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A DESCRIPTION OF THE INFORMAL COMMUNITY POWER
    STRUCTURE AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE
    BELIEFS OF THE INFLUENTIALS TO THE
    APPROVAL OF THE SCHOOL DISTRICT'S
                    OPERATING TAX LEVY
                By
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            for the Degree of
            DOCTOR OF EDUCATION
            May, 1972
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A DESCRIPTION OF THE INFORMAL COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE BELIEFS OF THE INFLUENTIALS TO THE APPROVAL OF THE SCHOOL DISTRICT'S OPERATING TAX LEVY

Thesis Approved:


## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer would like to take this opportunity to express his gratitude to the members of his dissertation advisory committee, Dr. Richard P.Jungers, Chairman, Dr. Ralph A. Brann, Dr. Bill F. Elsom, Dr. Richard L. Teague, and Professor Wilson J. Bentley, whose tragic death occurred prior to the completion of this study. Special appreciation is extended to the superintendents and citizens of the communities who gave of their time and assistance in providing much of the data for this study.

To the writer's wife, Shirley, and children, Shari and Steve, a very special thanks is offered for their understanding, patience, and encour agement.

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## GHAPTER I

## PRESENTATION OF THE PROBLEM

## Introduction

Missouri's voters defeated a proposal to permit school property taxes to be raised from a maximum of $\$ 1.25$ on each $\$ 100$ of assessed value to a top of $\$ 1.85$ without any election. The plan also would have permitted a maximum rate of $\$ 5.55$ up from \$3.75, by approval of a simple majority. The requirement for that rate, thus remains a two-thirds vote. ${ }^{1}$

The school administrator of Missouri has attempted to relate the needs of the school to the community under a stringent legal constraint. There is a definite need for the school administrator to establish a more effective relationship with the power structure of the community. This will enable the administrator to relate the school's needs, goals, conditions and accomplishments to the community.

Eighty-five school districts in Missouri have current levies of $\$ 3.75$ or more, More than one-third of Missouri's public school pupils are enrolled in these districts. Some of the districts reduced their educational programs to the level that could be operated on the $\$ 3.75$ levy after repeated failure to secure the two-thirds majority on needed levies. ". : . the problem is most serious in the metropolitan areas around St. Louis and Kansas City. . . ." ${ }^{2}$

In 1969, thirty-four districts in Missouri proposed tax rates above $\$ 3.75$. On the first vote, twenty-eight failed to attain the required two-thirds favorable vote. Four districts needed seven
attempts that year, although all passed their levies before school opened that fall. ${ }^{3}$

By September 15, 1970, there were ten school districts in Missouri that had not successfully voted their current levies. These ten districts involved 102,046 students and 4,417 teachers. ${ }^{4}$ Some of the districts attempted to pass the levy by a two-thirds majority as many as eight times. As of November 1, 1970, two school districts were operating without the approval of their tax levy until all funds were depleted. 5 Extra elections held by St. Louis area school districts for the 1970-71 school year to pass school tax levies cost more than $\$ 100,000{ }^{6}$

The constitutionality of the two-thirds provision has been challenged in the federal court under the one-man, one-vote ruling. On August 12, 1970, a three-judge federal court in the Western Missouri District upheld the two-thirds majority requirement for approving school levies and bonds as provided in the Missouri Constitution. ${ }^{7}$ An appeal is planned by the Missouri State Teachers Association and the final determination is to be made by the United States Supreme Court.

In the meantime, public school administrators in Missouri are searching for ways of obtaining the required majority in operating tax levies. Many ideas and attempts have been proven unsuccessful and the school administrator is searching for solutions to this complex task.

The research of Ralph B. Kimbrough in the southeastern portion of the United States indicates a political linkage between the local school district and the community, ${ }^{8}$ Kimbrough has found that local school districts tend to be one element of community government which is greatly influenced, if not dominated, by an informal power structure.

He has stressed that too much time is spent by school administrators on the formal institutional mode of education at the local district level. His findings note the importance of the administrator's recognition of differences of political power among citizens and the use of that knowledge to obtain the cooperation of leaders in the informal power structure, Kimbrough has suggested that school administrators devote more consideration to the informal community power structure by being able to identify these influentials and understand their beliefs and values in order to direct their influence in an area that would be most valuable to the educational element of the community. ${ }^{9}$

Bailey, et al. have concluded that inadequate knowledge and insufficient understanding of politics are major factors preventing education from providing effective leadership in obtaining financial support for the schools. ${ }^{10}$ Spiess has also concluded that the study of community power, influence and political patterns as related to education are very inadequate. ${ }^{11}$

It would appear from these studies that the public school administrator of Missouri would benefit from a knowledge of the informal power structure and the beliefs of the influentials. This would be of value in attempting to obtain the required two-thirds majority vote on a school district's operating tax election,

Carver and Crowe state that: ". . . familiarity with this social reality is mandated if the school administrator, as a representative of the educational institution, is to function effectively in the milieu of the larger community."12

Statement of the Problem

The research problem for this project is to determine whether or not beliefs of community influentials are related to successful and unsuccessful tax levy elections.

Through the identification of the informal power structure and an assessment of the civic and educational beliefs of the identified influentials, the investigator believes that this study will be of value and assistance to the school administrator. The findings of this study will add to the store of knowledge concerning community power structure.

Who defeats school levies? Why do parents vote against what appears to be the clear self-interest of their own children? Failures of levies for schools have become such common occurrences that newspaper stories of their defeat and the resultant school closing are lumped together on the back pages under small headines.

Defeated levies mean resubmission of the proposal, resulting in: additional expense; halting of educational planning and program development; resubmitted proposals at a reduced level after needed educational services have been eliminated; uncertainty about employment, salary, and length of school term.

School administrators have kept schools open in the face of riots, arson, and the demands of the militant, and now schools are being closed by the law-abiding citizens who withhold their support. "It is a sad commentary that what rocks and attacks and burnings have failed to do, the unconcerned citizen has accomplished with ease."13

The usual explanation for the defeat of a tax levy is that people are tired of increasing taxes and schools are the most vulnerable
target for the taxpayers' revolt. This may be true, but this does not provide an answer to the school administrator's perplexing task.

## The Purpose

The purpose of this study is to aid the public school administrator in identifying and working with the informal community power structure to more effectively gain voter approval of the school district's operating tax levy. New sources of communication may be made available to the administrator through a greater knowledge of the identification and beliefs of the informal community power structure. The administrator may expect a successful tax levy election with greater understanding, knowledge and cooperation of the informal community power structure.

At the time of this study a review of related literature did not reveal a study of community power structure that was based on a school district operating tax levy. Therefore, a study of this nature should be of value to further research and knowledge of the community power structure as it is related to education.

## The Objectives

The first objective of this study was to select suburban communities that were similar in social climate but differed in their financial support of their school district. The financial support was based on the successful or unsuccessful operating tax levy election.

The second objective was to identify the power structure of the selected communities through the use of a reputational technique,

The third objective was to classify the identified power structures as either monolithic, pluralistic or amorphous.

The fourth objective was to assess the civic and educational beliefs of the identified influentials through the use of the civic and educational scales developed by Kimbrough. ${ }^{14}$ This was accomplished through a personal interview with each influential responding to all items on the scale.

The fifth objective was to make statistical analyses of the responses to the civic and educational beliefs' scales and determine if a significant difference existed between the selected communities. Also, a correlation technique was used to describe the relationship of the influentials' beliefs between and within communities.
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## CHAPTER II

## THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND CONCEPTUALIZATION

Review of Related Literature

A review of the literature reveals that the school administrator has not been consistently effective in relating the school's needs to the community power structure.

## Community Power Structure

The study of community power has become attractive to two groups, essentially, with some interest evidenced by a third. The sociologists were the first to venture into large-scale community analysis, later developing into specialized inquiries such as the study of community leadership, power, decision making and change. Upon publication of Floyd Hunter's Community Power Structure in 1953 , ${ }^{1}$ political scientists became interested. This interest was in large measure directly attributable to the fact that Hunter was a sociologist, venturing out with a comprehensive statement about the political world. The third group is made up of a small number of professors of educational administration, who have viewed the study of community power as being particularly relevant to their primary interests. The professors of educational administration have used the theoretical and empirical work of both sociologists and political scientists. ${ }^{2}$

A growing body of research about community power structure suggests that many of the decisions to allocate resources in many communities are effectively controlled by a, relatively speaking, small number of power holders. ${ }^{3}$ Cunningham suggests that investigators researching the problem must not assume that educational decision-making exists in a vacuum apart from decisions made in the private economy. ${ }^{4}$

Floyd Hunter's publication of Community Power Structure had an impact upon the study of political behavior in the community. ${ }^{5}$ His postulation of a monopolistic informal power structure was a thrust upon a field of study which had somehow become complacent.

Hunter's publication was followed by a number of major studies in most regions of the United States by such writers as Pellegrin and Caotes ${ }^{6}$, Agger ${ }^{7}$, D'Antonio, et al. ${ }^{8}$, Schulze ${ }^{9}$, Miller ${ }^{10}$, Webb $^{11}$, Goldhammer ${ }^{12}$, and Belknap ${ }^{13}$. Most of these writers used the reputational technique employed by Hunter. Other studies by Dah1 ${ }^{14}$, Banfield ${ }^{15}$, and Freeman ${ }^{16}$, used the decision analysis technique recommended by Dahl in his noted study of New Haven ${ }^{17}$.

The discrepancy in findings reported by different researchers resulted in a debate over the method for study, Dah1 ${ }^{18}$, Polsby ${ }^{19}$, Wolfinger ${ }^{20}$, and Kaufman ${ }^{21}$ have been critics of the reputational technique. The decision approach has also come under some strong criticism by such writers as Price ${ }^{22}$, Anton ${ }^{23}$, and Janowitz ${ }^{24}$. D'Antonio ${ }^{25}$, Agger ${ }^{26}$, Gourley ${ }^{27}$, Schulze and Blumberg ${ }^{28}$ have presented data which tend to support the reputational approach. Some writers like Rossi ${ }^{29}$ and Fisher ${ }^{30}$ have attempted to examine the strengths and weaknesses of both the contemporary and past approaches to the study of power.

This controversy over method appears to have run its course. Studies by Wellman ${ }^{31}$, Gour ley ${ }^{32}$, and Wilson ${ }^{33}$, which used elements of both techniques, failed to show the great discrepancy attributed by critics to the reputational technique.

Presthus made a study in which he made a comparison of both techniques. He reported that the reputational technique tended to identify those men of power who remained behind-the-scenes, whereas the decision technique tended to identify more of the overt "leg men" in the process of decision-making. ${ }^{34}$

D'Antonio and Erickson found that the reputational technique had a high degree of reliability as high correlations were found between individuals chosen as influentials in a specific area and those chosen as general community influentials. ${ }^{35}$ Kimbrough states that; "The reputational technique is the most popular approach for the analysis of community power structure." ${ }^{36}$ Teague has concluded: "The findings of this study definitely warrant the conclusion that a reputation for power constitutes actual power." ${ }^{37}$

The literature indicates that different typologies of power exist rather than one model for all local communities. Form and Miller propose variations in the structure of power for different communities. ${ }^{38}$ Kammerer and associates found variations of monopolistic and competitive power structures in selected power structures in selected Florida cities. ${ }^{39}$ Kimbrough has suggested the concept of a continuum of power in which variations of monopolistic, competitive and pluralistic models of power structure may be located. ${ }^{40}$

For this study, the power structures will be classified as either; monolithic - one group of influential leaders dominating the
decision-making process of a community; pluralistic - several groups of influential leaders active in the decision-making process with no single group controlling all of the major policy decisions of a community; or amorphous - no group of influential leaders can be identified as dominating the decision-making process of a community.

