WOMEN IN A COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

By

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Abstract

Feminist researchers have noted the invisibility of women in power structure studies to date and have suggested that it is the methods of main-stream social science research that systematically obscure women's political activities. The primary objective of this study is to identify and describe the women who participate in the public decision-making process at the community level, as a test of the suggestion that there is a bias in the methods, and as a way of beginning to correct the present lack of knowledge about women's contributions to community politics.

There is, however, no accepted theory of community power, and the organization and distribution of power in a Canadian suburban community, a previously unstudied setting, could not be taken for granted. Therefore, the research has been designed to determine both the structure of power in the community and the location of women in that structure.

Variations on standard research methods are used to identify men and women active in community politics, and interviews with elected and other community leaders provide data about the leaders, their memberships in key organizations, and their political activities and strategies. Ficticious names are given to the community, some of the local organizations, and the community leaders in order to protect the anonymity of the informants.
The distribution of power in the community is found to conform to the elite power structure model. An organized opposition somewhat limits the power of the dominant clique, but this does not constitute evidence of the mutual control that some researchers state is the case in pluralistic societies. A comparison of the data in this and other studies indicates that individuals active in sectors such as business, government and the independent professions, are predominant in all the communities in the comparative survey, no matter what type of community or what methods are used to identify the community leaders. It is suggested that this finding lends weight to the stratification theorists' assessment of the distribution of power in the community.

It is concluded that the methods of power structure research are designed to focus on the most powerful members of the community, and active women will be under-reported because, although they are similar to influential men in personal characteristics, women are not often elected to positions of power, they are less likely than men to be members of the associations and institutions through which political power is organized, and they are less often active in the issues that are important to the dominant men.

However, main-stream social science research has been designed by men to focus mainly on men's experiences. Women have been classified only in terms of the men in their lives, their political behaviour has been defined in different ways than
men's, and researchers and informants alike have not thought of women as influential in public decision-making. By using methods which draw attention to the women who are active in community politics, it is shown that women participate in many ways to shape public policy, from activities that are designed to influence economic issues and land use decisions, to those which influence the type of educational and welfare programs available to the community. Women bring many personal resources to the decision-making process, but lack the organizational resource bases that men use to exert influence and gain political power. Women, like less powerful men in the community, exercise influence in different ways than the men in the dominant clique.

It is recommended that the study of women's political experiences be used as a starting point in studying the organization, exercise and distribution of power at the community level from the perspective of relatively powerless individuals and groups. It is hoped that apart from offering women a way to validate their political experiences and to understand the nature of the limitations on their power, such studies will provide the impetus to renew efforts in developing a comprehensive theory of community power.
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Chapter One
Introduction

This is a study about women's involvement in community politics and it is an attempt to document their presence in a community power structure. "Community politics" is defined here as those activities that are intended to influence the outcome of public decision-making. A community power structure is the term used to denote the interlocking network of individuals who exert influence in the decision-making process.

The study places emphasis on women's participation because the many community power studies which have been completed since the 1950's do not document, in any detail, the activities and characteristics of the women who help shape policy at the community level. Students of community power identify individuals who participate in community politics and map the connections between them to test the notion of pluralism, that decision-making is decentralized.

My interest in power structure research grew from personal experience in community politics in the social service sector. Working at directorship level in this sector includes assessing community welfare needs, expanding or developing services and finding resources for that work. It was my observation then that Board members were drawn from a relatively small pool of

1 Community power structure research is considered to have been formally initiated by Floyd Hunter (1953) in his classic work Community Power Structure.
volunteers and that interlocks among agency board members were not uncommon. Over time this observation has been validated. I also noted that many of the executive members of the organizations were women.

A review of the literature on community power supports the observation about the small numbers of people who participate in community politics and the interlocking memberships, but in general, women are non-persons in these studies or peripheral to the analysis.

Feminist research has begun to document the absence of women in all manner of scholarly research. Bourque and Grossholt (1974:253) point out that there is an assumption in power structure research that the most influential community leaders will be men and researchers seem "little concerned to investigate the few women who do appear... and thus maintain the notion that women are not politically active." They point out that in Hunter's study (1953) six women are considered; like blacks, a subgroup; Dahl (1961) never mentions the gender of the leaders in the power structure that he identifies and fails to discuss the ninety eight subleaders who are female; Presthus (1964:129-130,165) puts the eight women identified in his study of *Men at the Top* into a specialist category, i.e., one-issue activists, seen as less powerful. Research centres on the powerful men, and women are once again "hidden from history" (Rowbotham, 1972:8).
The need to test the accuracy of my observations and the reasons for the absence of women in the literature form the basis of this research, and the purpose of this thesis is to describe the organization of power in a Canadian suburban community with emphasis on the location of women in the local power structure.

The work is primarily involved with what has been labelled the "corrective" category of feminist research (Ehrlich, 1976) which is concerned with filling in the gaps in our knowledge of women. The first phase of feminist research has documented the invisibility of women in social science research and has heightened awareness of the limitations of the scientific basis of social science, which has been found to be biased in that it is based on a "masculine view of social reality" (Roberts, 1981:2). A second phase of the work includes identifying the methodological biases which systematically remove women from view, and recording the experiences of women. Work still needs to be done on developing suitable methods to redress the gender bias of present research designs. Those engaged in feminist research seek to examine the experiences of both men and women rather than assume that the research about men can be generalized to women, and they emphasize that the knowledge gained from an alternative perspective will expand the effectiveness of social science research (Bernard, 1973:14; Butler, 1976:4).
The work also researches a previously unstudied setting, a Canadian suburban community. Earlier studies have concentrated on cities of varying size in the United States with a few studies located in Britain and one in Canada. As the number of American studies has lessened dramatically since the 1970's, I hope that a study of Canadian suburban politics will contribute to the better understanding of community power.

Research on community power is an area of considerable debate. Neither a "Power Structure Theory" (Domhoff, 1980:15) nor a "Theory of Power" (Dahl, 1957:202; Wrong, 1979:vii; Domhoff, 1978a:130) have been well defined to date. However, a combination of the standard research methods does appear to highlight those men who are central to the decision-making process, and with some variations, these methods will be used to identify the women who are active in shaping public policy in the community.

Research about women requires careful attention to the underlying assumptions and the methods of the previous studies. From the male perspective, women's activities may not be important to the studies, but as Freeman (1976:251) suggests, "it is an open question whether women so completely lack access to the higher echelons of political decision making or if the methods employed by students of community power operate systematically to remove women from their view."
In order to write about women in a community power structure, several tasks must be attempted: one is to explore ways in which active women can be identified; a second is to describe the women who are active in policy formulation and decision making; and a third is to offer some explanations for their under-representation in power structure studies.

The community serves as a useful unit of study for the exploration of women's political activities, as it is "a primary power centre and . . . a place in which power can most easily be observed" (Hunter, 1953:2). As Presthus (1964:9) suggests, the local community is the most favourable environment for the realization of democratic values of participation and pluralism. The community is also a suitable place to study the power and influence of women, as it is the level at which women are most likely to be active in a political sense, i.e., to attempt to influence public decision-making (Bell, 1961:43; Stewart, 1979:8; Brodie and Vickers, 1982:16).

This research is conducted as a case study of one community. The main value of the research lies partially in adding a set of findings to the study of community power, but primarily in documenting the characteristics and activities of the women who influence one community's decision-making processes. In addition, it is hopefully a way of combining community power structure theory and methods with feminist research on women's power in society, in that it compares the experiences of politically minded men and women and notes the
centrality of women to the organization of power.

The thesis is organized into five major sections. Chapter two provides an introduction to some issues in the research on community power structures, and in the study of women, the objectives of the study and procedures used to obtain the data required. Chapter three presents a description of the research setting, that is, some pertinent community characteristics and the political climate. Chapter four focuses attention on the decision-making process in the community, from the perspective of the politicians. I detail sources of influence on the process, voting outcomes in key issues, observations about whose interests prevail in decision-making and describe, in general terms, the organization of power in the community. Chapter five is concentrated on the women who participate in community politics, documenting their presence in positions of authority, and listing those with reputations for power. I describe in some detail the characteristics of a sample of the women so identified, noting their experiences in community politics and their connections to the structure of power operating in the community. I include information about some influential men for comparative purposes. In chapter six, I compare my observations of the organization of power in this community with data presented in other research, summarize the data on women's participation in community politics found in other studies and offer some possible explanations for the low profile of women in power structure literature.
Chapter seven presents an evaluation of the methods used in this study and offers suggestions for future research.
Chapter Two

Issues in the study of women and community power

Objectives of the research

The discrepancy between personal observation of women's activities in community politics and the general invisibility of women in research on community power raised for me several questions: one, who are the women who participate in the community decision-making process; two, what is the nature and scope of their influence; and three, why is it that they are almost ignored in the studies on the organization of power in a community?

To answer those questions I posed three major objectives for the research:

1. To identify the general organization of power in the community under study,

2. To identify women who participate in that process and describe their political activities and their connections to the power structure, and

3. To offer some explanations for the absence of women in the literature on community power.

Since there is as yet no body of literature that documents the activities and power of women in community politics, present theories and methods of power structure research serve as a guide to the investigation.
In this chapter I present some of the issues in research into community power structures and my particular approach to identifying the organization of power in the community under study. I discuss some of the systematic biases that feminist researchers have noted as reasons for women's general invisibility in studies on social phenomena and present the variations on basic power structure research methods that I use to emphasize women's participation in community politics. The chapter concludes with a summary of the procedures and a clarification of the limits of the research.

Issues in the study of community power

Power structure research focuses on the organization and distribution of power. The research is designed to identify community members who are central to the local decision-making process and to map the interpersonal, organizational and institutional connections between those members to determine the distribution of power.

Unfortunately, this field of study is one of considerable debate, the two predominant schools of thought presenting on one hand, an account of power concentrated in the hands of a small group of non-elected influential men, and on the other, data to show that the power of the state is shared with many groups and that no one group dominates the decision-making process. Thus there are no indisputable guidelines or expectations for the research into the power structure of a previously unstudied
setting, a Canadian suburban community, and yet the organization of power in this community has to be determined before women's location in that power structure can be assessed.

Interest in the subject of power as influence in community decision-making was particularly aroused when Hunter published in 1953 a study of the organization of power in an American city. Hunter's research interest grew from personal experience as a social worker, of "bumping up against" (Domhoff, 1980:9) the power of some community leaders of Atlanta, and from personal observation that, in general, proposals for major community projects appeared to be fully developed before coming to public attention. Hunter's research methods included at least twenty-one indicators of power (Miller, 1982:193), but his newly developed "reputational" method in which those who were most often nominated as influential in community affairs were identified as key decision-makers, became the focus of criticism of the "biased" findings.

The controversial research identified a power structure which was made up of a small group of men, predominantly from the business sector, but including a few who were in top positions in other institutions and in professional and civic associations. The men came together regularly through memberships in prestigious clubs, and through interlocking board memberships. Hunter stated that it was these men who initiated ideas for community projects, found the funding, and worked out the details before any hint of the matter came to public
attention. He noted that the most powerful men of this group, whom he designated the "power elite", formulated the policies, and it was those in the "understructure" group who attended to the details. Business leaders made up the key group of policy makers and elected politicians were among those in the less powerful groups (p.107). Personnel in the pyramid would change depending upon what needed to be done at a particular time (p.65).

A second major study of power in America was done by Mills (1956) who used the "positional" method to suggest that there was a national power elite made up of men in top decision-making positions in the economic, political and military institutions of society, who controlled national public policy decisions.

These findings were challenged by political scientists who, trained in "the old familiar pluralistic assumption about the nature of American politics" (Polsby, 1980:112), focused on the authority of the politicians, the "legitimate" leaders of a democratic society, and on actual behaviour in more public aspects of decision-making. The "pluralists" were led by Dahl (1961), who identified individuals active in public issues that he had designated as contentious, using the "decisional" method. Dahl asserted that power was decentralized in that "social and economic notables" did not dominate the decision-making processes and that "influence tends to be specialized" (p. 169). At issue was the concern to show that, in modern America, the upper class was no longer the ruling class: that wealth and
political influence were not combined (Dahl, 1961:15, 25).

The decisional method was in turn, criticized for neglecting "the subtle manifestations of power" (Presthus, 1964:42).

Based on the findings of the flurry of power structure studies that followed, power structure theorists have postulated a typology of power structures ranging from an elite model which denotes a small group of powerful people controlling decision-making over a broad range of issues or institutional sectors (a ruling group or covert elite),

1 to a pluralist model which implies that decision-making is shared between competing groups of politically minded individuals with interest and influence in one issue area or sector only (Form and Miller, 1960:538-543; Bonjean and Grimes, 1974:380-381). Presthus (1964:10) defines elitism as "disproportionate power (resting) in the hands of a minority of community members" and pluralism as "the power of the state shared with a large number of private groups, interest organizations and individuals representative of those organizations". Trounstine and Christensen (1982:39) define a factional power structure as one with two major conflicting groups and a coalitional one as one in which various groups form coalitions on specific issues with no stable factors emerging. They note that elite structures are thought of as pyramidal or

1 Domhoff (1983:216) points out that theorists of the elite school of thought suggest that power is concentrated not in one class as do Marxist scholars, but among those who manage the major institutions in society.
monolithic and pluralist structures as amorphous or polylithic.

