand the proposed change, may not rank it high in terms of importance, or may simply oppose the program. However, this paper focuses only on the leadership aspect of social change.

2. For a review of the relevant literature, see the following sources. Charles M. Bonjean and David M. Olson, "Community Leadership: Directions of Research," Administrative Science Quarterly, 9 (December, 1964), p. 284. Some studies which use this approach include Delbert C. Miller, "Decision-Making Cliques in Community Power Structures: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," American Journal of Sociology, 64 (December, 1958), pp. 299-310; Charles M. Bonjean, "Community Leadership: A Case Study and Conceptual Refinement," American Journal of Sociology, 68 (May, 1963), pp. 672-681; A. Alexander Fanelli, "A Typology of Community Leadership Based on Influence and Interaction within the Leader Subsystem." Social Forces, 34 (May 1952), pp. 332-338; Delbert C. Miller and James L. Dirksen, "The Identification of Visible, Concealed, and Symbolic Leaders in a Small Indiana City: A Replication of the Bonjean-Noland Study of Burlington, N.C." Social Forces, 43 (May, 1965), pp. 548-555; Robert E. Agger, "Power Attributions in the Local Community: Theoretical and Research Considerations," Social Forces, 34 (May, 1956), pp. 322-

331; Robert O. Schulze and Leonard U. Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," American Journal of Sociology, 63 (November, 1957), pp. 290-296; William D'Antonio and Eugene C. Erickson, "The Reputational Technique as a Measure of Community Power: An Evaluation Based on Comparative and Longitudinal Studies," American Sociological Review, 27 (June, 1962), pp. 362-376.

3. John Walton, "Substance and Artifact: The Current Status of Research on Community Power Structure," American Journal of Sociology, 71 (January, 1966), p. 430; Harry R. Dick, "A Method for Ranking Community Influentials," American Sociological Review, 24 (June, 1960), p. 395.

4. Miller, *op. cit.*

5. Bonjean, *op. cit.*

6. Bonjean and Olson, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-284. Studies which utilized these techniques are as follows: Random sample by M. Elaine Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962); Smith and Hood, *op. cit.*; Fanelli, *op. cit.*; Cobweb effect by Charles Michael Bonjean, "Community Leadership: A Conceptual Refinement and Comparative Analysis," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1963; Community knowledgeables by James Dene Preston, "A Typology of Community Leadership," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Mississippi State University, January, 1967, p. 5, and D'Antonio and Erickson, *op. cit.*

7. Preston, op. cit., p. 5.

8. Nelson W. Polsby, "Three Problems in the Analysis of Community Power," American Sociological Review, 24 (December, 1959), pp. 796-803; Nelson W. Polsby, "How to Study Community Power: The Pluralistic Alternative, The Journal of Politics, 22 (August, 1960), pp. 474-484.

9. Nelson Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 96.

10. Ernest A.T. Barth and Stuart D. Johnson, "Community Power and a Typology of Social Issues," Social Forces, 28 (October, 1959), p. 29.

11. Samuel Stouffer, Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties (Garden City, New York; Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955); Robert O. Schulze, "The Role of Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," American Sociological Review, 23 (February, 1958), pp. 3-9; William H. Form and Warren L. Sauer, "Labor and Community Influentials: A Comparative Study of Participation and Imagery," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 17 (October, 1963), pp. 3-19.

12. Preston, op. cit., p. 8.

13. Linton C. Freeman, Thomas J. Fararo, Warner Bloomberg, Jr., and Morris H. Sunshine, "Metropolitan Decision-Making" (Paper #28 in series of papers on Adult Education published by University College of Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, 1962), cited by Preston, op. cit., p. 9.

14. Walton, op. cit.; Linton C. Freeman, Thomas J. Fararo, Warner Bloomberg, Jr., and Morris H. Sunshine, "Locating Leaders in Local Communities: A Comparison of Some Alternative Approaches," American Sociological Review, 28 (October, 1963), pp. 791-798.

15. Preston, op. cit., p. 155.

16. Otis Dudley Duncan and Leo F. Schnore, "Cultural, Behavioral, and Ecological Perspectives in the Study of Social Organization," American Journal of Sociology, 65 (September, 1959), p. 139.

17. Polsby, "Three Problems in the Analysis of Community Power," op. cit.

18. Christen T. Jonassen and Sherwood H. Peres, Interrelationships of Dimensions of Community Systems: A Factor Analysis of Eighty-Two Variables, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1960).

19. The hypotheses tested in this study were those originally suggested by Charles Michael Bonjean, "Community Leadership: A Conceptual Refinement and Comparative Analysis."

20. These power structure characteristics were selected because they comprise the five ideal type power structures by Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

21. Bonjean "Community Leadership: A Conceptual Refinement"*op. cit.*, pp. 164-165.

22. Authur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Incorporated, 1958), p. 256.

23. *Ibid.*