## Beliefs and Values

Campbell and Gregg in their review of research findings concerning the multiple variables influencing administrative behavior, pointed to the need to research community value patterns, power structure variables, and the effect of both overt and covert behavior upon administrative behavior. They concluded that "Community control is exercised by a handful of influential people who seem, for the most part, to be willingly accorded their positions of influence by their fellow citizens."41

The relationship between certain social and economic beliefs and the level of financial support of the public economy has been emphasized by Galbraith ${ }^{42}$ and Johns and Morphet ${ }^{43}$. Kimbrough and Levine have demonstrated that this relationship is more real than imaginary. Levine found that the economic conservative was conservative in matters regarding expenditures of public funds. 44

Kimbrough found that power wielders who held individualistic patterns of operational beliefs were conservative toward the financial support of public programs. He concluded that a conservative leader would be conservative whether he was operating in the area of politics, economics or education. ${ }^{45}$ Kimball Wiles has stated that: "The changes that may be made in a school program are limited by the beliefs and
decisions of the community power structure. ${ }^{46}$ Meredith has found that the civic beliefs of the influentials in the local community power structure appeared to be of considerable importance to the decisionmaking process. 47

Combs and Snygg point out that man acts in relation to his perceptions and that his perceptions are largely influenced by his beliefs and values. ${ }^{48}$ Practicing psychologists tend to accept the assumption that the beliefs of people guide and determine their action in all human endeavors as is evidenced by the many psychological studies concerning the beliefs of people. However, these studies have not included an examination of beliefs and their relation to financial support for education or the type of decision-making structure of the local community.

## Community Financial Effort

In an extensive review of ability and effort among school districts and states, John and Morphet found that there was very little research to explain differences in effort among the districts of comparable ability. They offered two possible areas to be researched: (1) The cultural level of the people; and (2) The quality of educational leadership in the districts. ${ }^{49}$

Kimbrough's research directs attention to the important element of power system and its possible effect upon the level of local financial support for education. ${ }^{50}$ This project consisted of an analysis of power and decision-making in two school districts which had a similar social climate, but differed more than one and one-half standard deviations in local financial effort. This project is a significant study
because it was the first time that identical techniques were used to assess the power systems of two school districts having similar social climate indexes, but varying widely in local financial effort to support schools.

The findings suggest a far more extensive study of the behavioral factors in community power structure and other socioeconomic factors which are related to local school fiscal policy.

Studies by Miller ${ }^{51}$ and Hanson ${ }^{52}$ have demonstrated that knowledge of community power structure was very useful in predicting the successful passage of projects which stimulate interest in a community. Such studies have served to validate the importance of concepts of community power structure for educational leaders.

Conceptual Framework

Society, consisting of people and their interactions, comprises an enduring, co-operating social system so functioning as to maintain itself and to perpetuate its species. A community is conceived of as a social system within a larger social system, society. The community as a social system, is composed of individuals and their values, goals, norms and methods and their interaction patterns resulting in institutions such as schools, city government and religious organizations.

The interaction of these components compose the social behavior of the community. Social behavior results as individuals attempt to cope with an environment composed of patterns of expectations for their behavior in ways consistent with their own pattern of needs.

As individuals interact with other individuals and the environment, a consensus of beliefs is formed and this serves to guide their social
behavior within the community. These beliefs represent a state of mind in which trust, confidence, and reliance is placed on some person or thing. Shared beliefs may exist concerning one or all elements of the community such as religion, education or other civic issues and affect decisions made within the community.

The influence of these decisions is in the hands of a comparatively small number of individuals who have been afforded this influence by other people within the community. Individuals may acquire this influence for many reasons, Some of the reasons include: membership in a family which has been influential; vocational positions; and being personally involved in the community issue.

This influence may be in the form of social power in that the perception of a community need by an individual, who has been afforded influence by other members of the community, may have an effect upon other individuals within the community to influence their decisions in a particular way such as an affirmative vote on the school's tax levy election. Social power is used in this study as a concert of influence whereby the power structure would have the ability to affect the decision-making process in such a manner as to influence other persons to take action that they might not otherwise have taken.

The nature of the beliefs of the influentials will affect the beliefs of other individuals in the community in such a way as to influence the support of a community issue as is evidenced by the defeat or approval of a school's tax election. Beliefs of the influentials will be measured on a liberal - conservative scale. The investigator feels that a conservative consensus of beliefs of influentials within a community will not favor the approval of a school's operating tax,
whereas, a consensus of liberal beliefs of influentials in a community will favor an increase in a school's operating tax.

This concept is supported by Kimbrough's research which accepted the hypothesis that: "The top influentials in the school district exercising a low financial effort for education are more conservative than the top influentials in the high-effort district." 53

Therefore, it is imperative that the school administrator be able to identify the influentials of a community with an understanding of their beliefs to assist him in relating the school's needs, purposes, accomplishments and conditions to the community. Even though the beliefs of the influentials be conservative, this will provide the administrator a foundation upon which to structure his program in working with the community towards a successful tax election and the school's goals.

## Explanation of the Conceptual Mode1

The power structure variables in this study are envisioned in a pyramid structure (see Figure 1, page 16). The pyramid is often referred to in the literature relating to a monolithic community power structure. Rossi asserted that a power pyramid does exist in the local community. 54

Five basic community institutions (family, government, education, religion and economy) serve as the foundation of the pyramid with three emerging institutions (health, recreation and welfare) also being considered. Certain individuals and positions are selected from the community institutions and form the second level of the pyramid - the panel of know1edgeables.


Figure 1. Conceptual Model

The panel of knowledgeables consists of individuals in the community that are consistently involved in the decision-making process of the community. The hexagon shape is used for the members of the panel of knowledgeables to indicate that these individuals may be associated with more than one of the community institutions. Letters used in the model for the panel of knowledgeables designates the following positions: $n$ - newspaper editor; $v$ - veterinarian; $d$ - doctors; 1 lawyer; m - minister; u - utility management; b-bankers; a - agriculture; rm - retail merchant; s - school superintendent; sb - school board; c-city government; im - industry management; $p$ - politician; re - real estate; 11 - labor leader; po - police officer; bc - building contractor; cc-Chamber of Commerce; w - women's organization.

The consensus of the opinions of these panel members as to individuals in the community with a high degree of influence is the basis of identifying community influential leaders. The identified influential leaders of the community form the upper level of the pyramid and are considered the community power structure.

The pyramid serves as a fulcrum to describe the balance that is hypothesized between the tax levy and the beliefs of the influentials. The greater the consensus of liberal beliefs, the greater the probability of the sixty-six and two-third per cent affirmative vote that is required for a successful tax levy election. Likewise, the greater the consensus of conservative beliefs, the greater the probability of not achieving the desired outcome.

## Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were deduced from the preceding conceptual framework and review of related literature and served as a guide for data collection.
H.1. Each community will have a similar type of community power structure. (Type of structure being classified as either monolithic, pluralistic, or amorphous)
H.2. Influentials in a community which has experienced difficulty in passing a school's operating tax levy will score more conservatively on educational and civic beliefs' scales than influentials in a community which has not experienced difficulty in passing a school's operating tax levy.

H 3. There will be a greater consensus of beliefs of influentials within a community than between communities used in this study .

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## THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The Research Site

Two suburban communities were selected for this study that were similar in geographic location and socio-economic factors, but differed according to the number of attempts necessary to pass a school district's operating tax levy. These communities will be referred to as Community A and Community B throughout the study. Community A has not experienced an unsuccessful tax levy election, whereas, Community B has had to hold as many as eight tax levy elections in one school year before obtaining the sixty-six and two-thirds per cent favorable majority vote.

Communities $A$ and $B$ are contiguous, within the same county, and constitute adjoining school districts. Community A has a population of 19,708 and a median family income of $\$ 9,641.69$. Community $B$ has a population of 51,607 and a median family income of $\$ 10,813.45 .^{1}$

The number of people employed in the occupations of the county in which these communities are located are as follows: Agriculture 1,893; mining - 272; construction - 15,377; manufacturing - 89,226; transportation, communication and utilities - 30,240; wholesale trade 29,914; retail trade - 51,944; finance, insurance and real estate 25,979; services - 56,960; government - 43,589; and unclassified $40,865 \mathbf{~}^{2}$

The school system in Community A operates with a K-6-3-3 plan and has an assessed valuation of $\$ 48,960,056$. Two hundred and eighty teachers are employed in this school system with a student enrollment of 5,876 . For the 1969-70 school year, the school system had an expenditure per pupil of $\$ 668.00$ with an average daily attendance of $5,153 .{ }^{3}$

Community B's school system also operates with a K-6-3-3 plan and has an assessed valuation of $\$ 75,754,928$. Six hundred and sixteen teachers are employed in this school system with a student enrollment of 14,431. For the 1969-70 school year, the school system had an expenditure per pupil of $\$ 561.85$ with an average daily attendance of 13,319. ${ }^{4}$

## Data Collection

## Tax Election Results

The collection of data began by reviewing the results of previous operating tax levy election in Community $A$ and Community B. The data were recorded beginning with the 1967-68 school year, up to and including the 1971 spring elections.

## Identifying the Community

 Power StructuresThe reputational technique for identifying the community power structure was used for this study. When employing the reputational approach in the identification of influentials, the investigator is confronted with a basic problem of selecting a panel of persons who in turn will provide names of persons whom they believe have a significant impact upon vital decision-making processes within the community. The
term "panel" is operationally defined as the total aggregate of persons who submit a list of names to the investigator. It is important that persons comprising this panel represent a wide variety of interests in the community in order to avoid biasing the results and that they be significantly nearer to vital decision-making processes than a typical community resident.

The Chamber of Commerce and the superintendent of schools of each community were the primary sources for obtaining a list of names and positions to establish the panel of knowledgeables. A partial list of types of positions to be occupied by panel members includes the following: city councilmen and mayor; school superintendent; retail merchants; real estate agents; insurance agents; medical doctors; lawyers; industry management and labor leaders; ministers; newspaper editors; building contractors; women's organization leaders; bank officers; utilities management; Chamber of Commerce officers; service club leaders; and politicians.

A11 the members of the panels were interviewed and asked to identify individuals they considered to be influential in the community. Panel members were also asked to identify and discuss any particular issue and organization that they considered to be of importance in the community. Appendix B contains the interview guide that was used for this portion of the study.

After the names of the influentials were obtained from all the panel members, a tabulation of mentions was made to determine the names of the individuals that were mentioned most frequently. The individuals that were mentioned most frequently by the panel members were determined to be the community power structure; A definite number of
mentions was determined by the investigator to designate the power structure from other names mentioned by the panel of knowledgeables, after the nominations were tabulated and obvious breaks were observed in the array.