In practice, more communities have been described to have some form of elite power structure than pluralist, as shown in a summary of studies prepared by Walton (1966). Later studies by Hunter (1980), Haugh (1980) and Trounstine and Christensen (1982) document that it is individuals with business interests who are predominant in American power structures. Dahl's (1961:334) study identified a significant number of members of the economic sector among the issue leaders in New Haven, in spite of stating (p.187) that "top leaders are likely to be public officials and private individuals who reflect the varying and even conflicting segments of the community. Domhoff (1978), in a reanalysis of the New Haven data studied by Dahl (1961), has disputed the pluralist model presented in the earlier work, noting the use of methods which did not tap the underlying power base of the community, which had "Yale, the First New Haven National Bank and the Chamber of Commerce at its heart" (p.113). Port's (1972) study of a Canadian town identified a similar preponderance of businessmen. The debate about the pluralistic nature of western democracy has been brought into the 1980's by Polsby (1980) and by Dahl (1982).

It would seem that members of the two schools of thought have developed their theories and research methods using different units of analysis and the issue has become an unnecessarily heated debate. Elite theorists stress that the resource for power comes from being located in a key position in
a dominant institution and in interlocking group memberships, but pluralists assert that power may be tied to issues which may be fleeting (Polsby, 1980:115), and insist on focusing on individual resources for power which might include "money and credit, control over jobs, control over information of others, social standing, knowledge and expertise, popularity, legitimacy, ethnic solidarity, right to vote, time, and personal energy", all of which may be "employed with greater or less skill" (Polsby 1980:119-120).

Stratification theorists focus on the exercise of power through the more hidden aspect of policy formulation in the decision-making process (Hunter, 1953 :113; Domhoff, 1978b:62), yet pluralists stress that power can only be indicated by "an examination of a series of concrete cases where key decisions are made" Dahl (1958:469).

Stratification theorists suggest that there is a "mobilization of bias" (Schattschneider, 1960; Bachrach and Baratz,1962; Lukes, 1974) which has been defined as "the establishment of a set of values which systematically serves one group at the expense of others" (Trounstine and Christensen, 1982:34). Pluralists dismiss research into mobilization of bias as being "as yet empirically unsubstantiated" (Polsby, 1980:189-218) and continue to maintain that "nobody dominates decision-making... that (American) society is fractured into congeries of hundreds of small special interest groups, with incompletely overlapping memberships, widely differing power bases and a
multitude of techniques for exercising influence on decisions salient to them. . . " (Polsby, 1980:113-118). However, while stating that "in large political systems, independent organizations help to prevent domination and to create mutual control", Dahl (1982:32,36) does not exaggerate the possibility.

There is also a problem of definition of terms. Presthus (1964) designed a study to focus on the pluralistic aspects of decision-making in two communities, and in comparing the findings to those in other communities, concluded that "whereas some specialization of leadership occurs, a 'significant amount of overlapping of decisional power' is characteristic of members of power elites. . . to some extent, where sociologists found monopoly and called it elitism, political scientists found oligopoly but defined it in more honorific terms as pluralism" (p.430).

However, Trounstine and Christensen (1982:36) point out that both schools of thought:

have contributed substantially to our understanding of power. The elitists gave us insights on power as it existed outside the formal decision-making structures of government . . . the pluralists shifted the focus somewhat from reputation to behaviour, insisting on the need for specific actions. . . and alerted us to the possibility of power varying over time (stratification theorists said that the upper class would always dominate) and by issue.

Because of this unresolved debate, and in spite of the many and varied contributions to the body of research, the clarification of power structure types and their determinants has not been completed. The early debate about the differences
in described power structures centred on the methods used to identify local influentials in case study communities. Different methods, based on varying assumptions about indicators of power, were found to highlight different power structures. Later attempts at comparative analyses were based on the speculation that not only methods but also community type (population size and composition, economic structure and type of governance, for example) might offer an explanation for the differences (Walton, 1966:435; Trounstine and Christensen, 1982:40). I review these points in more detail below.

Methods for identifying influentials

Implicit in the debate about power structure type is the notion that power is the ability to influence or control the outcome of public decision-making, and that some individuals have a greater capacity to do so than others. Both elite and pluralist researchers agree with Dahl's (1957:210) observation "that some people have more power than others is one of the most palpable facts of human existence", and they also agree that only a small group of individuals are active in community politics (Presthus, 1964:405; Dye 1983:10). Another point of agreement is that power is thought of as a collectivity (Domhoff, 1983:10), that is, power of individuals "must be structured into associational cliques, or institutional patterns to be effective" (Hunter, 1953:6). The major task in power structure research is documenting the interconnections among those relatively few individuals active in local decision-
making. The pluralist-elitist argument is at base, an issue about whether there is a systemic organization of power.

The three basic methods used to identify individuals who are most influential in decision-making are based on different assumptions about who is likely to have the most power to influence the process. The positional method is used on the premise that highest office holders in a dominant institution, corporation, association or organization have the greatest capacity for power in decision-making and are therefore the most influential individuals. However, it has been argued that capacity and performance may not be the same thing (Dahl, 1958:465; Wrong, 1968:677).

The reputational method is used on the assumption that knowledgeable insiders will be able to identify those who actually exert influence and that the number of nominations for each individual provides an indicator of the magnitude of reputed power. Variations on the reputational method have been designed to identify visible, concealed and symbolic leaders (Bonjean, 1963).

Pluralists criticize this method, stating that reputation for power may not reflect actual power, that all informants may not have the same understanding of what is meant by power in decision-making, and that informants chosen may be a biased group (Domhoff, 1978a:136, summarizing Wolfinger (1960) and Polsby (1963)). Instead, pluralists state that power can only be indicated by actual behaviour in key decisions (Dahl, 1958:469).
The *decisional* method focuses on the political arena to determine "who participates, who gains and who loses, and who prevails in decision-making" (Polsby 1963:4). This approach draws attention to the influence activities of elected community leaders but is regarded as having severe limitations in identifying the hidden influences in the decision-making process. (Mitchell, 1969:114; Domhoff, 1978:137).

Walton's summary of studies before 1966 indicated that the three methods, alone or in a variety of combinations lead to contradictory findings: "the reputational method tends to identify pyramidal structures while the decision-making and combined methods reflect factional, coalitional and amorphous types" (1966:435). Nevertheless, Domhoff (1978a:134) has suggested that no matter what the criticisms are of each method, all three generate lists of names which can be used to seek out connections among those individuals. And because each method has strengths and weaknesses, he recommends that all three be used where possible.

Community differences

Variations in communities are also suggested to be a determinant of differences in identified power structures. Form and Miller (1960:439) speculated that the industrial and occupational make-up of the local economy would be a factor in the kinds of people who would be active in the community. Trounstine and Christensen (1982:40-47) extended the number of
variables, based on the work of Clark (1968) and Lineberry and Sharkansky (1978:182-186), to include size, population composition, economic factors including business mix, industrialization, unionization, absentee ownership, mobility of industry, structure of government and political culture, a term used to describe "shared values, traditions, myths and accepted behaviours". They found that while the effect of some characteristics were still unclear, rapid growth, increasing diversity of population, economic diversity, industrialization and absentee ownership, and an "unreformed" mayor-council form of government appear to contribute to a more pluralistic trend in power structures. Community characteristics should therefore be identified in any attempt to document the organization of power.

However, there are also other changes that may affect the nature of the power structure. Trounstine and Christensen (1982:40,49) point out that "the rise of the national corporate economy and the dominance of absentee-owned economic institutions in most communities, results in many decisions being made outside the community", and they note research by Wirt (1974), Miller (1975) and Domhoff (1978a:152) that suggests that "the arena for elite participation has shifted from the strictly local community to higher levels: the region, the state, the nation. Elite influence at these levels allows them to rule local communities through broad policy, leaving active participation at the local levels to the less influential... the non-elites".
Structural bias

This structural change, and the consistent finding of a high incidence of businessmen among community leaders, even in Dahl's survey, encourages me to consider another theme found in stratification literature, in spite of the pluralist claim that no group dominates decision-making. That theme notes the relative dominance of some societal institutions such as the economic and political sectors compared to those such as education, religion and the family (Miller and Form, 1951:853-859; Mills, 1958:32; Hunter, 1980:xviii). This notion of relative dominance of certain institutions allows a focus on the similarities of the findings rather than on the differences, and the approach has three advantages. First, it provides a way to widen the focus from just mapping the distribution of power in a local area, a focus which tends to treat the community as a closed system (Clark, 1973:5), to viewing the exercise of power within a societal context (Domhoff, 1978a:152). Secondly, it more readily offers a conceptual framework for understanding the likelihood of finding forms of elite power structures in all manner of communities despite variations in economic base and social class among identified influentials in large cities and small towns. Thirdly, it is also useful in examining the power of women who are perceived to be associated less with business interests than with educational, health and welfare or family concerns.
Form and Miller (1960:439) have suggested that the relative dominance of institutions may be reflected in the proportions of representatives which each contribute to strategic positions in community organizations, and cite as an example the possibility of "the city council, board of education, church boards of control and welfare boards" all dominated by the business elite. However, they note that the proportions of representatives from each social institution can be altered somewhat by the industrial compositional makeup of the local economy, the area perhaps being a one company manufacturing town, a university town or a centre for government offices. I find some confirmation of Form and Miller's hypothesis in Haugh (1980) who found that business leaders reflecting the major economic activities in the southern American city he studied, were dominant in the "public-voluntary-not-for-profit sector", although that was not my observation while working in that sector in a Canadian community.

In summary, there are many variables in the explanations given about the various power structures identified: various methods and community types, the relative dominance of some societal institutions, as well as variations in defining terms for the power structures documented in the research. I judged that I had to find out the answers to several questions in order to identify the organization and distribution of power in the community: who are the politicians and the non-elected citizens who influence public decision-making; what are the interpersonal, interorganizational and institutional connections
among those people; and whose interests prevail in decision-making. I also would need to document the characteristics of the community in which the study was to take place. It was my intent, as a newcomer to the field, to develop a research design which would bridge the opposing sets of research methods used by "pluralists" and "elitists": the elitists focusing on the business sector, claiming that it is the economic leaders who are the actual decision-makers and that in some cases they "have the machinery of government at their bidding" (Hunter, 1953: 24); and the pluralists paying more attention to the governing decision-makers as "legitimate leaders" and failing to note their connections to non-elected community influencers.

I decided to use the term influential(s) to denote any individual who participates in some way in the decision-making process, and those influential individuals who appear to have broader scopes of influence than others or who are in a dominant group, would be considered more powerful.

My approach is informed partly by Jennings (1964:201), who noted the high participation of local government officials in interpersonal relationships with community influentials, and by Trounstine and Christensen (1982:54), who stress that there is a need to find out "who annoints and finances candidates" for elected office. In other words, politicians do not function in a vacuum, and however the decision-making or policy formulation parts of the process are attributed to the various institutional sectors, the linkages between the two most dominant institutions
cannot be denied.

Therefore, my first effort to gain a general sense of the organization of power in the suburban community was to ask the politicians to identify the major influences and influencers in their experience as legitimate decision-makers, and to list their memberships in local organizations. In this way I assumed I would be provided with indications of some influential members of the community and influential groups with whom the politicians were connected. The focus on the political arena was also considered suitable for this research as Dahl's (1961) study of those active in the public decision-making arena had highlighted more women than in any other study, although he failed to describe them in any detail.

To further explore which individuals, men and women, were active in the politics of community decision-making, I employed variations of all three methods cited in power structure research. I used the positional and reputational methods independently to identify influential citizens, and compared those lists as a check on potential and actual influence. I monitored the reputational list by asking some nominated influentials to describe the issues in which they actually exerted influence. I was also constantly alert during the research process for information about connections of any of the men and women identified through the surveys or in the interviews with politicians. That information came from the influentials who were interviewed, from knowledgeable informants
as they nominated influential people, from newspapers and local TV programs, history books and plaques on public buildings. I varied the standard methods somewhat to ensure that I identified women who contributed to the public decision-making process, but before I discuss the particular forms used, I review the reasons why I made some changes to the methods.

Issues in the study of women

I have noted that the methods of power structure research, no matter what the criticisms are of each method, all generate lists of names of individuals active in community politics, and that these lists can be used to discover connections among participants in the decision-making process. However, the issue explored in this study is that active women are seldom identified, or if identified, ignored in the analysis that follows. We must therefore begin to understand the methodological bias which has contributed to the absence of women in the findings of scholarly research, in order to assess the changes in methods that must be made. Three major biases are described below.

The first bias is that the subject areas which have been studied most closely by the men who dominate academia, have been those in which men predominate (Oakley, 1975:4; Snyder, 1979:39-78). The outcome of the research focus has been the development of a base of knowledge that has ignored the activities of women (Smith, 1974:7) and in the process, has subliminally shaped our
thinking about the "important" members of our society. One result is that women have no base of public knowledge against which to validate their experiences or perceptions of social and political life.

A second bias is noted by Siltanen and Stanworth (1984a:94-95) who draw together examples of work showing how political behaviour of men and women have been labelled differentially, with men's activities being defined as "political engagement" whereas women's activities are designated as behaviour based on "moral or social" concerns. The effect of this bias is to further limit the identification of a variety of women's activities which are in fact, political, that is, designed to influence the outcome of decision-making. In turn, this bias contributes to a belief, commonly held by both men and women, that what women do is not politically important, and is therefore not influential behaviour.