A methodological procedure for analyzing the responses of the panel members as developed by Teague was used in this study. ${ }^{5}$ The procedure facilitates a concise, graphic summary of numbers and patterns of mentions. The basic format for this procedure is a conventional sociograph folded and overlayed along a diagonal line from left top to right bottom. The resulting matrix may be demonstrated by drawing vertical lines spaced about equally with the horizontal lines on a sheet of ruled paper and folding the sheet diagonally from the upper left corner to the lower right one. Holding the folded chart before a light, the position of the fold may be adjusted such that each vertical column drawn on the sheet is divided into two columns by the previously horizontal lines. A resulting matrix is illustrated below. The matrix is structured such that a high incidence of mentions and mutual mentions among a particular group of persons will assume the form of a cluster of "x's" at some particular point in the matrix.

| John Doe | 1 |  | 3 | 4 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Henry Jones | $\times 1$ | 2 |  |  |  |
| Dave Down | 1 | xx |  |  |  |
| Frank Pope | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |  |
| Bill Sail | 1 | $1 \times$ | $1 \times$ | 1 | 5 |
| no. given | 0 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| no. received | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| no. mutual | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |

Record mentions given in left half of squares across rows and right half of squares down columns.

Read mentions received in right half of squares across rows and left half of squares down columns.

Employing the above format, matrices were constructed for the panel members whose names were also mentioned as being influential. Matrices were also constructed for the identified community power
structures to determine the amount of consensus among community influentials.

## Interviewing the Power Structures

The identified power figures of each community were then contacted and interviewed by the investigator to obtain background information such as: age; occupation; schooling; organizational membership; length of residence in the community; number of children; number of adult relatives living in the community; and other information as contained in the interview guide in Appendix $C$.

After obtaining the above data and discussing community issues and organizations with the influentials, they were then asked to respond to an alphabetical listing of names that had been obtained from the panel of knowledgeables. The names listed had been mentioned frequently, but included more than the identified power structure. This technique was an attempt to determine if the power structures' opinions concerning community influence were similar to those of the panel of knowledgeables.

The influentials were to check the appropriate column for each name listed according to the amount of influence they perceived the individual to possess. An illustration is given below. For example, if leader A-3 felt that Henry Jones possessed exceptionally strong community influence, he would mark the appropriate column as indicated in the illustration. However, Henry Jones may have received only four .mentions from the panel of knowledgeables as compared with eleven or more mentions received by the power structure figures.

|  | Exceptionally Strong Community Influence (5) | Strong Community Influence (4) | Some Community Influence (3) | Little Community Influence (2) | Very <br> Little <br> Community <br> Influence <br> (1) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| John Doe |  |  |  |  |  |
| Henry Jones | X |  |  |  |  |
| Dave Down |  |  |  |  |  |

Each column was given a value ranging from one through five with very little community influence having a value of one to exceptionally strong community influence having a value of five. An individual's score was then determined by summing all the responses of the influentials and ranking the total scores. A comparison was then made between the rankings of the panel of knowledgeables and the rankings of the power structures.

## Civic and Educational Beliefs

CIvic and educational belief scores were determined for each member of the two community power structures through the administration of a sixty-four item opinionnaire. The Civic Beliefs Scale was developed by Professors Vynce A. Hines and Ralph B. Kimbrough at the University of Florida as a sixty item opinionnaire. ${ }^{26}$ In order to shorten the scale, fifteen of the items on the original scale were deleted and nineteen items dealing specifically with educational matters were added by Kimbrough. ${ }^{27}$

Civic and educational belief scores were determined on a liberalism-conservatism scale. Forty-five opinionnaire items constituted the civic belief scale. These included the following topics: foreign affairs - three items; economics - thirteen items; function of
government - eleven items; public finance - eight items; and nature of man and society - ten items. Of these items, thirty-two were stated as conservative items and thirteen were stated as liberal items.

Nineteen statements on the opinionnaire dealt with educational beliefs. These included: finance - five items; responsibility for providing education - four items; value of education - three items; curriculum - three items; and pupil discipline - four items. Of these items, twelve were stated as conservative items and seven were stated as liberal items.

## Data Analysis

## Scoring the Opinionnaire

The response to each item on the opinionnaire was scored on a one-to-five point scale. When a respondent indicated that he strongly agreed with a liberal statement, he was assigned five points. When he strongly agreed with a conservative statement, he was assigned one point. The values given to each response for both liberal and conservative items are indicated below.

|  | Liberal <br> Items | Conservative <br> Items |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| SA - Strongly Agree | 5 | 1 |
| A - Agree |  |  |
| N - Neither Agree nor |  |  |
| Disagree | 4 | 2 |
| D - Disagree | 3 | 3 |
| SD - Strongly Disagree | 2 | 4 |
| It can be noted, therefore, that the higher the score attained on |  |  |
| Educational and Civic Belief Scales, the more liberal were the |  |  |

score attained on the instrument, the more conservative were the individuals' beliefs.

Each individual's score was computed separately on the two portions of the instrument (educational beliefs, 1-19) (civic beliefs, 1-45) and a total score for the entire opinionnaire was also computed. The total range of scores could have been from sixty-four to three hundred twenty. If an individual strongly agreed with all the conservative items and strongly disagreed with all the liberal items, he would attain a score of sixty-four, whereas, if an individual strongly disagreed with the conservative items and strongly agreed with the liberal items, he would attain a score of three hundred twenty. The educational scores could range from nineteen to ninety-five, The range for the civic beliefs could be from forty-five to two hundred twenty-five.

From the group of individual scores of each community, a mean score and a median score was computed to determine the relationship of scores between communities.

## Statistical Analysis

The Mann-Whitney U Test was used to determine the consensus of beliefs of influentials between the two communities by using the scores obtained by each individual. The Mann-Whitney U Test may be used to test whether two independent groups have been drawn from the same population.

This is one of the most powerful of the nonparametric tests, and it is a most useful alternative to the parametric test when the researcher wishes to avoid the $t$ test's assumptions, or when the measurement in the research is weaker than interval scaling. 8

To apply the $U$ test, the scores of both groups are combined and ranked in order of increasing size. The value of $U$ is given by the number of times that a score in one group precedes a score in the other group. An example would be as follows.

| group A | 9 | 11 | 15 |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| group | B | 6 | 8 | 10 | 13 |  |
| 6 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 13 | 15 |
| B | B | A | B | A | B | A |

The number of times that an $A$ score precedes a B score is 3. For the B score of 6, no A score precedes. This is also true for the B score of 8. For the next B score (10), one A score precedes. And for the final $B$ score (13), two $A$ scores precede. The $U=0+0+1+2=$ 3. Therefore, the $U$ value $=3$. The number of times that a $B$ score precedes an A score is 9. $\left(9=U^{\prime}\right)$ The larger value is considered $U^{\prime}$ and the smaller is determined $U$. The transformation of $U$ ' to $U$ is computed by the formula $U=N_{1} N_{2}-U^{\prime} .{ }^{9}$

The exact probability associated with the occurrence under $H_{o}$ of any $U$ as extreme as an observed value of $U$ was determined by the use of a table. ${ }^{10}$ This table is used for very small samples when neither $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ nor $N_{2}$ is larger than 8 .

## Relationships Between Influentials

The Mann-Whitney $U$ Test does not allow for a distinction to be made between an individual scoring 4 on item 1 and 2 on item 5 compared with another individual scoring 2 on item 1 and 4 on item 5. Both individuals would obtain the same score and yet differ in their beliefs on particular issues.

In order to compensate for this limitation, a vote analysis computer program was used to obtain phi coefficients between influentials according to their responses of agreement or disagreement with each item. ${ }^{11}$ A response of N (neither agree nor disagree) to an item was disregarded.

The computer program had been designed to analyze legislators' affirmative and negative votes. The belief scales' responses could be very easily adapted to the program. In order to do this, the responses of strongly agree and agree were considered to be affirmative and responses of disagree and strongly disagree were considered negative. This would allow for the basic assumption of a phi coefficient of using dichotomous - dichotomous data.
"When the two distributions correlated are dichotomous and when the two classes are separated by a real gap between them, the phi coefficient may be employed."12 The method can be applied, however, to data that are measurable on a continuous variable if certain allowances are made for the continuity. ${ }^{13}$ The formula for the phi coefficient is:

$$
\phi=\frac{a d-b c}{(a+b)(a+c)(b+d)(c+d)}
$$

The phi coefficient is closely associated with chi square, which is applicable to a wide variety of situations. The phi coefficient is ${ }^{\text {a }}$ related to chi square computed from a $2 \times 2$ table by the very simple equation $X^{2}=N \phi^{2}$ and phi is derived from chi square by the equation $\phi=\sqrt{\frac{x^{2}}{N}}$. Since phi can be derived directly from chi square, when the latter is applied to a $2 \times 2$ table, any of the formulas for chi square will apply to its computations. ${ }^{14}$

A test of the null hypothesis can be made through phi's relationship to chi square. If chi square is significant in a fourfold table, the corresponding phi is significant. The significance of the obtained phi coefficients was determined by converting the phi to chi square.
"The formula for the estimation of the standard error of phi involves such laborious computations that it is impractical for general use." 15 Therefore, no attempt was made to compute the standard error of estimate for the phi coefficients.

When two independent samples are small in size, the Fischer exact probability test is an extremely useful nonparametric statistical technique. ${ }^{16}$ Therefore, the dichotomous data used in the correlation technique was also employed in this test to determine if the responses of the influentials of each community differed significantly on each item of the opinionnaire.
${ }^{1}$ Stuart Eurman, ed., Estimates and Projections, Metropolitan Planning Commission - Kansas City Region Planning Bulletin No. 3 (Kansas City, 1970), pp. 26-29, 48-53.
${ }^{2}$ Ibid., pp. 18-19.
${ }^{3}$ Hubert Wheeler, One Hundred Twenty-First Report of the Public Schools of the State of Missouri, State Department of Education (Jefferson City, 1971), pp. 34-50.
${ }^{4}$ Ibid.
${ }^{5}$ Richard Lee Teague, Community Power and Social Change: A Case for Social Action, Research Report No. 1 (North Carolina State University, 1968), p. 52.
${ }^{6}$ Ralph B, Kimbrough, Political Power and Educational DecisionMaking (Chicago, 1964), pp. 299-301.
${ }^{7}$ Ralph B. Kimbrough and Roe Johns, The Relationship of Socioeconomic Factors, Educational Leadership Patterns and Elements of Community Power Structure to Local School Fiscal Policy (Gainesvil1e, Florida, 1968), pp. 221-223.
${ }^{8}$ Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York, 1956), p. 116.
${ }^{9}$ Siege1, p. 117.
${ }^{10}$ Siege1, p. 272.
${ }^{11}$ Charles M. Dollar and Richard J. Jenson, Historian's Guide to Statistics (New York, 1971), p. 214.

12 J. P. Guilford, Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education (New York, 1965), p. 332.
${ }^{13}$ Ibid.
${ }^{14}$ Guilford, p. 334.
${ }^{15}$ Guilford, p. 335.
${ }^{16}$ Siege1, p. 96 .

## CHAPTER IV

## PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

The purpose of this chapter is to present an analysis of the data. Written descriptions, matrices, tables and statistical analyses are used in accomplishing this purpose.

Presentation of Data

## Tax Levy Results

The collection of data concerning the tax levy elections was obtained from the office of the superintendent of schools for each community. Beginning with the operating tax levy for the school year 1967-68, Community A has consistently passed the tax levy by over the sixty-six and two-thirds majority vote requirement including the election on March 16, 1971 of a $\$ 5.20$ tax levy for the $1971-72$ school year.

Community $B$ has experienced difficulty in obtaining the sixty-six and two-thirds requirement beginning with the school year, 1969-70. In that year, the fourth election was required before the operating tax levy was passed. For the 1970-71 school year, the first attempt to pass the tax levy failed with a sixty-five and seven-tenths favorable vote and it was not until September 18,1970 , on the eighth levy election, that the tax levy was approved.

Table I contains the operating tax levy results by community for the school years 1967-68 through 1971-72.

TABLE I
TAX LEVY RESULTS

| School Year | Community | Tax Levy | Favorable Vote | Unfavorable Vote | Favorable <br> Percentage |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1967-68 | A | \$4.25 | 1622 | 366 | 81.58 |
|  | B | 3.75 | 1647 | 572 | 74.22 |
| 1968-69 | A | 4.25 | 1590 | 187 | 89.47 |
|  | B | 4.05 | 2355 | 410 | 85.17 |
| 1969-70 | A | 4.80 | 1608 | 367 | 81.41 |
|  | B | 6.05 | 2713 | 2405 | 53.00 |
|  | B | 6.05 | 3843 | 3699 | 50.95 |
|  | B | 5.30 | 4680 | 2671 | 63.66 |
|  | B | 5.30 | 6312 | 2532 | 71.37 |
| 1970-71 | A | 5.10 | 1615 | 566 | 74.04 |
|  | B | 5.80 | 4604 | 2403 | 65.70 |
|  | B | 6.05 | 2968 | 2198 | 57.40 |
|  | B | 6.05 | 4482 | 2435 | 64.70 |
|  | B | 6.05 | 6276 | 3220 | 66.09 |
|  | B | 6.05 | 6329 | 4282 | 59.60 |
|  | B | 5.86 | 6951 | 4066 | 63.09 |
|  | B | 5.86 | 8762 | 5044 | 63.46 |
|  | B | 5.58 | 8033 | 2086 | 79.30 |
| 1971-72 | A | 5.20 | 1448 | 297 | 82.41 |
|  | B | 5.99 | 3588 | 1709 | 67.73 |

## Panel of Knowledgeables

A panel of knowledgeables was established with the assistance of lists of individuals and organizations obtained from the Chamber of Commerce and the superintendent of schools of each community. The panel consisted of persons with a wide variety of interests and in a wide variety of positions in the community who had been consistently involved in the decision-making process of the community. Table II
illustrates the interest areas and positions of the pane 1 members in the two communities.

## TABLE II

PANELS OF KNOWLEDGEABLES

|  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Community Position | Community A | Community B |
|  |  |  |
| Retail Merchant | 5 | 5 |
| Physician | 1 | 1 |
| Lawyer | 1 | 1 |
| Real Estate | 1 | 2 |
| Insurance Agent | 1 | 1 |
| Veterinarian | 2 | 1 |
| Bank Officer | 1 | 1 |
| Newspaper Editor | 1 | 1 |
| Utility Management | 1 | 1 |
| Industry Management | 1 | 2 |
| Labor Leader | 4 | 0 |
| Minister | 1 | 3 |
| School Superintendent | 1 | 1 |
| Chamber of Commerce | 1 | 1 |
| Women's Organization | 1 | 1 |
| School Board Member | 1 | 1 |
| City Government | 1 | 1 |
| Politician | 1 | 0 |
| Building Contractor | 0 | 1 |
| Police Officer | 0 | 1 |
| Military Officer | 26 | 1 |
| Totals |  | 27 |
|  |  |  |

The members of the panels were very cooperative and receptive. Only on occasion was the investigator requested to display identification and discuss the authenticity of the study. These concerns were expressed only in Community B which had been experiencing difficulty
with the passage of the tax levy.
Only two panel members in Community B refused to cooperate. There were no refusals in Community $A$. One of the refusals was a medical doctor, and the other was a real estate agent. Community A did have one panel member make a statement to the effect that there was not any one individual he considered to be more influential than another.

The nominations of the panel members did identify influentials within a community. Community A's panel of knowledgeables consisted of twenty-six members who suggested a total of eighty-five names of individuals in the community they considered to be influential. The highest number of mentions received by any one individual in Community A was eighteen. The number of individuals receiving one to eighteen mentions is recorded in Table III.

Community B's panel of knowledgeables consisted of twenty-seven members who suggested a total of eighty-three names of individuals in the community they considered to be influential. The highest number of mentions received by any one individual in Community $B$ was seventeen. The number of individuals receiving one to seventeen mentions is recorded in Table III.

TABLE III

NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS MENTIONED BY
PANELS OF KNOWLEDGEABLES

| Number of <br> Mentions | Community A's <br> Leaders | Community B's <br> Leaders |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |
| 18 | 1 | 0 |
| 17 | 0 | 1 |
| 16 | 0 | 1 |
| 15 | 3 | 0 |
| 14 | 1 | 1 |
| 13 | 0 | 0 |
| 12 | 0 | 2 |
| 11 | 0 | 2 |
| 10 | 0 | 0 |
| 9 | 0 | 1 |
| 8 | 1 | 2 |
| 7 | 2 | 2 |
| 6 | 7 | 4 |
| 5 | 4 | 3 |
| 4 | 4 | 7 |
| 3 | 11 | 6 |
| 2 | 11 | 14 |
| 1 | 40 | 37 |
|  |  |  |

## Identification of Power Structures

By observing the distribution of the number of mentions in each community, the investigator arbitrarily chose a logical breaking point in the distribution to distinguish the members of the power structures from the other individuals mentioned. Individuals in Community $\mathbf{A}$ receiving fourteen, fifteen, and eighteen mentions could be very easily identified as being afforded a larger amount of influence by the panel member over the other leaders that were mentioned. Individuals in Community A receiving six, seven, and eight mentions held positions in
areas such as: Chamber of Commerce; city government; community betterment committees; and political candidates. These individuals are referred to in the literature as "leg men" and may have received mentions due to their positions rather than the amount of personal influence they may possess. Presthus reports the identification of "leg men' in his study of two New York cities. ${ }^{1}$

Community B's tabulation differed somewhat from Community A's and a natural break was not as apparent. This would indicate that there was not as high a degree of consensus concerning influentials in Community $B$ as in Community A. However, particular leaders did receive a large number of mentions and the decision was made by the investigator to determine those individuals receiving eleven mentions or more as the power structure for Community B.

The individual receiving nine mentions lived outside the community but did maintain a business in the community. One individual receiving eight mentions refused to participate in the study and the other individual was interviewed. The responses of this interview were not included in the analyses of the data since this individual was not determined a power figure. One individual receiving seven mentions was out of town for an extended period of time and could not be contacted. The other individual refused to participate in the study.

To substantiate the identification of the power figures, the methodological procedure as developed by Teague was used and is recorded in Tables IV and V. ${ }^{2}$ This technique enables the reader to readily identify the individuals receiving the highest number of mentions as well as the number of mentions given by each individual. It also emphasizes any mutuality of respect that may exist between community

MATRIX IDENTIFICATION OF THE POWER STRUGTURE OF COMMUNITY A

Panel Members


TABLE V

MATRIX IDENTIFICATION OF THE POWER STRUCTURE OF COMMUNITY B

Panel Members

influentials.
The matrix for Comunity $A$ is shown in Table IV and emphasizes the consensus of opinions of the panel of knowledgeable members in their identification of influentials. Panel members A-1, A-2, A-3, A-4, and A-5 were the influentials who were identified as the power structure for Community A. Each individual of the power structure also provided a list of individuals they considered to be influential.

The matrix for the panel of knowledgeables of Community $B$ is shown in Table V and also displays a consensus of opinions among panel members concerning the more influential individuals in the community. Panel members $\mathrm{B}-1, \mathrm{~B}-2, \mathrm{~B}-3, \mathrm{~B}-4, \mathrm{~B}-5, \mathrm{~B}-6$, and $\mathrm{B}-7$ were the influentials who were identified as the power structure of Community B. Each individual of the power structure provided a list of names as was done in Community A .

At this point in the investigation, it was determined by the investigator that both communities had a monolithic power structure. This decision was based on the observation that a small group of influential leaders were dominating the decision-making process of the community.

The members of the panels of knowledgeables were placed in the matrices contained in Tables IV and $V$ in the order of the number of mentions they had received. This allows the members of the power structure to be in the upper part of the matrix. The portion of the matrices that contains just the power structure for each community is contained in Table VI. An observation of the table emphasizes the larger amount of clustering of mutual mentions that existed in Community A over Community B. This would indicate a greater consensus of

## TABLE VI

## POWER STRUCTURES' MATRICES

## Community A

Community B


[^0]mutual respect in Community A than Community B.

## Power Structure Interviews

After the tabulations and distributions had been made from the information provided by the panels of knowledgeables for each community, each member of the identified power structures was contacted and interviewed. The length of the interview varied from forty-five minutes to over three hours with the average interview lasting about one hour and fifteen minutes.

All of the influentials in both communities were very receptive and cooperative. Occasionally, difficulty was experienced in convincing a secretary or receptionist of the value and importance of the interview, but as soon as the influential was informed of the purpose of the study, there was no difficulty in obtaining the desired information.

## Personal Characteristics of

## the Power Structures

The first portion of the interview consisted of obtaining personal information about each individual such as: age, length of residence in the community, number of children, occupation, schooling and organizational membership. The interview guide for this information is in Appendix C .

All twelve power figures were white males ranging in age from forty-two to seventy-five, the average age being fifty-five. Two of the influentials in one community were brothers. Each individual was asked to identify his age within a five-year interval and all responded by giving their exact age without hesitation.

The length of residence in the communities ranged from one influential not living in the community to others living in the community all their lives - the longest being sixty-one years. The average length of residence was thirty years. The average number of children per family was three for both communities.

Ten of the twelve influentials had obtained a college degree, with six leaders completing professional degrees beyond the Bachelor's degree. Only one influential had not completed a four-year high school program.

Occupations of the community leaders included: bank presidents (3) ; superintendents of school (2); physicians (2); lawyer (1); veterinarian (1); retail merchant (1); insurance agent (1); and industry management - retired (1).

Another characteristic that is often considered in a community power structure study is the number of adult relatives that live in the community. Using suburban communities may have had an effect on this variable since one-half of the influentials did not have any relatives outside their immediate household living in the community. Many of their relatives lived in surrounding communities or within commuting distance of the city, but did not reside in the same community. One influential did have ten relatives living in the community, two influr entials had three relatives in the community, and three influentials had only one relative living in the community.