Another example of a bias which has systematically removed women from view has been the classification system used in social stratification studies. Stratification systems are based primarily on occupational categories for men, and on the occupation of the dominant man in their lives (father or husband) for women (Acker, 1973; Delphy, 1981), creating discrepancies and difficulties in the classification of women and any individuals in unpaid labour. Dahl (1961:177) for example, classifies women identified in his survey by their husband's occupation; Presthus (1964:186) lists a table of
occupational profiles which notes that "housewives . . . and unclassifiables are excluded."; five of the six women in Hunter's (1953:13) list of forty leaders are categorized as "leisure personnel" as they have social or civic organization leadership capacities but do not have business offices or similar places in which they conduct their day-to-day affairs. This fact appears to contribute to their near invisibility in the analysis of community leaders that follows.

Such examples of bias underscore the conviction of feminist researchers that the existing research framework has to be revised (Andersen, 1983:15; Meis, 1983; Klein, 1983) although researchers are reminded that, in revising the "male as norm" paradigm, we must treat men and women by the same standards (Siltanen and Stanworth, 1984b:191).

In reviewing the methods devised by male researchers to identify community leaders, I judged that the positional method has limitations for the study of women in that it is used to generate list of names of those who hold key positions in organizations in the dominant sectors, and in the civic associations which tend to be the "core organizations which are large and related to economic institutions" (McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 1982:883). Few women hold positions of power in any dominant organizations (Stacey and Price, 1981:4-5), especially in the economic sector (Marchak, 1977:202; Boyd, 1982:66; Armstrong and Armstrong, 1983). They are seldom found in high office in the field of politics, although Brodie and Vickers
(1982:16) note that women are more likely to hold elected office at the community level than in provincial or federal politics. I therefore vary the positional method to concentrate on identifying women in elected positions and in executive office in important civic organizations rather than attempting to list women business leaders.

I suggest that the reputational method also has limitations in the study of women. The two-step reputational method used by Hunter (1953) and Trounstine and Christensen (1982), for example, involves generating lists of names of people in key positions and asking knowledgeable citizens to rank those names by reputation for power in decision-making. This method, as I noted above, places emphasis on men who are in authority in various institutional sectors, primarily business and government, and in key civic organizations. When efforts are made by post-women's liberation movement students of community power to include "as many women . . . as are logically appropriate in the early stages (to) lessen the likelihood of inadequately reflecting their presence in the power structure" (Trounstine and Christensen, 1982:60), we still have the problem that only two women are identified among the top forty leaders in the community under study, and we learn little about the role of women in community politics. The "add women and stir" method (Andersen, 1983:13), in this case does not take into account the fact that most respondents are likely to nominate men as the most influential members of the community.
The variation I used was to choose knowledgeable men and women from a broad range of institutional sectors to identify women and men who are influential in their fields of endeavour and in general. To ensure that those contacted in the reputational survey would not overlook or underestimate the contributions of women to community politics, I noted the focus of the study as a cue to everybody to highlight women. If necessary, I probed for names of men.

The variation should also appease pluralist researchers who have criticized Hunter's (1953:11) concentration on only four sectors, namely business, government, civic-associations and 'society' activities. Polsby (1980:47) stated that this approach incorporates an a priori assumption of a monolithic power structure. Miller (1958:10) had suggested that lists of leaders should be gathered from many institutional areas, and I think that suggestion is useful in attempting to explore the participation of women who are not usually considered key participants in the dominant institutions.

The decisional method is thought to have some general limitations in that the key decisions that are studied are based on the researcher's view of what the crucial issues are. Although attempts have been made to ask citizens their opinions about key issues (Port, 1972), or to use as a criterion of importance, the sum of money involved in the decision and the number of people affected by the decision (Presthus, 1964:53), the issues examined will not necessarily identify those in which
women are active participants. In assessing the organization and distribution of power in the community, I identify key issues to be those which cause the greatest conflict between the competing parties on Council, and note whose interests prevail in the outcome of those debates (Dahl, 1958:466). But I also ask some of the nominated women and men for details about their influence activities to assess where they, the women in particular, fit into the organization of power over decision-making.

To overcome the bias of classifying women according to the occupations of the male in their lives, or ignoring the "unclassifiables", I describe the personal characteristics of both men and women, noting retired men as well as housewives. I ask the same questions of women and men and compare their connections to the identified dominant cliques, their areas of influence and their influence experiences.

Summary of procedures

To summarize, in order to identify the most influential individuals and groups in the decision-making process, so that I might determine the organization and distribution of power in the community, I first interview the politicians to ask them who they listen to when making policy decisions, and to acquire a list of their memberships in order to gain an initial sense of the interpersonal and interorganizational connections among community influentials. Positional and reputational methods are used as independent surveys to identify influential community
members. Interlocks among those people are sought through a variety of sources, to establish the organization of power. A review of the most contentious municipal issues is undertaken to discover if any group prevails in community decision-making.

To identify and describe women who participate in the decision-making process, I list those who are in positions of political power and in positions of authority in the public service and in civic organizations and then interview a number of the women who are nominated as influential, choosing a sample which is representative of the various sectors in which women participate.

To find out how the women fit into the organization of power which operates in the community, I ask those women details of their political activities and their organizational memberships, and compare that information to the data I gather from men.

Limits of the research

This study does not set out to offer a detailed description of the most powerful community members. The purpose is to explore the contributions of women to community politics, and to assess why it is that women are not visible in mainstream studies on community power. To identify women's influence in public decision-making, I request names of citizens active in many institutional sectors, rather than focusing on the relatively dominant ones. However, in the analysis of women's
potential for power, and the reasons why they are almost invisible in the literature on community power, I place the findings about women into the actual world of power, the world of men and men's interests. As a woman, I am more attuned to the experiences of other women, but I make every effort to use the "dual perspective" which attempts to "combine male and female perspectives" in the research process (Eichler and Lapointe, 1985:19).
Chapter Three
The research setting

In this chapter I offer a general description of the community and its residents and an introduction to the political climate. An analysis of common memberships of the municipal politicians, with supporting evidence from other sources, indicates that two cliques of residents dominate civic politics.

Community characteristics

North Waterfield (a pseudonym), is a suburb of about 100,000 people in British Columbia. From the time of first white settlement by people of mainly British stock in 1876, until the municipality became a dormitory community for the neighbouring city in the late 1950's, the area was productive farmland. From 1951 to 1981 the population increased fourfold (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1951, Table 12; Statistics Canada, 1981, Cat.No. E580.) During that same period, the economic base of the community also expanded and diversified. Long term primary resource industries were joined by an increasing number of economic activities, including "high-tech" enterprises, and by 1981, the industry composition of the area, listed in descending order in terms of percentage of people employed, ranged from Community, business and personal service; Trade; Manufacturing; and Transportation, communications and utilities (approximately 30% to 10%); to Finance, insurance and real estate; Public administration and defence; Construction;
and Primary industries (below 10%) (Statistics Canada, 1981, Cat. No. E580). The population growth and economic diversification has provided the foundation for greater self-sufficiency in the community tax base, an expansion in the local job market, and a variety of general services such as a hospital, major shopping centres, sports grounds, arts facilities, two locally based newspapers, and community television and radio stations.

The population composition of North Waterfield includes many ethnic groups. Those of British origin make up approximately 50% of the residents. Other ethnic groups which represent between ten percent and one percent of the population are: Chinese, German, Indo/Pakistan, Dutch, Japanese, Ukrainian, Scandinavian, French, Pacific Islands, and Jewish (Statistics Canada, 1981, Cat. No. SPC81B18). As also noted in the 1981 Census, females make up 50.5% of the local population; eighty-eight percent of residents live in family households, and the average number of children per family is 1.3. The median family income in North Waterfield is approximately $31,000, a figure which is about fourth highest when compared to other municipalities in the region.

There are many community organizations. They include an active Chamber of Commerce, several service clubs whose memberships are declining, four provincial or federal political party associations and three political groups which campaign at the civic level. There are more than 50 churches serving the
various ethnic, cultural and language groups which make up the population, and approximately 70 voluntary organizations provide social services. Many local sports and recreational associations organize activities for all age groups and receive some municipal support through staffing and facilities.

To the visiting observer, the community retains signs of its farming economy in the outlying areas. There is little evidence of heavy industry but there are many industrial parks and merchandizing complexes, utilitarian and low profile in appearance, in the northern sector. Housing subdivisions are found in the east, south and west sectors, with high-density apartments and town-house complexes being built at a fast rate in the town core. Most buildings are three storeys or less and the skyline is broken by only a few highrise structures.

A general overview of aspects of prestige in North Waterfield, gathered from informants, newspapers and the physical setting, suggests there is little outward sense of a privileged class: no select Club rooms (Hunter, 1953:16) or major social events (Dahl, 1961:64) where the powerful meet in an ostentatious manner, and no noticeably exclusive residential area (Hunter, 1953:18; Dahl, 1961:341; Haugh, 1980:43). The Country Club was mentioned by only one person, an elected official, but the new cultural arts complex is becoming a meeting place for local notables. Newsworthy meetings and luncheons appear to be centred around the local Chamber of Commerce or Service Club functions.
Old pioneer families show less conspicuous influence over time, as the economic base of the community has changed from farming to industrial and other development. Although some offspring are active in civic affairs, only two families have descendents on Council, on opposing sides. Land development since the 1950's has allowed some longer term residents to acquire wealth and status in the community, but few names were mentioned in terms of community power. The representatives of the larger corporate businesses, which have moved to the area because of lower land costs, are not particularly active at the civic level, according to a Chamber of Commerce member.

Type of governance

The municipality is governed according to the British Columbia Municipal Act. Under the terms of the Act (1979), the business of each municipality is run by a council elected at large and biennially. The Act specifies the size of Council, and eligibility for voting by age, citizenship and residential status, although non-residents who own land or local corporations also have one vote each.

The municipality receives some funds from senior levels of government, and Council has the mandate to raise other funds through taxes: to provide services to the community, to pay interest and principal on municipal debts, and to pay its share of regional expenses and debts. It is also the agent for the Trustees of the School District in collecting taxes for their
use, although Council has no jurisdiction over educational administration.

Council is given authority through the electoral process to decide the allocation of funds, and to shape economic and physical aspects of the community through the use of zoning regulations and bylaws. Council members therefore hold considerable power in the process of public decision-making. However, the decisions are not made in a vacuum.

Community input into decision-making is formalized through citizen advisory committees, through liaisons between council members and organizations to which they are appointed as members, and through individual and group briefs presented to Council at bi-monthly meetings. The informal input is less public and some influences on the outcome of decision-making are not readily discernable.

My first step in discovering just who is involved in community politics in the community was to interview the Mayor and members of Council, plus a representative sample of School Board Trustees. Starting a power structure study by identifying the elected officials has the effect of focusing the researcher on the political nature of the community, and this information provides the reader with additional understanding of the setting in which decisions are made.
The political climate

In British Columbia, local election campaigns are waged between associations of like minded political activists who present "slates" of candidates, as well as between independents. The civic political groups have titles which do not reflect the party leanings at the Provincial and Federal levels of politics. This "non-connectedness" is held to be an example of non-partisanship at the civic level (Vickers and Brodie, 1981:58).

North Waterfield's local elections are centred particularly on two major associations, the left-leaning political party, the North Waterfield Civic Voters (NWCV) and the coalition of right-leaning sympathizers, the North Waterfield Voters Association (NWVA). NWCV members and candidates, according to an executive member, have the same philosophical and organizational base as the provincial and federal associations of the New Democratic Party, a fact that provides critics with a reason to decry the use of "party politics" in civic government. In contrast, the NWVA claims to be non-partisan because the candidates and workers have varied affiliations at provincial and federal levels with one or two of the major parties, Social Credit, Progressive Conservative or Liberal, although members who were interviewed suggested that "socialists" would not fit into the "non-partisan" group. A third group, the Civic Electors League (CEL), which did not elect any member to Council or School Board in the 1983 elections, has some individual member affiliations to the Liberal party.
The two major civic campaign groups have built and strengthened their local organizations since 1978. Both groups find such organization helps the efficiency of mounting campaigns and they have been so successful that there have been no independent candidates elected to Council in the last two elections. (The long term incumbent elected as the only independent in the 1979 election is now affiliated with one of the parties.) However, no-one in either group suggested during interviews that elected members had to adhere to set party platforms and the amount of caucusing in either camp was minimal, two or three times in the last two years, and then over key issues.

The split on Council is five-four, with the NWVA holding the five seats including the position of mayor. There are a few major issues such as land use (particularly concerning rezoning from farmland to industrial purposes), and environmental and labour concerns, when the NWVA and the NWCV vote in opposing ideologically based blocks. On other issues where the decisions are made more on pragmatism than political philosophy, there are two members of either group who are considered more flexible in their stance and who sometimes form an alliance which, with one other vote, can decide the outcome of a particular issue. All Council members show concern for individuals at various times, particularly to small business people who have difficulties with zoning regulations or business licences. Time is usually allowed for those people to work out their status with the pertinent municipal department. Public servants are presently making
efforts to standardize regulations in the rapidly growing municipality. There is a particular need to reformulate the town plan since developers have gained concessions over the years, altering an earlier orientation of the business district.