Organizational membership varied within and between the communities. All members of the power structures were members of their community's Chamber of Commerce. One-half of the leaders were members of the Christian Church, two were members of the Methodist Church, and
other leaders belonged to the following churches: Baptist (1); Reorganized Church of the Latter Day Saints (1); and Catholic (1).

One leader did not indicate a church membership.
Five of the influentials had been actively involved in city government in some manner and only two had served on a board of education for the schools. The Lions Club was the predominant service club, with four of the power figures holding membership. Certain characteristics discussed are summarized in Table VII.

TABLE VII

POWER STRUCTURES' PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

|  | Community A | Community B | Both Communities |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Average Age | 61 years | 52 years | 55 years |
| Average Community Residence | 42 years | 22 years | 30 years |
| Average Number of Children | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Average Years of Schooling | 15 | 17 | 16 |

## Rankings of Community Leaders

After obtaining personal information about the influential, he was asked to respond to an alphabetical listing of names from the community that had been mentioned most frequently by the panel of knowledgeables as being influential. Each name listed was to be evaluated by each
member of the power structures as to the amount of community influence he perceived the individual to possess. The five categories ranged from exceptionally strong community influence receiving a value of five to very little community influence receiving a value of one. Each power figure's name was on the list and all influentials preferred not to evaluate themselves with one influential making the statement: "Sometimes I don't think I have any influence." The guide for this procedure is contained in Appendix D.

The responses were then totaled and ranked according to the total value for each name. A comparison was made as to whether the rankings by the power structures differed from the original ranking of the panels of knowledgeables as presented in Table III, page 39. Table VIII contains the comparison of the power structures' rankings and the panels of knowledgeable's rankings.

For Community A, the rankings of leaders A-4 and A-13 did change considerably. Leader A-4 had been identified as a member of the power structure for Community $A$ and after interviewing him, it was discovered that quite frequently he would take extended pleasure trips out of state for several weeks at a time and had recently considered moving to a resort area. These activities did not allow leader A-4 to be involved in community issues and he did not appear to be as concerned with community activities as he might have been in the past.

Leader A-13 had recently been elected to a highly respected position. The influence of this position did extend beyond the local community and many of the power figures felt this to be of value and influence on local community activities.

## TABLE VIII

RANKINGS OF COMMUNITY LEADERS

| Community Leader | Panel of Knowledgeable's Ranking | Power Structure's Ranking | Change in Ranking |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Community A |  |  |  |
| A-1 | 1 | 1 |  |
| A-2 | 3 | 5.5 | - 1.5 |
| A-3 | 3 | 5.5 | - 1.5 |
| A-4 | 3 | 9 | - 6 |
| A-5 | 5 | 2.5 | +2.5 |
| A-6 | 6 | 2.5 | +3.5 |
| A-7 | 7.5 | 10.5 | - 3 |
| A-8 | 7.5 | 7.5 |  |
| A-9 | 12 | 7.5 | +4.5 |
| A-10 | 12 | 13 | - 1 |
| A-11 | 12 | 10.5 | +1.5 |
| A-12 | 12 | 14.5 | - 2.5 |
| A-13 | 12 | 4 | + 8 |
| A-14 | 12 | 14.5 | - 2.5 |
| A-15 | 12 | 12 |  |
| Community B |  |  |  |
| B-1 | 1 | 11.5 | -10.5 |
| B-2 | 2 | 1 | $+1$ |
| B-3 | 3 | 6 | - 3 |
| B-4 | 4.5 | 4.5 |  |
| B-5 | 4.5 | 4.5 |  |
| B-6 | 6.5 | 8 | - 1.5 |
| B-7 | 6.5 | 11.5 | - 5 |
| B-8 | 8 | 2.5 | + 5.5 |
| B-9 | 9.5 | 14 | - 4.5 |
| B-10 | 9.5 | 8 | + 1.5 |
| B-11 | 11.5 | 8 | $+2.5$ |
| B-12 | 11.5 | 13 | - 1.5 |
| B-13 | 13.5 | 2.5 | +11.5 |
| B-14 | 13.5 | 10 | $+4$ |

Outstanding changes in rankings were also noted for Community B. Leader $\mathrm{B}-1$ 's ranking changed drastically from the ranking of the panel of knowledgeables. Leader $\mathrm{B}-1$ did not reside in the community and many of the power figures, when interviewed, felt that he was not as concerned with community issues and did not become actively involved. He was, however, chosen by many of the influentials as being a close friend. Leader B-1 made the statement concerning the school's tax levy election that he did not actively become involved in the tax levy issue because he did not live in the community and that it might affect his business.

Leader B-13 appeared to be an emerging power figure. He had recently become involved in community issues and had taken some definite stands for the tax levy. His occupation allowed him an opportunity to voice his opinion publicly.

Leader $\mathrm{B}-7$ had just completed a term in an elected position in the community and leader B-8 appeared to be emerging in that he had just been awarded an "outstanding service award" for the community.

## Educational and Civic Beliefs

The power figures were then asked to respond to the civic and educational beliefs scales. Most of the influentials took the instrument, read the items silently, and responded without comment. Others were quite verbal when responding to the items with such comments as: "What do you mean by this question?"' "How can a person respond to that?"; and "Now you are really getting at something!"; and "This depends!".

Some of the influentials would push the instrument back across their desk and did not respond until the investigator read the items aloud and then they would respond verbally. This method often reduced the interview time. Many of the influentials indicated an interest in seeing the results of this study when completed.

## Analysis of Data

## Scoring the Opinionnaire

At the completion of all the interviews, the instruments were scored according to the method described in Ghapter III. For a conservative item, a response of strongly agree was scored one and a response of strongly disagree was scored five. For each liberal item, the order was reversed with a strongly agree response scored five and a strongly disagree response scored one. Each individual had three scores: one score for the educational beliefs, one score for the civic beliefs, and a total scofe for the combined educational and civic beliefs (sixty-four items). Table IX summarizes the scores for each individual by community and a mean and median score is also reported for each community.

By a simple comparison of the mean and median scores of each column, a quick observation indicates that the influentials of the two communities did not differ greatly in their educational and civic beliefs. The median score for the educational beliefs is exactly the same (66) for both communities. Out of a possible two hundred and twenty-five, the median scores for the civic beliefs differ only by four points. The total medians differ by only ten points out of the possible three hundred and twenty.

TABLE IX
INFLUENTIALS' SCORES ON EDUCATIONAL AND CIVIC BELIEF SCALES

| Influential |  | Educational Belief Score | Civic Belief Score | Total Score |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Community A |  |  |  |  |
| A-1 |  | 83 | 154 | 237 |
| A-2 |  | 70 | 168 | 238 |
| A-3 |  | 62 | 99 | 161 |
| A-4 |  | 53 | 114 | 167 |
| A-5 |  | 66 | 160 | 226 |
|  | Mean | 66.8 | 139 | 205.8 |
|  | Median | 66 | 154 | 226 |
| Community B |  |  |  |  |
| B-1 |  | 66 | 150 | 216 |
| B-2 |  | 65 | 143 | 210 |
| B-3 |  | 66 | 158 | 224 |
| B-4 |  | 70 | 141 | 211 |
| B-5 |  | 69 | 155 | 224 |
| B-6 |  | 66 | 122 | 188 |
| B-7 |  | 64 | 160 | 224 |
|  | Mean | 66.6 | 147 | 213.8 |
|  | Median | 66 | 150 | 216 |

Therefore, it becomes obvious that the influential leaders of the two communities that differ in their support of education, do not differ greatly in their educational and civic beliefs as measured in this study.

## The Mann-Whitney U Test

The total scores were then used in the Mann-Whitney $U$ Test to determine if there was a significant difference in beliefs of influentials between the two communities. Using the . 05 level of significance, the beliefs of the influentials were not found to be significantly different between the two communities. For the educational beliefs, a $U$ of 11 was significant at the .17 level. For the civic beliefs, a $U$ of 17 was significant at the .50 level and for the computation of the total scores, a $U$ of 14 was found significant at the . 32 leve1. ${ }^{2}$ Table $X$ contains a summary of these data.

Tied scores did occur between the two communities for the educational and civic beliefs. Siegel states that: ". . . the effect of tied scores is usually negligable. . . . ${ }^{3}$ A correction for ties is available for use with the normal curve approximation when using large samples, but could not be applied in this study.

## Relationship of Influentials' Beliefs

To determine the homogeneity of beliefs of influentials within a community and between communities, a computer program was used to obtain phi coefficients for each individual by items. The computation of a phi coefficient enables each individual's response to each item to be correlated with every other individual's response to each item. With five power figures in Community $A$ and seven in Community $B$, there was a total of sixty-six phi coefficients for each section (educational, civic and total items) of the opinionnaire.

TABLE X
A COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL AND CIVIC
BELIEF SCORES AND RANKS

| Educational Beliefs |  |  |  | Civic Beliefs |  | Influential | Total |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Influential | Score | Rank | Influential | Score | Rank |  | Score | Rank |
| A-4 | 53 | 1 | A-3 | 99 | 1 | A-3 | 161 | 1 |
| A-3 | 62 | 2 | A-4 | 114 | 2 | A-4 | 167 | 2 |
| B-7 | 64 | 3 | B-6 | 122 | 3 | B-6 | 188 | 3 |
| B-2 | 65 | 4 | B-4 | 141 | 4 | B-2 | 210 | 4 |
| A-5 | 66 | 6.5 | B-2 | 143 | 5 | B-4 | 211 | 5 |
| B-1 | 66 | 6.5 | B-1 | 150 | 6 | B-1 | 216 | 6 |
| B-3 | 66 | 6.5 | A-1 | 154 | 7 | B-7 | 224 | 8 |
| B-6 | 66 | 6.5 | B-5 | 155 | 8 | B-5 | 224 | 8 |
| B-5 | 69 | 9 | B-3 | 158 | 9 | B-3 | 224 | 8 |
| B-4 | 70 | 10.5 | B-7 | 160 | 10.5 | A-5 | 226 | 10 |
| A-2 | 70 | 10.5 | A-5 | 160 | 10.5 | A-1 | 237 | 11 |
| A-1 | 83 | 12 | A-2 | 168 | 12 | A-2 | 238 | 12 |
|  | Sum of Ranks |  |  | Sum of Ranks |  |  | Sum of Ranks |  |
|  | $\mathrm{A}=32$ |  |  | $\mathrm{A}=32.5$ |  |  | $A=36$ |  |
|  | $B=46$ |  |  | $B=45.5$ |  |  | $B=42$ |  |
|  | $\mathrm{U}=11$ |  |  | $\mathrm{U}=17$ |  |  | $\mathrm{U}=14$ |  |
|  | $p=.172$ |  |  | $p=.319$ |  |  | $p=.500$ |  |

This technique was used to compensate for the limitation of using total scores for comparison and not being able to differentiate between the influentials' beliefs, As was pointed out in Chapter III, leader A-3 may respond to item 1 as disagree, receiving a score of four, and on item 5 as agree, receiving a score of two, with a total score of six. Whereas, leader B-3 may obtain the same total score of six by agreement with item 1 (score of two) and disagreement with item 5 (score of four).

Phi coefficients were computed separately for the educational beliefs, the civic beliefs, and for the total group of items and then transformed to a chi square using the formula $X^{2}=N \phi^{2}$. The phi coefficients that were found to be significant at the .05 level and above are presented in Table XI.

For the educational beliefs, only the phi coefficients of .82 , $.75, .58$, and .57 were found to be significant at the .05 level or above. The correlations of .82 and .58 were between influentials within a community, whereas, three correlations (.75, .75, and .57) were between influentials from each community. A phi coefficient of . 56 did occur between the superintendents of the two communities. It was found to be significant at the .10 level.

The phi coefficients for the civic beliefs did not range as high as the educational beliefs' coefficients. Only three coefficients were found to be significant at the .05 level. The highest significant correlation occurred between communities (influentials $\mathrm{A}-2$ and $\mathrm{B}-3$ ) and the others .63 (influentials $\mathrm{A}-2$ and $\mathrm{A}-5$ ) and . 56 (influentials $\mathrm{B}-3$ and B-6) were found within a community.

## TABLE XI

SIGNIFICANT PHI COEFFICIENTS

| Influentials | Phi Coefficients | Chi Square Value |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Educational Beliefs |  |  |
| A-1 - A-5 | . 82 ** | 8.0688 |
| $\mathrm{A}-1-\mathrm{B}-2$ | . 75 * | 6.8040 |
| $\mathrm{A}-5$ - B-2 | .75* | 6.8040 |
| B-4-B-6 | . 58 * | 4.0224 |
| A-3-B-6 | . $57 *$ | 3.8580 |
| Civic Beliefs |  |  |
| A-2 - B-3 | . $65^{*}$ | 5.0388 |
| A-2 - A-5 | . 63 * | 4.8240 |
| B-3-B-7 | . 56 \% | 3.8304 |
| Total Beliefs |  |  |
| A-2 - B-5 | . $59 *$ | 4.1916 |
| $\begin{array}{r} * .05 \mathrm{le} \\ * * .01 \mathrm{le} \end{array}$ | icance icance |  |

The computation for the total items resulted in only one phi coefficient being found significant at the .05 level. This correlation (.59) occurred between influentials A-2 and A-5.

Therefore, with so few correlations being found to be significant and three-eighths of these correlations occurring between communities, it was determined that there was not a significantly greater consensus of beliefs within a community than between the communities.

Three sociographs are used in Figure 2 to show the relationships between the beliefs of the influentials. Only phi coefficients above .32 are used for this figure due to the insignificance of lower coefficients. A broken line is used to show the relationship of individuals whose correlations were below the .05 significance level. A solid line is used to designate the significant coefficients at the . 05 level and above,

The matrix technique, that was used in the identification of the influentials, is also useful to show the relationships of the influentials' beliefs by the obtained phi coefficients. This information is contained in Table XII. Instead of the three bottom rows of the matrices showing the total number of mentions given, received and mutual, they indicate the number of correlations. The obtained phi coefficients were grouped into three categories according to the value of the phi and the natural breaks that occurred in the distribution of the correlations. The distributions of the phi coefficients are contained in Appendix F.

Symbols ( $x,+, 0$ ) are used in the matrices to describe the different levels of the correlations that are recorded in the bottom rows of the matrices. (x represents the phi coefficients that were found to be significant, + represents a medium level of the obtained phi coefficients, and o represents a lower level, down to and including .20 correlations.)

If a greater consensus of beliefs of influentials had existed within a community, this technique would have enabled the reader to readily observe a clustering of high correlations ( $x^{\prime}$ s) in the upper left hand portion of the matrices for Community $A$. If high

## Educational Beliefs



Civic Beliefs


Total Beliefs

significant coefficients at . 05 level coefficients between . 32 and . 57

Figure 2. Sociograph of Phi Coefficients
retationships of phi coefficients

correlations existed in Community $B$, the clustering would have been in the lower right hand portion of the matrices. This technique allows a graphic analysis of the data.

## The Fisher Exact Probability Test

After finding no significance in the computation of the MannWhitney U Test and heterogeneity of the influentials' beliefs within a community, tabulations were made for each item on the educational and civic beliefs scales to show the number of influentials that agreed, disagreed or were neutral according to each item by community. Two of the sixty-four items were found to indicate a significant difference between the communities through the computation of the Fisher exact probability test. The Fisher exact probability test is designed to be used with very small frequencies and was appropriate for these data. ${ }^{5}$

Appendix $G$ contains the tabulations of all items and designation of the two items that indicated a significant difference between the two communities.

Both items with a significant difference were a part of the civic beliefs and the responses were as follows:
19. A growing national debt is nothing to worry about if the national income is growing at the same rate. $\begin{array}{ccccc}\text { Community } & \text { Agree } & & \text { Disagree } & \\ \text { A } & 4 & & 0 & 0 \\ \text { B } & 1 & & 4 & 1\end{array}$
20. The United Nations has become an international debating society paid for by the United States.
$\begin{array}{ccccc}\text { Community } & \text { Agree } & & \text { Disagree } & \\ \text { A Neutral } \\ \text { B } & 0 & & 1 & 0 \\ & 0 & 6 & 1\end{array}$

The one item that obtained a 100 percent agreement between the communities was stated in the civic beliefs as follows:
34. Charitable services for those in need should be left to voluntary groups.
Community Agree Disagree Neutral A B 0 7

Finding only two of the sixty-four items significantly different at the .05 level, it was determined by the investigator that this method did not alter the previous analyses.

## FOOTNOTES

$1_{\text {Robert }}$ Presthus, Men at the Top: A Study in Community Power (New York, 1964), p. 8.
${ }^{2}$ Richard Lee Teague, Community Power and Social Change: A Case for Social Action, Research Report No. 1 (North Carolina State University, 1968), p. 145.
${ }^{3}$ Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York, 1956), p. 272.
${ }^{4}$ Siegel, p. 125.
${ }^{5}$ Siegel, p. 96.

## CHAPTER V

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The major goals of this study were: (1) To identify the community power structure of selected suburban communities; and (2) To determine if the civic and educational beliefs of the identified power figures differed in relation to successful and unsuccessful operating tax levy elections for the schools.

The suburban communities selected for this study were similar in geographic location and social climate, but differed according to the number of attempts necessary to approve an operating tax levy election. Community A had never defeated an operating tax levy for the school, whereas, Community $B$ had held as many as eight tax levy elections in one year before approving the operating tax levy.

The reputational technique for identifying a community power structure was used for this study. This technique required the establishment of a panel of knowledgeables in each community. Each panel represented a wide variety of interests in the community, All panel members were determined to be familiar with the decision-making process of the community. The individual members of the panels submitted names of persons they considered to be influential in the community.

After all panel members had been interviewed, a tabulation was made of the names mentioned. The individuals who accumulated the greatest total number of nominations were designated as the power
structure, In Community A, five names were consistently mentioned more frequently than other influentials in the community and these five individuals were determined to be the power structure of Community A. Seven names were consistently mentioned more frequently in Community B and these individuals were determined to be the power structure of Community B.

Each identified power figure was interviewed and asked to respond to a pre-established interview guide. The interview guide used for this study is contained in Appendix $C$. The first part of the interview consisted of personal information such as: age, schooling, number of children, length of residence in the community, and organizational membership. The second part of the interview involved the influentials evaluating a list of names of individuals in the community that had been mentioned by the panel of knowledgeables most frequently to determine the amount of community influence they perceived each individual to possess. This portion of the interview was used to compare the rankings of influential individuals made by the panel of knowledgeables with the rankings made by the power figures.

The third part of the interview consisted of the influentials responding to a sixty-four item opinionnaire, which contained the educational and civic beliefs scales as developed by Kimbrough at Florida University. ${ }^{1}$

Each influential obtained a score for the civic beliefs, the educational beliefs, and for the total sixty-four items. The scores were used in the computation of a Mann-Whitney $U$ test to determine if there was a significant difference in the beliefs of the influentials in Community $A$ and the beliefs of the influentials in Community $B$.

The Fishers Exact Probability Test was also computed to determine if the responses of the influentials differed significantly by communities.

A computer program was employed to obtain phi coefficients to show the relationship of responses to each item between each influential from both communities.

## Findings

H.1. Each community will have a similar type of community power structure. (Type of structure being classified as either monolithic, pluralistic, or amorphous)

This hypothesis was accepted. Both power structures were representative of a monolithic power structure. The identified influential leaders were reputed as strongly influencing a wide variety of issues in their respective communities.

The panel of knowledgeables for Community $A$ consisted of twentysix members who mentioned a total of eighty-five names as being influential in the community. Of the eighty-five names, five were consistently mentioned more frequently than the others and these individuals were determined to be the power structure for Community A .

Community $B^{\prime}$ s panel of knowledgeables consisted of twenty-seven members who mentioned a total of eighty-three names. Seven of the eighty-three names were consistently mentioned more frequently than the others and these individuals were determined to be the power structure for Community B.

The personal characteristics of the influentials consisted of the following: White Males; Average Age - 55; Average Schooling - 17 years; Average Number of Children - 3; Average Number of Organizational

Memberships - 6; and Average Length of Residence - 30 years. The following occupations were represented in the power structures: Bank President; Superintendent of Schools; Physician; Lawyer; Veterinarian; Retail Merchant; Insurance Agent; and Industrial Management.

The rankings of two of the community leaders listed by the researcher in Community A changed considerably when a comparison was made between the rankings of the panel of knowledgeables and the rankings of the power structure. Two of the community leaders listed for Communty $B$ had a large difference in rankings when a comparison was made between the panel of knowledgeables' rankings and the power structure's rankings. In each community, the power structure considered one of the leaders to possess more influence than was afforded by the panel of knowledgeables and the other leader as possessing much less influence than was afforded by the panel of knowledgeables. This information is contained in Table VIII, page 49.
H.2. Influentials in a community which has experienced difficulty in passing a school's operating tax levy will score more conservatively on educational and civic beliefs scales than influentials in a community which has not experienced difficulty in passing a school's operating tax levy.

This hypothesis was not accepted because the scores on the sixtyfour item opinionnaire did not differ significantly at the .05 level when the Mann-Whitney $U$ Test was employed. The median scores on the educational belief items were exactly the same for both communities. The median scores for the civic belief items differed by only four points. The median scores for the combined items differed by ten points. The total scores could have ranged from sixty-four being extremely conservative to three hundred twenty being extremely liberal. Community A's median score was two hundred twenty-six whereas Community

B's median score was two hundred sixteen. This information is contained in Table IX, page 52.
H.3. There will be a greater consensus of beliefs of influentials within a community than between communities used in this study.

This hypothesis was not accepted, Nine of the possible one hundred ninety-eight phi coefficients were found significant at the . 05 leve1. This is approximately the number of significant coefficients that would have been expected by change. Of the nine significant coefficients, five existed between influentials of the same community, whereas, four existed between influentials of different communties,

The computation of Fishers Exact Probability Test found only two of the sixty-four items on the opinionnaire that were responded to significantly different by the influentials of Community $A$ and Community B. At least three of the items should have been significant at the .05 level by chance.

## Conclusions

The civic and educational beliefs of community influentials, as measured in this study by the opinionnaire, did not differ between communities. The communities differed in that Community $B$ had required as many as eight attempts before passing an operating tax levy for its school, whereas, Community A had never defeated its school's operating tax 1evy.