The membership of the Board of School Trustees also shows a political split, with the standing in 1983 being five NWVA, one NWCV and one CEL before the election and six NWVA and one NWCV after. The chair of the Board has been held by the NWVA for the last three terms of office.

Although I did not search for documentation of monetary or voter support for the two dominant campaign groups, it was suggested to me on two occasions that the two sides draw on different bases of support: the NWVA backed by "big businesses, big farmers and some small business people" and the NWCV getting support from "some small business people, small farmers and market gardeners, and unions".

An introduction to the structure of power

An examination of common types of civic group memberships listed by the selected politicians, combined with other information about the political cliques in North Waterfield gathered from interviews with elected and non-elected community leaders, and from newspaper articles about candidates during election campaigns, indicates that there are two distinct cliques involved in community politics. The most common organizational interconnections are presented in Figure 1.
Figure 1. Organizational Connections of Members of the Municipal Council and the School Board
Common memberships among NWVA politicians were noted to be in the Chamber of Commerce and local service clubs, particularly the Kiwanis. The Mayor and one other NWVA alderman mentioned that they hold several honorary memberships in civic associations. The Chamber is an active sponsor of the NWVA and some candidates on the NWVA slate have connections to the Chamber, either as members or as staff.

NWVA members were found to have various affiliations to the three right-leaning political parties. At a recent NWVA campaign victory celebration filmed by the local TV station, the Social Credit MLA visited to give his congratulations, confirming publicly for the first time, as one member remarked, the support given by his political machine.

Although few of those interviewed had regular church going habits, most NWVA Council members listed church affiliations, with two members attending the same church. NWVA School Trustees were reported by two of the respondents to be active church members. Three NWVA members said that one of the fundamentalist churches in the community, with a reportedly charismatic pastor, invites the politicians to Christmas ceremonies at his church. No NWCV member mentioned attending the event. Some church support for the NWVA was reported to me, support which might consist of fundraising among members of the congregation, or guidance from the pulpit about voting preferences.
In contrast, NWCV elected members had a single common bond in their affiliation to the political association of the New Democratic Party at civic, provincial and federal levels.

Summary

Figure 1 provides a general sense of the organization of power in North Waterfield. There are two major cliques of individuals active in civic politics with no apparent membership overlaps. The resources of the Chamber of Commerce and right-leaning political parties are combined with support from some church members to form a broadly based dominant clique, which has as its civic political arm, the North Waterfield Voters Association. NWVA politicians are in the majority on Council and on the Board of School Trustees.

The opposing party, the North Waterfield Civic Voters, has its support centred in the political associations of the New Democratic Party.

This introduction to the community and to the prevailing political climate serves as an orientation to decision-making process in North Waterfield. In the next chapter I present the politicians' descriptions of who has input into their deliberations on public policy. Here we will find that the community cannot be treated as a closed system, as there are external pressures as well as internal pressures on the public decision-making process.
Chapter Four

The decision-making process in North Waterfield

In the last chapter, I reported the presence of two civic parties on Council, with different bases of support and with differing political philosophies. The presence of an organized opposition on Council and the fact that politicians do not always vote along "party" lines would suggest a potential for pluralism in community politics. However, the material gathered from interviews with local politicians, in which I asked them to identify to whom they listened in the process of making public policy decisions and who they thought were influential community members, indicated that Council members are collectively somewhat constrained by some significant pressures on the outcome of their deliberations. These influences on Council decision-making come from representatives of provincial and federal governments, major taxpayers, financial advisors, and big developers. Other identified influential groups are the public servants and two community organizations. Only a few community residents were individually named as influential. School Board Trustees mentioned pressures from parent groups. A description of the various pressures on the outcome of local decision-making, whose interests prevail in the most contentious issues, and an assessment of the organization of power form the content of this chapter.
Sources of influence on decision-making

Municipal affairs come under the jurisdiction of the provincial government and, in an era of strong restraint measures on provincial funding for public services and of increasing centralization of powers, several Council members noted their concern (like many other municipal councils) that they do not antagonize the present Social Credit government and incur further cutbacks in funding and power over local decision-making. This limits the options Council members have in setting budgets, although there is considerable debate between the two sets of politicians about setting taxation levels, funding civic projects and how strongly to challenge the provincial government.

Representatives of federal commissions with jurisdiction in the municipality must also be received for their input into community management. The majority of Council tend to accept commission plans for the area, although one recent NWVA-backed decision for a federal commission's land use activities was successfully challenged through pressure from community groups.

Another group which has influence in the outcome of budgetary decision-making is comprised of major taxpayers. Administrators of large federal or privately run corporations in the community have close working relationships with the mayor. However, the importance of the municipality's relationship to these corporations is not underestimated by any council members and these officials, as significant taxpayers, are given a fair
Council members also listen carefully to the administrators of local financial institutions who provide both a repository for local government funds and financial advice.

A significant pressure group is made up of large scale developers. The mayor, who was voted into office some years ago as a supporter of a controversially located shopping complex, is approached first by these businessmen. As a full-time politician, he is able to give the proposals a first reading, inviting senior municipal staff to review the proposals at this stage if he thinks they should be in on the initial discussions, or offering advice to the developers in drawing up acceptable proposals. Some development issues are a major source of contention among present Council members. In fact, the controversial development noted above had split apart an earlier centralist non-partisan campaign group and fostered the development of the present left-right split on Council. Developers, or their representatives, also lobby aldermen individually, sometimes by-passing those who run on the same slate as the mayor and concentrating on the moderates of the opposing party. The issues are so intensely debated at times that, on one occasion, a major out-of-province developer sent two former B.C. government cabinet ministers to lobby for rezoning favourable to the project.
Some politicians, as I found out during the research period, both current and out of office, on Council and on School Board, spoke of a wariness of the power of senior public servants. Senior staff members serve as advisors to elected officials by making recommendations for public policy and they also have the responsibility for implementing the decisions made. Politicians must weigh the information and policy recommendations by the staff against possible reactions by interest groups and the general voting public who elect them to office, sometimes for a short duration. They are not always sure that they are given the fullest information for adequate consideration of an issue. This observation was confirmed by an insider, who noted that staff are charged to "provide the truth, but nevertheless they find ways of giving the truth which is slanted the way the public servant wishes it to be read."

Local voters also pressure their elected officials on a variety of matters, in groups and as individuals. Only two community groups were identified as having on-going influence in public decision-making, the Chamber of Commerce, and a long established neighbourhood group, referred to in this research as the Southside Residents Association. The Chamber acts as a watchdog for local business interests, and as has been noted earlier, the organization has the ear of a majority of the elected officials. The more experienced politicians, however, recognize a reduction in the power of this group over the years. They note that the large corporations do not join the local organization, an observation confirmed by a Chamber insider, and
instead concentrate on lobbying Council or more senior levels of government directly. And although the Chamber has a member who attends all Council meetings to keep abreast of policy developments, it was reported that there are times when local business people are too busy with their own operations to act in their collective interests over tax changes or other legislation.

The Southside Residents Association is identified as the only neighbourhood association to be politically organized enough to provide ongoing input into decisions affecting their particular area of the municipality. Although a recently elected NWVA politician remarked that the group was not powerful enough to influence his vote, members of this group have, apart from raising a large sum of money over the years for community improvements, been able to fight a long but successful battle through the courts to overturn a Council decision to allow developers to buy some of the zoned park land for housing. That decision had been made as a way of lessening the costs of park development to the municipality. They were supported in their fight by many other community groups with varied interests, including church, youth, recreation and environmental groups, as well as some members of the NWCV.

When the politicians were asked to identify influential community members, only a few names were mentioned more than once. The most named individuals were mentioned not for public activities but for more hidden sources of influence: a local
philanthropist businessman, a fund raiser for the dominant civic campaign party, and those individuals who were respected for their informed and astute opinions on a variety of public issues. The names of influential community members surfaced again during the positional and reputational surveys and they will be discussed later.

The local Member of Parliament, who apprenticed in politics as a Council member before running successfully for election as a Progressive Conservative, was also named. The community's Social Credit Member of the Legislative Assembly, who has a reputation of having little interest in local politics, was not mentioned.

School Board Trustees who were interviewed, although they are becoming considerably constrained in decision-making by provincial government educational policies, spoke only about the pressures which come from parents. The PTA movement, strong in North Waterfield in the 1960's and 1970's, has died out, to be replaced by issue-oriented groups that are community wide, as in the cases of the group demanding French Immersion classes, or parents who pressured for the removal of a controversial book from school libraries, or by more narrowly based groups such as parents protesting a proposed school closing.

In summary, the decision-making process is one of balancing many interests. To establish whose interests prevail, I use the suggestion from pluralists to focus on the decision outcomes of the most controversial issues. What follows is an identification
of key issues and whose interests prevail in the decisions made, and how that organization of power is accomplished.

Contentious issues and outcomes

In North Waterfield I found that the most controversial issues are those dealing with land use, particularly the issue of rezoning farm land for industrial purposes or those which arouse environmental concerns, and with the costs of providing civic services.

NWCV aldermen have generally argued against rezoning farm land for industrial use. They note that the practice increases the value of the land overnight, sometimes ten-fold, providing immediate profit for the developers. They also stress that it removes fertile soil from food production purposes when already industrially zoned land is under-utilized or requiring re-development.

The costs of civic services and labour have also created heated debates. A recent decision to 'privatize' the municipally owned garbage service meant selling equipment and laying off staff and drew considerable pressure from NWCV politicians, supported by union members and residents opposed to the principle of privatization of public services.

On such issues, the NWCV and NWVA vote in opposing blocks, and the NWVA majority on Council ensures a win for business interests in land development and for 'private enterprise'
interests in reducing 'big government' costs. However, other contentious decisions made in favour of NWVA supported interests have been overturned when community groups have combined to support the NWCV opposition.

As has been mentioned, the Southside Residents Association gathered support from many other community groups to fight the issue of selling some of the proposed park site for a housing development through the courts. Although not all the protestors can be said to be NWCV supporters, two activists later became aldermen on the NWCV slate.

A more recent conflict of interests over land use arose because of NWVA supported plans by a federal commission to use land near a residential area for a dump site. Again the minority NWCV were outvoted on the issue. In this case, various community groups, led by a politically astute resident of the area, were able to have the decision finally rescinded. Chamber of Commerce members and affiliated Visitors and Covention Bureau personnel were among the groups drawn in to support the protest. Perhaps only coincidentally, the most active Chamber member in that protest was dropped from the NWVA slate in the following election campaign.

To summarize, this review of contentious issues indicates that the interests of business and right-leaning senior governments prevail unless there are concerted efforts by residents in opposition to the decision. I describe below how I think that comes about.
The organization of power

The tendency in this community is to support the interests of business, both big and small. All Council members appear to accept that business is necessary for the growth of the community. The main difference of opinion between the two political parties tends to be one of timing and planning of that growth, types of land use and concern for the historical aspects of the municipality in its rapid development from a farming settlement to its present suburban and increasingly urban character.

Some politicians suggested during the interviews that there were no dominating groups or vested interests; others either could not gain a sense of the power structure or reported that they were too new in political office to have learned enough about who wielded the most power in the community. Some noted the influence of the mayor and 'his group', which included his business and political associates. The survey of interlocking memberships and the majority position of NWVA elected officials would appear to support that observation.

A member of the dominant clique of individuals supporting the NWVA observed that there is a group of long term residents who have for many years been central in the development of various community services and are still active in community politics. Indeed, I had noticed the same names occurring over time, on various community organizations and committees, as I reviewed history books, newspapers and names on plaques in
various public buildings. The list of people nominating NWVA politicians as candidates in the recent election also showed some of those names. Fewer names of NWCV affiliated individuals were found in this type of survey.

I was told by this same informant, that there is a saying in this group that if they work hard enough, they can get anybody elected to political power. However, I found that the potential to "get anybody elected" is somewhat constrained by the organized opposition association. The NWCV "grass-roots" campaign organization has ensured the election of some NWCV candidates to council since its inception, even though the increasingly middle class population has voted for Liberal or Conservative MP's and Social Credit MLA's since 1975.

The dominance of the right-leaning civic party in the majority of conflict-ridden decisions rests, I suggest, in the election of a mayor who shares the political values of the dominant pressure groups. The mayor has considerable formal power under the terms of the Municipal Act and this, combined with the backing of a broad-based clique of residents, assures considerable power in decision-making.

The mayor can shape the outcome of Council decision-making in several ways. One avenue is through judicial appointments of elected members to the various administrative committees of Council, and by careful designation of the chairman of each committee. In North Waterfield, NWVA members are dominant on committees to do with budgets and administration matters,
whereas NWCV members predominate on Social Services Committee. In addition, the mayor also exercises his power to return for reconsideration, any committee recommendations which in his opinion are not in "the best interests of the community". Having put aside his business ventures for the duration of his time in office, the mayor is able to read all agendas and minutes of all committee meetings to keep fully informed of issues and recommendations. Working aldermen are at a disadvantage in the amount of time they have to keep abreast of the issues and ways of dealing with them.