The identified power structures were similar - both being monolithic - although they did not contain the same number of influentials nor were the same occupational positions represented in the two power structures.

The continued success of passing the school's operating tax levy in Community A may be partly attributed to the fact that the superintendent of schools received the highest number of mentions from a panel of knowledgeables as a person possessing a large amount of influence in the community. The superintendent of schools in Community B was a member of the identified power structure, but did not rank as high as the superintendent in Community $A$.

The fact that suburban communities were used in this study may be an explanation for the superintendents being a part of the community power structure. The school appears to be the locus for the activities of a suburban community and therefore the influence of the school superintendent would be understandable.

It was felt that the issue "aid to non-public schools" had a definite effect on the passage of a school's operating tax levy. This issue was very seldom mentioned in Community $A$ in the interviews, whereas in Community $B$, many of the individuals discussed this issue at length and members of the power structure in Community B were openly opposed to increasing the tax levy for the public school until public financial assistance was given to the parochial schools.

It was observed that two members of the power structure of Community $B$ and certain members of the panel of knowledgeables did not support the operating tax levy, whereas the power structure in Community A strongly supported the school's operating tax levy. All members of the panel of knowledgeables in Community A spoke very favorably of the school's accomplishments and endeavors.

## Recommendations for Fur ther Study

The investigator feels strongly that the assessment of the beliefs of influentials in a community is essential for the school administrator in relating the school to the environment in which it exists. This study, along with recommendations that follow, should be of value to the practicing school administrator in making this assessment.

It is recommended that a similar study be done with the investigator developing an instrument that will measure issues that are relevant to the communities under investigation. This investigator feels that many of the issues stated in the Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs and Educational Beliefs Scale were not relevant to the communities. The development of an instrument containing issues relevant to the communities under investigation may disclose significant differences in the beliefs of the influentials. Spiess states that: "Each community and school is unique in that some relevant variables differ from those in other communities and schools. $"^{2}$

A sampling of the citizens not included in the power structure of the communities would be valuable in determining the consensus of beliefs that exists between the average citizen and the power figures. Also a sampling of the teaching profession and the board of education would be of value in a comparison of beliefs.

Another recommendation would involve determining if a sampling of the citizens in a community would nominate the same individuals as a pane1 of knowledgeables.

An investigation of the effects of a Citizens' Advisory Committee in a community would be of value to the school administrator. It was observed in this study that Community $A$, which had an active Citizens'

Advisory Committee, had much less difficulty in communicating the school's needs and accomplishments to the citizens. Many of the influentials in Community $A$ were active members of the Citizens' Advisory Committee and this may provide an area for investigation.

Community $B$ did have several families that sent their children to parochial schools and these citizens were very active in the controversy of "aid to non-public schools." This issue may have affected the results of this study. Three parochial schools were located in Community $B$, whereas Community $A$ had only one small elementary unit. This is another area of school-community relations that warrants the attention and investigation of the school administrator.

The statistical computations used in this study were definitely affected by small sample size and non-normality of the population interviewed. It is strongly recommended that these limitations be alleviated as much as possible in further studies concerning community power structure.

## FOOTNOTES

$1_{\text {Ralph Kimbrough ahd Roe Johns, The Relationship of Socioeconomic }}$ Factors, Educational Leadership Patterns and Elements of Community Power Structure to Local School Fiscal Policy (Gainesville, Florida, 1968), pp. 213-223.
${ }^{2}$ John A. Spiess, "Community Power Structure and Influence: Relationships to Educational Administration." (unpub. Ed.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1967), p. 16.

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## APPENDIX A

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Informal Community Power Structure. The distribution of influence among the individuals and groups of a given community and the structural relationship between those sources of influence in the establishment of public policy.

Monolithic Power Structure. One group of influential leaders dominating the decision-making process of a community.

Pluralistic Power Structure. Several groups of influential leaders active in the decision-making process with no single group controlling all of the major policy decisions of a community.

Amorphous Power Structure. No group of influential leaders can be identified as dominating the decision-making process of a community. No definite type or structure.

Influential. An individual in the community to whom a relatively high degree of influence or power is attributed by other persons.

Influence. The ability to affect the decision-making process in such a manner as to permit other persons to make apparent voluntary choices of action.

Power. The ability to affect the decision-making process in such a manner as to influence other persons to take action that they might not otherwise have taken.

Civic Belief, A person's attitude toward the function of government, the relations between man and his society, public finance, foreign affairs, and various civic issues.

Educational Belief. A person's attitude toward the importance of education, the function of education, the purpose of education, the school curriculum, and the financing of the educational program.

High Financial Effort. The passage of a school district's operating tax levy without failure by a two-thirds majority affirmative vote.

Low Financial Effort. Difficulty in obtaining a two-thirds majority affirmative vote without repeated attempts to pass a school district's operating tax levy.

## APPENDIX B

## PANEL OF KNOWLEDGEABLES' <br> INTERVIEW GUIDE

As a part of the work at Oklahoma State University, we are making a study of leadership in communities. To do this, some information is needed from a number of people like yourself who are actively informed about their communty's affairs. True names will not be used in our thesis nor will your personal opinions be revealed to anyone else. Your knowledge of the community will be of great help to us in our work.

1. What, in your personal opinion, are the most important issues (or problems or projects) of general concern that have been resolved within the past several years, or may have to be decided in the near future in this community?
2. It is thought that some persons are more influential than others on community-wide issues. What persons have the most influence or leadership on such issues as you have mentioned regardless of whether you agree with them?

NAME

## APPENDIX C

## INFLUENTIALS' INTERVIEW GUIDE

As a part of the work at Oklahoma State University, we are making a study of leadership in some suburban communities. To do this, some information is needed from a number of people like yourself who are actively informed about their community's affairs so that leadership characteristics and beliefs can be summarized. Your views will be of great help in this study.

All information given individually will be kept completely confidential. True names will not be used in the final analysis nor are your personal opinions revealed individually to anyone else. It is necessary to ask you for your frank opinions about civic and educational issues.

## General Information

Occupation $\qquad$
About how long have you lived in this community? $\qquad$
Age bracket: 25-35_ $36-45 \ldots$ 46-55__
Over 65 $\qquad$
Number of children $\qquad$
Ages of children $\qquad$

Schools attended by children $\qquad$

What amount of regular schooling have you completed? $\qquad$

Professional Training $\qquad$
Organizational membership:
$\qquad$ Church (name)

Chamber of Commerce
-_C
___Country Club (name)
___Masonic Lodge
___ Odd Fellow
___ Veterans of Foreign War
__Parent-Teacher Association
Rotary
___Citizens' Advisory Group
Kiwanis
____Others (name)
___Lions C1ub
——_
___Optimist
What other major official leadership positions do you now hold?

What other major official leadership positions have you previously held? $\qquad$
In this community, how many adult relatives do you have living outside your own household? $\qquad$

Levy Issue

What person or persons initiated action on this issue?

What persons or groups supported the issue? $\qquad$
$\qquad$

What persons or groups opposed the issue? $\qquad$

Were there conflicting beliefs or values involved in the election?

What was your position on the issue? $\qquad$
How did you support your position? $\qquad$

Which leaders did you work closely with on the issue?

## APPENDIX D

## INFLUENCE OF LEADERS

|  |
| :--- |
| List of <br> Leaders <br> ally Strong <br> Community <br> Influence |
| Community <br> Cnfluence |

## APPENDIX E

## OPINIONNAIRE

## Educational Beliefs Scale



SA A ND SD 14. The people are being taxed to the limit for schools right now.

SA A N D SD 15. Educational costs are too high and are completely out of line with other public services.

SA A N D SD 16. School costs threaten to bankrupt the government.
SA A N D SD 17. In the long run, the more money society spends for education, the more money people have to spend for other things.

SA A ND SD 18. Expenditures for education make a vital contribution to national defense.

SAANDSD 19. In the long run, it will cost a community less to pay taxes for education than to pay taxes to support prisons and people on relief.

Civic Beliefs Scale

SA A N D SD 1. Socialized medicine would ruin medical standards and fill our nation with people having imaginary ailments.

SA A N D SD 2. The idea of equality should not be restricted to political equality.

SA A N D SD 3. Centralization of government tends to destroy the rights of the individual.

SA AND SD 4. History shows that economic and social planning by governments does not necessarily lead to dictatorship.

SA AND SD 5. Federal participation in local affairs can exist without undesirable federal control.

SA A ND SD 6. Moderates, who preach appeasement by urging us to give up our fight against centralized government and liberal constitutional interpretation, do so mostly for their personal political gain.

SA A ND SD 7. What a state does with its schools should be its business, not the Supreme Court's.

SA A N D SD 8. The most serious political issue of our day is the encroachment of the federal government upon states' rights.

SA A N D SD 9. Local government is grass-roots democracy at work and represents the voice of the people better than centralized government.

SA A N D SD 10. The federal government taxes the states and then sends this money back, minus what is wasted in Washington.

SA A N D SD 11. The federal government is often more representative of people than some state governments.

SA A N D SD 12. Free enterprise, with an absolute minimum of governmental control, is the best way to assure full productivity in our country.

SA A N D SD 13. Private enterprise is the only really workable system in the modern world for satisfying our economic wants.

SA A N D SD 14. The individual producers and consumers are left free to follow their own self-interest, natural economic laws operate to produce the greatest public good.

SA A N D SD 15. The growth of our economy depends upon an increase in the activities of government to satisfy human wants as well as an increase in our private economy.

SA A N D SD 16. The principle of free competition is a natural law which should govern our business system without governmental interference.

SA A N D SD 17. Government regulation of the market should occur only in cases of monopolies such as public utilities.

SA A N D SD 18. We should get back to hard work to cure our country's ills.

SA A N D SD 19. A growing national debt is nothing to worry about if the national income is growing at the same rate.

SA A ND SD 20. The price of aid to education, from a larger unit of government to a smaller one, is that the smaller one must do what it is told.

SA A N D SD 21. To keep taxes from rising is commendable but in reality taxes should be cut.

SA A N D SD 22. The government is doing things which we simply cannot afford at public expense.

SA A N D SD 23, Deficit spending is a bad public policy except possibly in time of war.

SA A ND SD 24. All government spending should be on a pay-as-you-go basis.

SA A N D SD 25. The government should meet the needs of the people, if necessary, through borrowing money or increasing taxes.

| SAAND SD |  | Good financial principles for private enterprise are equally good principles for government. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| SA A ND SD | 27. | Government spending is naturally wasteful. |
| SAANDSD |  | We are spending more than the people can really afford to spend for government services. |
| SA A N D SD |  | The collecting and spending of tax money is most wasteful at the federal level, not so wasteful at the state level, and least wasteful at the local level of government. |
| SA A N D SD | 30. | Congress should accept the sensible virtue other businesses and individuals have learned - that of living within one's means. |
| SAANDSD | 31. | Our government can and should do more to promote the general we1fare. |
| SA A N D SD | 32. | Private enterprise could do better many of the things that government is now doing. |
| SA A N D SD | 33. | The best governed is the least governed. |
| SA A N D SD | 34. | Charitable services for those in need should be left to voluntary groups. |
| SA A N D SD | 35. | Government in the United States is not the enemy of business. |
| SA A N D Sb | 36. | Increased government services in the social welfare programs may increase an individual's freedom. |
| SA A N D SD | 37 | The Supreme Court has assumed powers not given to it by law or by custom. |
| SA A N D SD |  | Federal aid to schools, aid to the aged through social security, more stringent civil rights laws, and laws of like nature, are dangerously parallel to methods used in socialistic countries. |
| SA A N D SD |  | The government should increase its activity in matters of health, retirement, wages, and old-age benefits. |
| SA A N D SD | 40. | Some races are by nature inferior mentally, emotionally, and physically. |
| SA A N D SD | 1. | Unless we change social conditions, many children of minority groups will be unable to realize their full potentialities. |

SA A ND SD 42. The United Nations has become an international debating society paid for by the United States.