The mayor is also able to direct if necessary, the work of senior municipal staff and he is the final arbiter of their performance evaluations. Other members of council appear to have less control, as it was reported that in some cases, bureaucrats work exceedingly slowly to implement some decisions won by minority members of council.

In spite of all the power available to the mayor, however, friends and critics alike remarked that North Waterfield's mayor attempts to be fair in his handling of mayoralty powers and is less of a dictator than the previous mayor. Nevertheless one frustrated activist reported that "if the mayor and the senior bureaucrats were in favour of a decision, even 75% of the population up in arms would not alter the outcome!".

Another source of strength for business interests in this community is the confluence of people with 'right-leaning' and 'traditional' values found in the membership network behind the
NWVA (Figure 1). This provides a broad based and effective campaign support system, which generates more extensive advertising than the NWCV, and draws greater support from the reasonably affluent suburban community with its high incidence of church organizations and large number of small to medium businesses. NWVA candidates usually top the polls locally and right-leaning representatives are now regularly elected to other levels of government.

However, the dominance of the mayor and his group is not absolute. Firstly, I reported earlier that for some council decisions, there are various alliances in voting which cross party lines. The reasons for the variations in voting patterns may be a response to the voting public, a suggestion made by Dahl (1961:92-93), or may indicate the fact that not all issues engage the attention of the power clique (Rossi, 1957:438), but as the mayor noted during my interview with him, the unexpected alliances on various issues that show up at council meetings, sometimes mean that his one vote fails to shape the final outcome of the decision on the otherwise equally split council.

Secondly, the strength of the opposition balances much of the power of the other group. Few community concerns can be suppressed either on council or in the media. If one side would prefer to keep a low profile on an issue, the other will see it becomes public. One newspaper official noted that whereas in another community he had had the power through his newspaper to swing voter support from a New Democratic Party MLA to a Social
Credit representative in one election period, in this community he felt his power was limited to influencing the few uncommitted voters in the politically split community. Similarly, an official of a locally based Credit Union noted that he had to appear publicly a-political because of the politically split membership.

Thirdly, when community activists draw together various groups to protest NWVA-backed decisions already challenged by NWCV members, the dominance can also be altered.

Summary

This overview of the organization of power in North Waterfield indicates that while there are some external pressures on all politicians in the community decision-making process, the process is dominated by two local political parties and their supporters. The predominant clique draws together members of the business sector, independent professionals and members of church congregations who espouse right-leaning political values. Control of the office of mayor in an otherwise politically balanced Council ensures that the interests of business prevail most often, although I document ways in which opposing groups can overturn decisions. On School Board, the dominance of NWVA members ensures that the educational philosophy of that clique prevails.
However, at this point we do not have any sense of the participation of women in the decision-making process. That is the focus of the next chapter, in which I identify in more detail, the individuals who are active in community politics and describe some of the influential women, their political activities and strategies, and their connections to the identified cliques.
Chapter Five

What about the women?

As the politicians responded to my question about the people to whom they listened in deciding community policy, I was alert for names of women. However, in the listing of provincial government officials, commission representatives, government and private corporate leaders, financial experts, large scale developers and senior public servants no woman was mentioned. The most named community residents included one woman, and women were named as active in the two community groups which wield some influence in local decision-making. But that does not document the total contributions of women to community politics, and in this chapter I set out the ways in which I have found the women who participate in the decision-making process of this community. I identify women who are in positions of authority and those who have reputations for being influential. From interviews with a sample of women active in various institutional sectors, I am able to describe their areas of interest and influence, their connections to the dominant cliques, and the ways in which they exert influence in the decision-making process. I include information about some interviewed men for purposes of comparison.
Women in elected public office

In spite of the research which suggests that Canadian women are likely to be active in politics at the community level (Welch, 1975:557; Brodie and Vickers, 1982:16), there have only been five women elected to Council in the history of North Waterfield. Three have been Council members in the 1970's and 1980's, with one in office as a member of the NWVA at the time of the research. Two of these recent women politicians have run for the position of mayor although neither was successful. One noted that she was encouraged to run for mayor in the 1970's by men from both sides of the political spectrum because her personality was thought to be more conciliatory than the incumbent mayor. It was a close two-way race, but the woman was told by some of the businessmen she had helped while on council, that they would not vote for a woman. The other woman contender for the position of mayor did not attract as many votes in a later four-way race, but also did not have the outstanding popularity or the organizational connections of the earlier candidate.

The lack of women elected to council is not because they do not seek office. Women candidates are never as numerous as men, but a review of candidates for elections in the past eight years shows that the percentage of women running for council seats has ranged from 12% to 26% of the candidates. Women candidates for School Board are more numerous, ranging from 31% to 42% in the same time period.
There have been more women elected as School Board Trustees. Five of seven Trustees were women in 1977, 1978 and 1979 during annual elections. Their numbers were reduced to three in 1980-81, to two in 1981-83 and to one for the 1983-85 term. With the rise in popularity of the NWVA candidates for School Board, the number of women Trustees has diminished as only one woman has run on the NWVA slate for School Board. Two women have chaired the Board for a time in those years and the lone woman presently holds that position, partly because she has proven her skills in the role, but also because she is able to devote the most time to the task, as the only Trustee without a paid occupation.

Women in other civic positions

North Waterfield's senior public servants have considerable input into community decision-making, but few women are in positions of any authority. All department heads are men. Four of the five women in more senior positions are in the Health department, which has an all-female staff except for the male doctor who heads the department. The other woman is in the Personnel Department. Three women hold professional mid-level positions, in Planning and in Leisure Services. Three others are office supervisors in the male dominated departments of Engineering, Building and Law. All senior School Board administrators are male.
A survey of women in executive positions on key community organizations offers a slightly more encouraging picture. I have taken as an indicator of centrality to community politics those committees and organizations which have formalized liaisons with Council. Council liaisons are with two types of committee: citizen advisory committees and various civic organizations central to community life. Figure 2 identifies the committees with links to Council.

The advisory committees are comprised of local citizens appointed by Council to serve as board members. Committees such as the Library Board, the Community Planning Committee and the Family Court Advisory Committee have members of Council appointed to serve as Board members, although the two other committees in this category, the Design Panel and the Board of Variance do not.

Seven civic organizations also have council members regularly appointed to their Board of Directors: the Hospital Board, Chamber of Commerce, Visitors and Convention Bureau, Southside Residents Association, the local United Way, and two combined agency councils which serve as a networking system for the arts and social services communities. There are women on all the committees except the Design Panel and the Board of Variance. Figure 3 shows the number of men and women who hold executive positions on the committees and those who are in the chair.
Figure 2. Liaisons Between Municipal Council and Civic Groups.
## Civic Organizations (Boards of Directors)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hospital Board</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services Council</td>
<td>Women*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Way</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside Residents Ass'n</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts Council</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamber of Commerce</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convention Bureau</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Municipal Staff (Department Heads)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen Advisory Committees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library Board</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Planning Committee</td>
<td>Women*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Court Committee</td>
<td>Women*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design Panel</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board of Variance</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Key
- * Chair
- Individual member
- Exec. Position

---

*Figure 3. Women and Men in Positions of Civic Authority.*
We should not be surprised by the higher proportions of women on some of the committees, for example, the social services and arts council, judging from research by Babchuk, Marsey and Gordon (1963) and McPherson and Smith-Lovin (1982), which documents the location of women in "peripheral" and "non-instrumental" agencies. But we should note that the Hospital Board has only one woman, somewhat unexpectedly in that there have been great debates at the last few Annual General meetings over the Right-to-Life vs. Pro-Choice abortion issue.

Three committees, two advisory and one civic, are chaired by women at this time. The Community Planning Commission, which has the mayor and two aldermen appointed as regular members, is chaired by a woman who is also an executive member of the Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber has in the past few years had several women active as members and directors, as well as a woman business manager. One of these women became the most popular Council member for some years and a mayoralty candidate. Another woman is the immediate past president.

The Family Court Advisory Committee is chaired by a woman who has been a strong influence in the development of the Social Services Council and in initiating a networking system between the various agencies that deal with family concerns. The Social Services Council, which draws together government and non-governmental agencies that offer a wide variety of human care services to the residents, is also presently chaired by a woman.
Women (and men) with reputations for influence

In order to gather a list of names of people thought to be influential community members, I talked with eight men and six women who might be considered knowledgeable about community politics. All but one were long term community residents and all worked in authoritative positions in the municipality. Most had also been active for many years in various civic organizations. The one man who, as it turned out, had not been in the community long, was professionally trained to observe local power structures and in spite of the short time in North Waterfield, was able to offer a remarkably detailed description of the organization of power, one which confirmed my own impressions, but which was more detailed in that he named "rising" and "falling" stars.

These informants represented many sectors of community activity, the business sector, the political scene, public service, education, religion, social services and the media. The person who was asked to offer information about members of North Waterfield who might be "society and wealth" turned out to be the only resident who was listed in regional and international social registers.

I asked these people to tell me who they perceived to be influential in community decision-making, both in their own fields of experience, and in general. I noted that the focus of the research was on women, to provide an impetus to identify active women. If necessary I probed for names of men.
At the end of this reputational survey, I added in the names of residents who had been noted by the interviewed politicians to be influential in the community decision-making process.

In all, sixty-three men and forty-six women were nominated one or more times as being influential in community politics, a small number perhaps, considering the population of 100,000, but one which matches observations in other communities. Information about these individuals, gathered from the knowledgeable informants, from interviews with politicians, or collected as general information during the time spent in the community, indicated that most of the men and women had been active in various community activities for many years, particularly since the period of growth in the 1950's. Six of those people nominated were members of pioneer families, a few were offspring of other early settlers.

Also included in that information was the indication that of the forty-six women nominated, nine were mentioned for present or past positions as elected officials, six being on the School Board. Eight were business owners or managers, or in real estate; four were social service agency directors; three were public servants (one municipal, and two in provincial offices in the community); two were media personnel and one was an educational administrator. Women who were described by their voluntary community efforts participated in various spheres of activity. Five were influential in the development of social
services, three noted for their contributions to development of a local forum for the arts, one for sports promotion and one for historical society work. Others were known for various political activities; three for long term electoral campaign work, two for peace activism; two for activism in educational matters and two for activism on neighbourhood issues.

Eight women were noted to have connections to the Chamber, and four of those women were publicly connected with the NWVA. Five of the women were identified as affiliated with the NWCV. Nine women were members of the Social Services Council.

Among the sixty-three men who were nominated, twenty-six were business owners or managers, developers, in real estate or in banking. Eleven were or had been politicians, although only one School Board Trustee was mentioned. Four of the politicians named were from pioneer families. Nine were past or present senior public servants. Five independent professionals, four media personnel, and three church ministers were nominated. Two were civic union officials, two were noted for their contributions to community sports and for their recent activism over the use of an historic park, and one was a social services professional.

Other information which surfaced during the course of the research indicated that eighteen of the men named had connections to the Chamber of Commerce, and nine to the NWVA, five to the NWCV.
Although this superficial overview of interests and connections of the nominated influentials lacks in-depth documentation of occupations and memberships, it nevertheless provides an indication that local businessmen and women are well represented among those who are active in community politics. Politicians and senior public servants are also prominent on the list.

In terms of common memberships, the information indicates that the Chamber of Commerce draws together many of the nominated influentials. It also suggests that a slightly larger number of the people nominated were readily identified as being affiliated with the NWVA than with the NWCV. The one clique that had not surfaced before was the common memberships of some of the women and one man in the Social Services Council.

At this point I had two lists of names: a list of those who are in positions of authority as politicians, public servants, appointed members of civic advisory committees or executive officers of civic organizations, and a list of those with reputations for power for activities in various sectors of community decision-making. I compared the lists for two reasons: one, to find out which names were on both lists, and two, to learn just how much overlap there was between the two lists as a test of two methods used as an indicator of power.

In fact there was little overlap in the two lists that were generated in this study. Of the 213 names listed by position and the 109 names generated by the reputational study, only 46 names
were on both lists. For men, approximately one third (23) of those with reputations for power were also listed by position. One half (23) of the women with reputations for power were on the positional list. A summary of the comparison of the two lists is presented in Table I.

I must stress, however, that in this research the positional list captured only the names of men and women who served in various capacities during the time of the research, whereas the reputational list generated names of residents who have been active in community politics in various capacities over a number of years, although at the time of the study, they were not acting in the positions of politician, public servant or civic group leader. In fact, in this survey, one often-nominated individual had died some years earlier and a few others were now living outside the community.

Having gathered and compared the two lists of names of people who might be influential, I interviewed some of the women and men to check the general knowledge I had gained about the local organization of power and to gather more detailed information about some of the women and men active in community politics.

Selecting a sample of influentials

The sample of influentials was chosen using three criteria: firstly by number of nominations, secondly by being noted on both positional and reputational lists and thirdly, by area of
### Table I
Comparison of Reputational and Positional Lists (Men and Women)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Number in Position</th>
<th>Number Nominated</th>
<th>Number in Position</th>
<th>Number Nominated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Municipal Gov't.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politician</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Servant</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advisory Cmtes.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning Cmte.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Court Cmte</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library Board</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design Panel</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bd. Of Variance</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Civic Orgs.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamber/Commerce</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convention Bureau</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital Board</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside Ass'n</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soc. Service C.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Way</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts Council</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>134</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominated but not in a position</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>134</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
activity in an attempt to gain a sample of men and women who participated in various ways in the politics of community decision-making.¹ Not all individuals who were nominated were available or willing to give interviews and in all I talked with fifteen women and fourteen men, ten men and two women being the politicians I had interviewed earlier. A summary of nominations and those interviewed is provided in Appendix A.

The activities of the women chosen to be interviewed were representative of the many ways in which women participate in community politics; as politicians on Council and on School Board, in public service, in business, in the fields of education, social services, the arts, sports, electoral politics and as activists in environmental concerns. Table III will summarize the number of nominations, positions of authority, areas of influence and membership connections of the women.

The men from whom I gathered personal information were less broadly representative. Two often-nominated influentials refused to be interviewed, and two of the ten politicians I interviewed initially were not named in the reputational survey. The sample includes the ten politicians, one of whom was a senior public servant before his election to office. Four non-elected community influentials were also interviewed and the sample therefore includes men who have experience in elected positions,

¹ I did not interview civic union officials as their influence, noted in chapter four, was at a low ebb, and I had learned that the women who had been influential in the union in the 1970's had transferred to positions at the national level and elsewhere.
in the public service, in banking, in the newspaper business, in the church community, or as a citizen activist and advisor. Table IV will provide a summary of the pertinent characteristics of the men interviewed.

Describing the influentials

In power structure research, several sets of information are collected about people who participate in community politics in order to assess the organization and distribution of power. Efforts are made to determine, through an examination of social and economic characteristics, whether those who participate form an "elite" group or whether they are representative of the community as a whole. Personal, organizational and institutional connections among influentials are sought and a number of issues in community politics are examined to note whether there are individuals or groups of individuals who influence more than one area of decision-making. Because that information was collected mainly about men, in this study I focus on the characteristics, contributions and the political experiences of the women who participate in community politics. I offer information about men for purposes of comparison.

During interviews with the politicians I had solicited information about their socio-economic status, civic organizational memberships, individual areas of influence and the ways in which they went about influencing the public decision-making process. I had also asked them if they noted any
limitations on their ability to be influential. As well, I asked them for information about their families, because so much research assumes that women's family responsibilities explain why women are not active in the public decision-making process, and little research notes the effects of family life on men's public activities. I asked the same questions of the non-elected community leaders whom I interviewed.

Socio-economic characteristics

Table II notes key socio-economic status indicators of the men and women interviewed, and compares the information about the sample of influentials with data about the regional population. The percentage distributions of these indicators within the community and in the region are similar and this procedure protects the anonymity of the community.

The data gathered about this purposive or judgmental sample of influentials, indicate that a greater percentage of the men and women influentials have post-secondary levels of education than is found in the general population. 78% of the men and 86% of the women interviewed noted studies and training beyond high school, compared to 48% of the population in the region. The main difference between the interviewed men and women is that whereas most of the men report at least some university training, most women have taken training outside the university setting. Women's post-secondary education includes Registered Nurse training or business and administration courses. Of the
Table II
Socioeconomic Characteristics of Community Influentials
(Compared to Regional Population)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic Characteristics</th>
<th>Influential Men</th>
<th>Influential Women</th>
<th>Regional Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest Level of Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 8 or Less</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(0%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 9 to 13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(21%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-University Training (1)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(14%)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Training (2)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>(64%)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>(99%)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politician</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Owner, Manager</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrator-Education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab. Technician</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports Coach</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotals</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(71%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(28%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>(99%)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under $10,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000 - 14,999</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15,000 - 19,999</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000 - 24,999</td>
<td>3*</td>
<td>(21%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25,000 - 39,999</td>
<td>2**</td>
<td>(21%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40,000 - 59,999</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(29%)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60,000 - 79,999</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(14%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 and over</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(14%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>(99%)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$19,999 and under</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000 - 39,999</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(38%)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40,000 - 69,999</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(28%)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70,000 - 99,999</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(14%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 and over</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(20%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Post-secondary training  
(2) 2 or more years of study  
*  3 Retired  
**  1 Retired  

fourteen men and women who have taken university courses, four men and two women have Masters degrees in their professional fields.

A review of occupations of the community influentials, shows the interviewed men and women to have similar occupations, and to differ from the occupational composition of the general population. More women than men in this sample were in business, but the women's business ventures did not generate as much revenue as the men's. Three women and three men were in administrative positions in education and in the social services. One woman and one man held positions as planners. Three women and one man were in health or recreation-related professions, as nurses, as a lab technician or as the coach for a local sports club. Whereas 27% of men in the regional population and 25% of the women are found in these higher status occupational categories, 71% of the men and 73% of the women interviewed were in these occupations, which suggests that those active in community politics are disproportionately drawn from among small business people and from among those in administrative and professional types of occupations. Four women were housewives and four men were retired.

There are differences in individual income between the men and women, a finding which has been documented in many recent studies. But while many interviewed women earn less than the interviewed men (even the retired men), 60% of those women earn $15,000 or more, although only 22% of the population of women in
the region earn that amount. Seventy-eight percent of the interviewed men earn more than $25,000, whereas the number of men in the region earning that amount or more is only 28%.

Women reported lower family incomes than did the men. Lower family incomes for men were found mostly among retired men, and some women also noted that their husbands were retired. Being single also contributed to a lower family income for one woman. The difference that is not apparent from Table II is that family incomes for the men are based mainly on the man's income as only four men had wives who were in paying jobs, whereas only four of the interviewed women did not work for an income outside the home. Therefore most of the family incomes for women are based on two salaries, compared to the one income that is the basis for most men's family income.

In summary, Table II indicates that on several socio-economic indicators the men and women active in community politics are "a somewhat select group"; as noted by Dahl (1961:170). It also shows similarities between the men and women who participate in public decision-making in terms of levels of education and types of occupations, although most of the women have lower individual and family incomes than the men.

The contributions of women to community politics

Tables III and IV detail the characteristics of individuals that are used as indicators of power, i.e., reputation for influence, official position in the community decision-making
process, issues in which influence is exerted, and organizational memberships. In this section I describe the activities of the women I interviewed. The purpose is to show the variety of interests and contributions of women in community decision-making processes, and the details flesh out Table III. I will later describe the connections of women to the cliques that dominate local politics. Information about influential men found in Table IV is summarized for comparative purposes. The names of the men and women are fictitious in order to protect their anonymity.

The stars of the reputational survey were two women both of whom have experience as politicians and who are active in the NWVA. Eleanor Hibbert and Anne Braithwaite have lived in the community since the 1950's. Both have participated in church activities and as founding members of some of the civic associations as the community developed in the late fifties and early sixties, as well as raising their families. Hibbert's interests were focused primarily on the development of auxiliary health services and recreational sports, whereas Braithwaite worked in the fields of the arts and social services. Both have been small business owners. Their broad interests and contacts with many different groups including the dominant business-political-church clique may partly explain the fact that each woman has topped the polls in past elections. Hibbert is first named whenever influential women are discussed. Her hard work, innovative thinking about land use matters and community bylaws and her extraordinary organizational skills, used primarily for
Table III
Summary of Indicators of Power  
(Interviewed Women)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number of Nominations</th>
<th>Positions</th>
<th>Influence (Primary)</th>
<th>Influence (Secondary)</th>
<th>Number of Memberships</th>
<th>Common Memberships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eleanor Hibbert</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ex-Council Member</td>
<td>Business Advocate</td>
<td>Community Organizer</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chamber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swing Voter</td>
<td>Electoral Campaign Activist</td>
<td></td>
<td>NVVA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lobbyist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne Braithwaite</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Alderman Library Bd. Soc.Service Council</td>
<td>Moderate/ Swing Voter</td>
<td>Arts Activist</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>NVVA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Social Services Activist</td>
<td>Electoral Campaign Activist</td>
<td></td>
<td>United Way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norah Jones</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Soc.Service Council United Way</td>
<td>Social Services Activist</td>
<td>Citizen Advisor</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>United Way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peggy Lomanski</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Soc.Service Council</td>
<td>Electoral Campaign Activist</td>
<td>Social Services Activist</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>NVCV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Political Organizer</td>
<td>Env't Activist</td>
<td></td>
<td>Soc.Service Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esther McLean</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sports Activist</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May Jennings</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Community Planning Comte. United Way Chamber</td>
<td>Business Advocate</td>
<td>Social Services Activist</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Chamber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Community Planning Activist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NVVA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joan Seymour</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fundraiser (Arts)</td>
<td>Community Organizer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynne Murdoch</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Public Servant Soc.Service Council</td>
<td>Community Planning Promoter</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Soc.Service Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret Borden</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ex-School Trustee Soc.Service Council</td>
<td>Education Policy Activist</td>
<td>Social Services Activist</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Soc.Service Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NVCV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorothy Campbell</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Chamber of Commerce</td>
<td>Small Business Advocate</td>
<td>Tax Activist</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chamber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susan Loeffler</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Env't Political Activist</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose Mise</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Education Admin. Str.</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrie Seeburg</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Education Program Activist</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valerie Lister</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>School Trustee</td>
<td>Education Policy Activist</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the local business community and the NWVA campaign group, but also for the municipality when it hosted a major provincial sports event, suggest that the acclaim she receives is well deserved. Braithwaite's status as the only woman on Council and a "swing voter", and her sometimes dramatic performances during council meetings have maintained her high profile in the local newspapers and on the local TV station. Her efforts as a politician have raised awareness of the needs of the social services sector.

Norah Jones, nominated five times, is a long time community volunteer, active at the policy making level on boards of various civic organizations. The reputation for organization that Jones had gained in her efforts for a national association in another province quickly caught up with her when she moved to North Waterfield, and she continued to provide input into the planning process of the local and regional branches of the association. Her talents were also used in developing services for youth, the infirm, and alcoholics, and finding private and public funding for those services. She has also been active in the community groups which have addressed the need for coordinated social planning for social services in the community. It is said that Jones' presence on any board lends legitimacy to the cause. Jones' contacts are not confined to members of social service organizations, however, and she is well known by local businessmen and businesswomen, service club members and church groups and by the politicians who respect her opinions.
Three women were nominated four times. Peggy Lomanski's influence has been strong both in local electoral politics and in the field of social services. She has been active for many years in the political parties associated with the NWCV campaign party, in a variety of executive positions. She has also been influential in developing the Social Services Council as an information-sharing system and as a vehicle for organized lobbying on behalf of those active in the social services sector. Her influence is as an "initiator", one who points out local problems and needed programs, and Lomanski attempts to focus public attention on those issues through her volunteer efforts with the NWCV, her (unsuccessful) candidacy for School Board Trustee, and her staff role on the Social Services Council. Her strength has been as a political organizer, be it in anti-pollution concerns, election campaigns, or in social service issues.

Anthea Winlaw has been instrumental as a volunteer particularly in developing community awareness and programs for support of abused children. The work has entailed a great deal of lobbying of local and provincial politicians and public servants. She helped develop and has continued to shape the focus of the Social Service Council over the years. Winlaw chairs an advisory committee with the same determination for confronting the issues.
Esther McLean is known for her forceful presentations to Council in her efforts to gain municipal support in terms of providing facilities for her sports club. McLean's presentations over the years have resulted in municipal facilities being made available to her club at certain times. However, a newly formed rival club is now also lobbying for municipal support and Council has ordered that the time allotted to McLean's group be reduced to accommodate the new club. A spunky fighter, her lively presentations to Council and indefatigable defense of the club of which she is both president and coach, give her a high profile in the media reports of council meetings and draw quiet, but sympathetic "go get 'em" remarks from other citizens who happen to be in the Council Chambers during her presentations.

Two women received three nominations each. May Jennings has a small business in the community, is on the executive of the Chamber of Commerce, a member of the Board of Directors of the local United Way and chairs an important citizen's advisory committee. She has also initiated and presently presides over, a regional association of other small business owners in the same sphere of economic activity as herself. In spite of her centrality to various important civic groups she was not successful in her bid for a Council seat as a NWVA candidate.

Joan Seymour has recently been responsible for raising the funds to build the multi-million-dollar arts complex. In a volunteer capacity, she has gathered funding from senior and local governments, from private corporations and foundations and
the general public, in spite of a sluggish economy. Her skills as a fundraiser were honed when she raised funds for the private school attended by her children. Her other major community involvement was to help coordinate the plans for centennial celebrations in the community.

Six of the women who received two nominations included a local public servant, a past school board chairperson, two other women with interests in education, a businesswoman long active in business associations and a citizen activist concerned with environmental issues.

Lynn Murdoch is one of the few women who are relatively senior in the municipal public service. Like the male public servant to whom I spoke, she is conscious that her role is limited to one of support for the elected decision-makers. However, her work with many community groups and her ability to place community-group concerns into the policy making process has made her a two-way source of information: an informed reporter about the needs of community groups for municipal grants and a source of advice in helping agencies and organizations develop proposals which enables them to "get through city hall".

Margaret Borden was for ten years a School Board Trustee, including a term as chairperson and as the local representative on the provincial Board of Trustees. Borden was one of a group of citizens who successfully lobbied for a provincially funded community college for the area, and she sat on the college board
as the School Board representative for some years. At the start of her term as a Trustee she was a lone woman, but she successfully worked for upgrading the qualifications of administrative personnel and for additional classroom space. Her particular influence was to initiate a policy which allowed greater choices for boys and girls in their course work: girls being allowed to take woodworking and boys home economics, if they so desired. Although her reputation for work in the field of education predominates, Borden has also been active in the social service sector. As well as being a founding member of community agencies to serve youth and the infirm, she is also the executive director of a volunteer-staffed community service agency, and is a member of a citizen's advisory committee.