SA A N D SD 43. Our foreign policy has been motivated too long by a spirit of do-goodism.

SA A ND SD 44. We could recognize nations such as Red China without implying that we approve of their forms of government.

SA A N D SD 45. Production is greatest in an economic system based upon competition and some pressure.

SA - Strongly Agree, A - Agree, N - Neutral, D - Disagree, SD - Strongly Disagree

## APPENDIX F

## PHI COEFFICIENTS FOR EDUCATIONAL

AND CIVIC BELIEFS

| Educational |  | Civic |  | Total |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Phi <br> Coefficient | Leaders | Phi Coefficient | Leaders | Phi Coefficient | Leaders |
| . 82 ** | A-1, A-5 | . 65 * | $A-2, B-3$ | . 59 * | A-2, $\mathrm{A}-5$ |
| . $75 *$ | $\mathrm{A}-1, \mathrm{~B}-2$ | . $63 \%$ | A-2, $\mathrm{A}-5$ | . 45 | $\mathrm{B}-3, \mathrm{~B}-7$ |
|  | A-5, B-2 | . 56 * | $B-3, B-7$ | . 40 | B-4, B-7 |
| .58* | B-4, B-6 | . 55 | A-2, B-7 | . 39 | B-3, B-4 |
| . 57 * | A-3, B-6 | . 47 | A-1, A-5 |  | B-4, B-6 |
| . 56 | $\mathrm{A}-1, \mathrm{~B}-4$ |  | $A-2, B-3$ | . 38 | $\mathrm{B}-5, \mathrm{~B}-6$ |
| -. 54 | $\mathrm{A}-4, \mathrm{~B}-2$ | . 46 | $A-2, B-1$ | . 35 | A-5, B-3 |
| . 49 | $\mathrm{B}-4, \mathrm{~B}-5$ | . 43 | B-4, B-7 | . 34 | $\mathrm{A}-1, \mathrm{~A}-2$ |
| . 48 | $\mathrm{A}-2, \mathrm{~A}-5$ | . 42 | $A-5, B-3$ |  | A-2, B-1 |
| . 46 | A-3, B-4 | . 38 | A-5, B-1 | . 32 | A-1, B-3 |
| -. 45 | A-4, A-5 |  | B-2, B-7 |  | A-5, B-1 |
| . 44 | B-3, B-4 | . 37 | $\mathrm{B}-3, \mathrm{~B}-4$ |  | B-2, B-7 |
| -. 43 | A-2, $\mathrm{A}-4$ | . 36 | B-5, B-6 | -. 30 | A-2, A-4 |
| . 42 | A-1, B-6 | . 34 | B-4, B-6 |  |  |
|  | A-2, A-4 | -. 33 | $A-3, B-1$ |  |  |
|  | B-1, B-4 | . 31 | A-1, A-5 |  |  |
|  | B-5, B-6 | . 30 | A-1, B-3 |  |  |
| . 41 | A-1, B-1 |  |  |  |  |
| . 39 | $B-3, B-6$ |  |  |  |  |
| . 38 | $\mathrm{A}-1, \mathrm{~B}-3$ |  |  |  |  |
|  | B-1, B-2 |  |  |  |  |
| . 37 | $\mathrm{A}-2, \mathrm{~B}-2$ |  |  |  |  |
| . 36 | $\mathrm{B}-4, \mathrm{~B}-7$ |  |  |  |  |
| . 35 | A-1, A-2 |  |  |  |  |
| + 32 | A-5, B-7 |  |  |  |  |
|  | B-2, B-4 |  |  |  |  |
| -. 32 | $A-1, A-4$ |  |  |  |  |
| . 31 | A-5, B-1 |  |  |  |  |
| .31-.30 | A-4, B-5 |  |  |  |  |
|  | A-4, B-7 |  |  |  |  |

* . 05 level of significance
** . 01 level of significance

APPENDIX G
INFLUENTIALS' RESPONSES TO OPINIONNAIRE
Item Community Agree Neutral Disagree Item Community Agree Neutral Disagree

Educational Beliefs

| 1. | A | 4 | 1 | 9 | 11. | A | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | B | 3 | 0 | 4 |  | B | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| 2. | A | 3 | 0 | 2 | 12. | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{A} \\ & \mathrm{~B} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1 \\ & 3 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2 \\ & 1 \end{aligned}$ | 2 |
|  | B | 3 | 1 | 3 |  |  |  |  | 3 |
| 3. | A | 3 | 1 | 1 | 13. | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{A} \\ \mathrm{~B} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 3 \\ & 3 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0 \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ | 2 |
|  | B | 2 | 2 | 3 |  |  |  |  | 4 |
| 4. | A | 2 | 0 | 3 | 14. | A | 2 | $\begin{aligned} & 0 \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ | 3 |
|  | B | 2 | 2 | 3 |  |  |  |  | 5 |
| 5. | A | 1 | 0 | 4 | 15. | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{A} \\ & \mathrm{~B} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1 \\ & 1 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0 \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ | 4 |
|  | B | 2 | 1 | 4 |  |  |  |  | 6 |
| 6. | A | 3 | 0 | 2 | 16. | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{A} \\ & \mathrm{~B} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0 \\ & 1 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0 \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ | 5 |
|  | B | 6 | 0 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 6 |
| 7. | A | 0 | 0 | 5 | 17. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { A } \\ & \text { B } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 4 \\ & 5 \end{aligned}$ | 00 | 1 |
|  | B | 1 | 0 | 6 |  |  |  |  | 2 |
| 8. | A | 1 | 1 | 3 | 18. | A | 47 | $\begin{aligned} & 1 \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ | 0 |
|  | B | 0 | 0 | 7 |  |  |  |  | 0 |
| 9. | A | 2 | 1 | 2 | 19. | A | 46 | 10 | 0 |
|  | B | 6 | 0 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 1 |
| 10. | A | 1 | 1 | 3 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | B | 2 | 1 | 4 |  |  |  |  |  |

APPENDIX G (Continued)

| Item | Community | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Item | Community | Agree | Neutral | Disagree |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Civic Beliefs |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. | A | 2 | 0 | 3 | 11. | A | 4 | 0 | 1 |
|  | B | 2 | 2 | 3 |  | B | 5 | 0 | 2 |
| 2. | A | 3 | 1 | 1 | 12. | A | 2 | 1 | 2 |
|  | B | 7 | 0 | 0 |  | B | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| 3. | A | 2 | 0 | 3 | 13. | A | 4 | 0 | 1 |
|  | B | 4 | 0 | 3 |  | B | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| 4. | A | 4 | 0 | 1 | 14. | A | 3 | 0 | 2 |
|  | B | 7 | 0 | 0 |  | B | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| 5. | A | 3 | 0 | 2 | 15. | A | 4 | 0 | 1 |
|  | B | 4 | 0 | 3 |  | B | 3 | 0 | 4 |
| 6. | A | 2 | 1 | 2 | 16. | A | 3 | 0 | 2 |
|  | B | 3 | 1 | 3 |  | B | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| 7. | A | 2 | 0 | 3 | 17. | A | 3 | 0 | 2 |
|  | B | 0 | 0 | 7 |  | B | 1 | 0 | 6 |
| 8. | A | 2 | 0 | 3 | 18. | A | 5 | 0 | 0 |
|  | B | 2 | 0 | 5 |  | B | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| 9. | A | 3 | 2 | 0 | *19. | A | 5 | 0 | 0 |
|  | B | 4 | 1 | 2 |  | B | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| 10. | A | 1 | 1 | 3 | *20. | A | 2 | 0 | 3 |
|  | B | 2 | 2 | 3 |  | B | 2 | 1 | 4 |

APPENDIX G (Continued)

| Item | Community | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Item | Community | Agree | Neutral | Disagree |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 21. | A | 0 | 1 | 4 | 32. | A | 1 | 3 | 1 |
|  | B | 0 | 1 | 6 |  | в | 6 | 0 | 1 |
| 22. | A | 3 | 0 | 2 | 33. | A | 1 | 1 | 3 |
|  | B | 3 | 2 | 2 |  | B | 3 | 0 | 4 |
| 23. | A | 3 | 1 | 1 | 34. | A | 0 | 0 | 5 |
|  | B | 4 | 0 | 3 |  | B | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| 24. | A | 2 | 0 | 3 | 35. | A | 4 | 0 | 1 |
|  | B | 2 | 0 | 5 |  | B | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| 25. | A | 4 | 1 | 0 | 36. | A | 2 | 2 | 1 |
|  | B | 4 | 1 | 2 |  | B | 4 | 0 | 3 |
| 26. | A | 4 | 0 | 1 | 37. | A | 1 | 2 | 2 |
|  | B | 7 | 0 | 0 |  | B | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| 27. | A | 2 | 0 | 3 | 38. | A | 1 | 1 | 3 |
|  | B | 0 | 1 | 6 |  | B | 2 | 0 | 5 |
| 28. | A | 2 | 0 | 3 | 39. | A | 3 | 0 | 2 |
|  | B | 0 | 2 | 5 |  | B | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| 29. | A | 2 | 0 | 3 | 40. | A | 1 | 1 | 3 |
|  | B | 3 | 0 | 4 |  | B | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| 30. | A | 4 | 1 | 0 | 41. | A | 4 | 1 | 0 |
|  | B | 5 | 1 | 1 |  | B | 6 | 1 | 0 |
| 31. | A | 4 | 1 | 0 | 42. | A | 4 | 0 | 1 |
|  | B | 5 | 2 | 0 |  | B | 0 | 1 | 6 |

APPENDIX G (Continued)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Item | Community | Agree | Neutral | Disagree |
| 43. | A | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| 44. | B | 1 | 2 | 4 |
|  | A | 4 | 1 | 0 |
| 45. | B | 4 | 2 | 1 |
|  | B | 4 | 0 | 1 |
|  | 7 | 0 | 0 |  |

*significant difference in responses by communities at the .05 level

VITA $\gamma$<br>Larry Marvin Keisker<br>Candidate for the Degree of<br>Doctor of Education

Thesis: A DESCRIPTION OF THE INFORMAL COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE BELIEFS OF THE INFLUENIIALS TO THE APPROVAL OF THE SCHOOL DISTRICT'S OPERATING TAX LEVY

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[^0]:    Reading Key:
    Mentions given, left across and right down
    Mentions received, right across and left down