Dorothy Campbell has owned various retail stores in the past forty years and has been an executive member of two local business associations for the past twelve. She initiated a local merchant's association at a time when merchants were increasingly drawn together into shopping malls. As a member of the Chamber of Commerce, Campbell has contributed to presentation of briefs to local and senior levels of government.

Rose Misa's influence is limited to the education system, as an innovator in teaching methods and as a teacher and administrator with an ability to build a strong rapport with parents. She is one of only three women to be promoted to an administrative position in the North Waterfield education system.
Carrie Seeburg's influence on the education system has been to initiate the formation of a local parents group and to successfully petition for French Immersion training in elementary schools in spite of economic restraint. She chaired the group, researched the financial resources available to the School Board for the programmes and "wrote the manual on lobbying" for the local group and the national association to which they affiliated. The parents group also successfully promoted the idea that other activities for children, such as sports events and arts activities, could also accommodate French-language usage, so that the children could have broad experience in using more than one language.

Susan Loeffler has recently become "news" because of a successful challenge to Council's decision to allow a federal commission to dump material in an area close to a residential district. Loeffler reported no political connections, but has a superb sense of "politicking". A few years earlier she had successfully petitioned city-hall staff on behalf of some local farmers, to postpone upgrading a main drainage system until the growing season was past. Loeffler presented a precise documentation of the various crops grown and the times of harvest, and won respect from the engineering department for her analysis of the situation. In the recent round of negotiations, Loeffler initiated support from various groups including local parents, the neighbourhood association, sports and environmental groups, the Tourist Bureau and members of the Community Planning Commission, and used her considerable research skills in
lobbying Council and senior government commission representatives. After each of these successful rounds of activism she has returned to her role as a homemaker.

I interviewed only one woman who received one nomination for influence, a School Board Trustee. Valerie Lister is the only member of the least dominant campaign group, the Civic Electors League, to be elected to office during her three terms as a politician. During her time in office, Lister has worked to have the business of the School Board made more public, as she noted that more time was spent in in-camera meetings than in front of the public. Notices of meetings and agendas are now listed in the local newspapers to draw public attention to the business of the Board. Although she managed to get working conditions in the schools upgraded, and more physical education for students, those gains have been eroded by the present cuts in provincial funding for education.

In summarizing the contributions of women to community politics, from the particulars identified in interviews with this sample of women and from the general information about all the nominated women, I find that the women's attempts to influence the outcomes of decision-making fall within a broad range of interests. There are women who are in business in the community and they actively participate in decisions affecting that sector, which includes concern for community growth. Women work in electoral campaigns, run for office and sometimes get elected. They also exert influence in community politics by
challenging decisions made on environmental issues, participating in community planning, developing educational policy, or by demanding that funding be allocated for new programmes in schools, the social services and the arts, and that municipal facilities be made available to new sports groups. They also work to raise the awareness of politicians, public servants and members of the business community about the welfare needs of community residents.

According to the information gathered from the sample of men interviewed and the general information gathered about all the nominated men, their greatest interests are concern for, or about, business and community growth. More men, of course, are in elected public office and in senior municipal staff positions through which that area of decision-making is controlled. In Table IV we see that six of the eight Council members report that they have some influence in various aspects of community management. The other two, both moderates, do not emphasize their roles in that area. Two NWCV Council members use the newspapers as a means of raising public awareness of the economic issues they think should be of concern to the electorate.

Men are also dominant in key positions in the education system, but men who act as volunteers in influencing educational policy were not named in the reputational survey. Table IV shows that the two School Board members interviewed report different areas of influence, the NWVA member noting his role in the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number of Nominations</th>
<th>Positions</th>
<th>Influence (Primary)</th>
<th>Influence (Secondary)</th>
<th>Number of Memberships</th>
<th>Common Memberships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Fox</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mayor, Community Planning Cte.</td>
<td>Community Growth Activist</td>
<td>Community Ambassador</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Hon. Mem. Service Cte., Chamber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Odham</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Alderman, Chamber/Commerce</td>
<td>Sr. Public Servant, Community Planning Activist</td>
<td>Community Ambassador</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kiwanis Chamber, NWVA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ian Norris</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Alderman, Hospital B., United Way, Conv't B.</td>
<td>Community Planning Activist</td>
<td>School/Pk. Planning Activist</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>NWCV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bert Glass</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Alderman, Community Planning Cte., Southside Residents Assn.</td>
<td>Land Use/Env't Activist at Prov/Local Levels</td>
<td>Public Educator via Newspaper Column</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>NWCV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tony Herzog</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Innovative Banking Practices Activist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Chamber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jim Shalley</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Family Ct. Cte., Land Use Activist</td>
<td>Citizen Advisor</td>
<td>Social Services Activist</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kiwanis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlie Mitchell</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Church Activist in Community Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kiwanis, Chaplain to many groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruce Canning</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Alderman, Arts Council</td>
<td>Moderate/ Swing Voter, Municipal Budget Activist</td>
<td>Sports/Promoter</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kiwanis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom Neverton</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Alderman, Family Ct. Cte.</td>
<td>Moderate/ Swing Voter, Public Educator</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>NWCV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvey Buttram</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Alderman, Public Opinion Influencer via Newspaper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanley Dennison</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>School Bd. Trustee</td>
<td>Schoolbook Censorship Activist</td>
<td>Upholder of Traditional Values for Schools</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>NWVA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Selig</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Alderman, Community Planning Cte.</td>
<td>Education Admin'str.</td>
<td>Moderate/ Swing Voter</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordon McCauley</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>School Bd. Trustee</td>
<td>School Env't Activist</td>
<td>Electoral Campaign Activist</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>NWCV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
removal of a book from the school libraries because of its "street language", and the NWCV member pleased that he was successful in raising an environmental concern about some school buildings.

Three non-elected community leaders and one Council member note that their primary influence comes through their occupations in the community, in banking, the newspaper business, the church and in education.

Three of the politicians reported electoral campaign activities, for municipal and provincial and federal elections. Campaign activism is reported less among the interviewed men than among the women, although it seemed during the reputational survey that similar numbers of men and women influentials were reported to be active in various political party campaigns.

Only two of the men reported a broad range of areas of interest and influence, although many women had several concerns. More men than women were identified as sponsors and volunteer coaches of sports groups. However, few of the nominated or interviewed men were identified as volunteers in the social services or the arts sector, although Service Club members raise funds for charitable organizations and men are more in evidence than women on the board of the new organization to oversee the building and development of the arts complex.
In reviewing the contributions and interests of men and women, I find that there are men and women active in all sectors of community decision-making but, whereas most men concentrate their efforts on economic issues such as business and community growth and planning, women have a wider range of concerns that include not only economic interests, but also interests in services to the needy, artistic interests, and the interests of children and sports. What is clear from the information gathered in this survey is that there is little evidence that women can be categorized as "one issue specialists". Indeed, many of them are active in a broad range of issues.

To this point, I have shown similarities and differences between men and women in socio-economic characteristics and areas of influence and activity in community politics. I now compare the organizational connections among interviewed men and women.

Organizational memberships

Organizational memberships provide a reasonably quick way of identifying "who knows whom" in a community. Memberships in organizations are an indication of common interests among individuals, in specific goals and shared values. Through organizational memberships, individuals also get to know many more community residents than would be found in a circle of intimates, and those connections are useful when it is necessary to mobilize resources to support a particular cause. Examples of that mobilization of resources appear to be indicated in Figure
1, which shows the shared organizational memberships of politicians in each of the two municipal parties represented on Council. What I will show in this section is that while there is evidence that non-elected influential men and women from the business or church communities are likely to hold memberships in the same organizations as the NWVA politicians, some active women and the man who acts as a citizen advisor are not affiliated with any of the organizations through which the decision-making process in this community is controlled. I discuss first the number of memberships held by the men and women as a way of showing that they, like influentials in other communities are "joiners" and likely to be community leaders. I also note the positions the men and women have held in organizations, in my effort to fully document the experiences and skills of the women who participate in community politics.

The interviewed men and women held similar numbers of memberships in community organizations. Seventy-eight per cent of the men and sixty per cent of the women have held three or more memberships in the past five years, with three of the women belonging to as many as eight organizations and one man to nine. Women do not shun the responsibility of holding key offices, according to this sample. Ten women had acted as chair or president of an association compared to six of the men. Three men had held no executive office, compared to two of the women.

1 Freeman et. al. (1963:793) state that there is reason to believe that community leadership results from a high degree of voluntary activity in community affairs.
The types of memberships, however, are not so similar. Twelve of the fourteen men were noted to have affiliations to provincial or federal political parties or to the campaign groups operating during civic elections. Table V summarizes the political affiliations of the men. In contrast, 7 of the 15 women did not report being members of any political party. Three were deliberately neutral. Table VI shows the political affiliations of women. Tables V and VI also indicate that individuals do not mix left-leaning and right-leaning political party affiliations.

Table IV shows that the interviewed men's most often shared memberships are in the Kiwanis service club. There are two interviewed men who are members of both the Kiwanis club and the Progressive Conservative party, a party that includes several of the most influential men in the community. Three Progressive Conservative party members are also found to have memberships in the Chamber of Commerce and affiliations to the NWVA campaign party. Two of the three non-elected men active in business or in the church are members of one or more of the civic organizations and political parties to which NWVA politicians belong. The third man noted that he had held the same kinds of memberships in another community. In this sample, none of the non-elected influentials interviewed indicated common memberships with NWCV politicians. The man who acts as a citizen advisor has no organizational memberships in common with other men interviewed. The data about the types of memberships held by these few non-elected influentials lend support to the evidence that there is
Table V
Political party memberships (Men)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civic</th>
<th>NWVA</th>
<th>NWCV</th>
<th>CEL</th>
<th>NONE</th>
<th>D.K.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table VI
Political party memberships (Women)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civic</th>
<th>NWVA</th>
<th>NWCV</th>
<th>CEL</th>
<th>NONE</th>
<th>D.K.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a well defined group of organizations through which support for the NWVA is generated.

Table III shows that two women who are affiliated with the Chamber of Commerce are also active in the NWVA. The businesswomen are all affiliated with a one or more of the four right-leaning political parties. However, in contrast to the number of men found to have memberships in the Progressive Conservative party, many of the most influential women have been drawn together by membership in the Liberal party. Nevertheless, Table III shows that the most common organizational membership listed among the sample of women interviewed is in the Social Service Council, and it is here and in the United Way that women of all political beliefs meet to address the welfare needs of community residents. And while Table III shows that two of the women report NWCV affiliations, it also highlights the fact that eight of the women are not members of any of the associations which are identified in Figure 1 as central to community decision-making.

In summary, while four of the women hold memberships in one or more of the organizations which are linked to the NWVA campaign group, and two of the women are affiliated with the NWCV, eight of the fifteen women interviewed have no direct affiliation to any of the organizations which are central to decision-making in the community. This is very much in contrast to the men who, in most cases, share memberships within their respective cliques through the various political, business or
service club organizations which serve as a networking system and a resource base.

Political practices and strategies

Since few women hold positions central to the community decision-making process and few are found to hold memberships in the organizations through which political power is organized, I wanted to know how women exert influence in the public decision-making process. I describe the difficulties that women experience in their efforts to influence decision outcomes, and the strategies that they use. Once again, I provide comparative material about men.

Six of the fifteen interviewed women had run for public office, two of them unsuccessfully so far. Two who had been successful told me that they had each run three times as candidates before getting elected. They each noted frustration that male candidates would get voted in although they were obviously less well informed on important issues than themselves. This hurt both women deeply and almost caused them to drop any plans for future candidacy. As I have already reported, another woman, when she ran for the position of mayor, was shocked to find that the same businessmen she worked so hard to serve when she was a member of Council, told her that they would not vote for a woman mayor.
When I asked one of the directors of personnel at city hall why there were no women heads of departments, the woman replied that women, unlike men, apparently do not prepare themselves for the vacancies by taking upgrading courses. Yet one woman public servant to whom I talked held a Master's degree pertaining to her work but was still ranked, after many years, several levels below the top positions in her department.

When women do get into positions of authority, they face other problems. Two women reported that in meetings where they were the only woman present, there were either crude jokes (with attention-getting comments that the jokes were out of place because there was a "lady" present); attempts to draw out signs that the woman was a "feminist"; or that her remarks would be ignored, until picked up later by a man and then deemed noticeable and acceptable. This behaviour toward "token" members of a group has been documented by Kanter (1977).

During my interviews with the men, many discussed their attitudes about women who are moving into positions of power. The remarks of some of the men with affiliations to the business-church-right-leaning political party clique confirmed the gender bias that women were reporting. Some men noted either a hostility to "feminists";¹ or an expectation that women should take their rightful place "behind the men". One noted that it was not economically feasible for women to get equal pay even

¹ that is, to any woman who seemed to be too assertive or who focused on issues that pertained to women in particular,
though he said he agreed with the idea. Another was convinced that women were emotional, and not logical in presenting their ideas, although he pointed out that he paid attention to women's ideas because they were often creative and most valuable to his organization.

From the interviews with three women affiliated with the NWVA, and central to the decision-making process, I gathered that they often were creative in developing solutions to civic problems. One noted frustration that key men "stick to the law", when in fact they are in the positions to change the laws.

Women reported that they pay great attention to the strategies they use to influence decision-making. Nine of the fifteen women mentioned that they are well prepared on the subject before they act to influence the outcome of an issue at Council or School Board meetings. Some mentioned that they double-checked information provided by others in order to be completely in charge of knowledge about the topic. It was the women with political experience who were particularly cautious about the information received from public servants. They noted that they always made an independent check of the facts, going to the source of the information where possible. They said they were annoyed when they found that men had not done their homework and yet were still influential members of committees, both on local decision-making bodies and at the regional level. One woman volunteer stated that well documented background material meant that she could not be intimidated and that she
could sustain her argument without getting angry. Women in elected positions were also careful to word motions in such a way that their ideas would be acceptable to the governing body. If they chaired a committee, women would make sure that all members were in agreement on the issue they personally thought was important, before bringing the matter to the larger group. Nothing was taken for granted.

Learning who were the key players was also part of the preparation mentioned by four of the women. These women noted that their knowledge of community politics had drawn them into being advocates for less knowledgeable citizens, although each was now refusing to do this work for others, or at least charging a fee for the service.

One woman reported that while she did most of the lobbying for her "cause", there were times when it was more opportune to have a man "front" for her. That her assumption was correct was confirmed when one NWCV politician noted that women would be more successful if they would either get more women elected, or send men to lobby the predominantly male Council.

None of the unaffiliated women mentioned lack of integration into the key civic organizations to be a problem. Some non-connected community volunteers suggested that they had considerable freedom to raise issues of concern. One remarked that she makes sure that politicians and public servants know that she thinks of them as servants of the community. Another noted that her neutrality gave her freedom to pressure officials
because she was not perceived to be aligned with any "interest group". Another said she refused to "toady" up to any group and relied on her presentation of the facts to sway decisions.

Some women were, however, frustrated by the lack of adequate funding for the sectors in which they were activists (education, social services, or the arts), and suggested that that was a limitation on their ability to achieve their objectives.

Many women felt that their greatest problem was a lack of time. Many juggled family responsibilities and jobs as well as political positions or citizen activist roles. Some in volunteer capacities lacked the support staff usually found in established organizations, and this placed additional pressures on their time, and women politicians noted that constituents forget that women have families to look after and household chores to do: constituents seem surprised to see alderwomen shopping for groceries or taking their children to the dentist!

Many women had become active in community politics through working to support children's activities and most had combined child rearing with activities in community politics. As one woman remarked, "I started out serving hotdogs for school sports days and ended up chairing the Board of School Trustees!". Many women pointed out that their children were stable, independent individuals and probably more politically astute because of their mother's activism. Some women did note, however, that their husbands were not very accommodating to their community
activities until the men were convinced that such challenges were essential for their wife's mental and physical well-being. In spite of the difficulties that were reported, the women maintained a stubborn persistence in working for the issues that they felt were important.

Men's practices in community politics tended to vary depending on whether or not the men were affiliated with the members of the most dominant campaign group, the NWVA. Four of the five men who reported few difficulties in being able to exert influence in the decision-making process observed that being within the group which holds a majority of seats on Council and on School Board assured them of some power. The other man, a seasoned veteran of community politics, although not a member of this group, was philosophical about decisions won and lost. These men noted that they preferred to lobby individuals privately in order to influence the outcome of a decision and they were ready to listen to influential lobbyists. Some NWCV members, however, did not lobby in this manner and resented being lobbied privately by key influentials, preferring instead the process of reasoned argument in a group setting. One NWVA politician noted that this rejection of the lobbying technique limited the effectiveness of NWCV members in influencing decisions, and that he would be open to a private lobby from them.
Two of the moderates on Council thought that their ability to swing the votes of other moderate council members on some issues gave them considerable influence. The lone NWCV member of the School Board said that the only way he could influence the outcome of an issue was to word motions carefully so that they could not be defeated. He also found that a thorough knowledge of the background material was necessary in order for him to sway the opposition to his viewpoint.

Although lack of time was a problem mentioned by some of the men, those who were NWVA politicians and those who were associated with the clique of individuals supporting the NWVA tended to have jobs within the community and more flexible working hours, so that interactions with other influentials were easily fitted into daily schedules. This facilitated their ability to be central to the decision-making process. The men whose jobs prevented them from these daytime activities (most of them NWCV politicians) all wished that they had more time to become more fully informed on all political matters. The citizen advisor noted that his inability to take time off work precluded him from running for office.

Only five men, in discussing time constraints, made reference to the needs of their families, but it must be remembered that ten of the fourteen men had wives who were full time homemakers. Two of the NWCV aldermen were fitting in home chores or child rearing duties as I interviewed them at home in the evening, indicating that at least some men were constrained
by the same schedules as the women. Two other politicians stressed that being in elected office takes a great deal of time and that can undermine a family unit.

Men did not mention any difficulties in getting public funding for the projects in which they were interested. One man noted that his connections to elected members and staff of senior governments have facilitated getting funds for local projects. The church leader had received funding for a major social service centre. Men with long experience in local government, either as politicians or as senior staff reported that there were ways to shape municipal budgets to accommodate long range plans for the community, even if voters rejected a money referendum.

In summary, men's and women's strategies differ somewhat according to the individuals centrality to the organization of power. Men who are well integrated into the predominant clique experience few difficulties, either through lack of contacts or through lack of time. There is an ease with which these men pass information, exert influence and are influenced. Men outside this clique tend to be less privileged in terms of flexible time, and few mix socially with members of the dominant clique. They are more likely to use the public forum to influence the outcome of issues, and to influence public opinion, and they have to rely on a variety of alliances to get support for their ideas.
Women who are in the dominant clique are more likely to be in positions central to the decision-making process than other women, but all women, as outsiders to the male-dominated political process, must work harder and develop more careful strategies in order to be influential. In this respect they are similar to men who are outsiders, except that when women lack connections to the dominant clique, they have both lack of integration and gender bias to cope with. Added to those constraints, more women than men report family responsibilities which must be fitted into daily routines that include jobs and civic activities.

Summary

The data about women presented in this chapter indicate that, in the community of North Waterfield, women are not among the representatives of government and private corporate interests who lobby Council members directly for favourable legislation. They are not well represented in positions of political power or in senior positions among public servants. They do, however, hold some executive positions in a variety of civic organizations, but are in a majority only on the Social Services Council, the United Way and the Arts Council. They are not represented at all on two "technical" citizen advisory committees, and are in a majority only on the Family Court Advisory Committee. Women presently chair only two advisory committees and one civic organization, although many of them have experience in committee leadership.
Fewer women than men have reputations as influential community leaders. The women nominated were identified as participants in a wide range of community activities and issues, although more women were interested in the issues which concern the welfare of community residents than with the economic development of the community. However, the two most often-nominated women are business owners, have experience as municipal council members, have participated in a variety of community activities, and as NWVA members are centrally located in the organization of power in North Waterfield. The woman receiving the next highest number of nominations is not in any political clique but bridges the gulf between them through her work in developing many community services. Women active in the social services sector were nominated more often than those who work to influence educational policy.

Men, on the other hand, predominate in most of the key positions which control the decision-making process. They are the politicians, the public servants and the dominant business leaders. They are in a majority on most civic organizations and citizen advisory committees. More men than women are nominated as influential, and those most often nominated concentrate on activities which concern business interests, community growth, planning and budgets, and community boosterism.

I have found that the men and women who participate in community politics are similar on several characteristics such as age, length of residence, family profiles and number of
organizational memberships. They have similar levels of post-secondary education and types of occupations; and although the men generally have higher individual and family incomes than the women in this group, influential men and women are similar in that they are drawn disproportionately from among the residents with higher than average education and income, and who own or manage local businesses or who are in professional occupations.

I have also found that women differ from men in that fewer women than men are affiliated with the organizations through which power over community decision-making is exercised. Some belong to a third clique, a group of individuals who are interconnected through their work with various social service agencies. Others have only time-limited connections to other influentials through their activism on particular issues.

I have also shown that, in spite of organizational and leadership skills, a wide variety of interests in the community, and an extraordinary amount of energy, women have to overcome the problem of being "not male". The women's reports of gender bias are confirmed by some of the men who indicated that they do not fully subscribe to the notion of equality for women or that they have difficulty in coming to terms with the change in assertiveness of women in public and in private life.

As outsiders in a male-dominated society, women pay great attention to the strategies they use, especially when the issues that they consider important are peripheral to the priorities of the dominant decision-makers.
What is clearly indicated in this research is that the women who contribute to community politics in North Waterfield cannot be described as "leisure personnel" (Hunter, 1953) and most cannot be designated as "one-issue specialists" (Dahl, 1961; Presthus, 1964). Many women juggle jobs and civic duties as well as family responsibilities, and many women participate in a variety of issues concerning the quality of community life.

The last three chapters have described the organization of power in North Waterfield with an emphasis on the location and experiences on women in the community power structure. In the next chapter, I compare the information gathered about the the organization of power in North Waterfield with data from other studies. I then draw on the information presented about women's participation in community decision-making and their location in the power structure in this and other studies, to explain their invisibility in the previous research.
Chapter six

Continuities and conclusions

In this chapter I analyze the findings of the research which has been focused on women's participation in the decision-making process in a Canadian suburban community. The chapter is organized into three sections to address each of the three objectives. The first section reviews the similarities between data gathered about the organization of power in this research and that found in other studies. In this way I am able to assess the reliability of the information about community politics which has been gathered in a new setting, and using variations on standard methods to insure that women are included in the scope of the research. The second section compares the characteristics and political activities of women documented in this and other studies. That information is used to gauge how women fit into the organization of power in community politics. In the third section I use the information I have gathered about women's experience in community politics in North Waterfield and elsewhere to offer some explanations about women's general invisibility in earlier power structure studies.

The structure of power in North Waterfield and elsewhere

From the information presented in chapters 3, 4 and 5, I find evidence that would suggest that three types of power structure function in this community: namely those described by the elite, factional and coalitional models. Using distribution
of power as the guide to identifying type of power structure, I find that only a few individuals participate regularly in the decision-making process, and that is one of the definitions of an elite power structure. However, there is positive evidence of two conflicting, politically-based groups which would suggest a factional power structure. But at times it is also demonstrated that there are coalitions among a wide variety of community groups to protest specific issues. Those alliances are dropped when the final decision is made, and that behaviour is indicated in the coalitional model. I can find no evidence of a pluralistic power structure in which no one group dominates.

Within the relatively small group of citizens who participate in community politics, there are two competing factions, but the factions are not equally powerful. Influential members of the dominant clique are drawn primarily from the business sector, government and the independent professions, and they are connected through memberships in the Chamber of Commerce, Service Clubs, churches and right-leaning political parties. Elected members of this clique hold a majority of seats on municipal Council and School Board and represent local citizens in the Federal Parliament and the Provincial Legislative Assembly. The interests of clique members lead them to be active in decisions about business matters, community growth (which includes community budgets and boosterism), education, sports and the arts. The most influential clique members pay little attention to the development of community-wide social services.
The competing clique which supports NWCV politicians, draws its members primarily from among members of the provincial and federal New Democratic Party associations. Any power NWCV politicians have in influencing the outcome of decision-making comes mainly from the ability to form alliances with members of the NWVA on non-controversial issues, and from support, on certain neighbourhood issues, from a coalition of groups specific to the decision at hand. I found fewer NWCV supporters than NWVA supporters as leaders of key civic organizations and the citizen advisory committees. NWCV members also show interest in community growth, but from the perspective of long term planning and environmental protection. A few of the more influential members of the NWCV affiliated clique do appear to be active in the development and maintenance of a variety of community social services, such as a Crisis Centre, Intermediate Care housing for seniors, or services to youths in trouble with the law.

There are times when groups form alliances to protest a Council decision. Two contentious issues that were identified in this study had to do with land use. The successful coalitions of groups in those cases included environmentalist organizations, a neighbourhood association, recreational sports clubs, church groups and business organizations. Jennings(1964:146-147) also reported coalitions of groups on some issues, remarking that the Chamber of Commerce found itself with strange bedfellows in an urban renewal debate in Atlanta. Coalitions which comprise only politically left-leaning groups appear to be less successful, as
I documented in the issue about privatization of municipal garbage services.

The development of organized and opposing civic parties in the past eight years has deepened the political split in the community. Although the presence of an organized politically-left opposition has somewhat limited the power of the dominant clique, on issues of major concern to this right-leaning, business-oriented clique, the interests of the dominant clique generally prevail. The evidence of a predominant clique gives further strength to the denotation of an elite power structure.¹

In North Waterfield, businessmen constitute the majority community decision-makers. This finding concurs with data in other studies (noted in Chapter 2) and with Walton (1970:446) who finds that on the basis of a review of 39 studies in 61 communities, "the proportion of businessmen found in the leadership group is high irrespective of the type of community power structure found".

Politicians and public servants are also listed as influentials in most of the studies and some are nominated as highly influential in this research. These findings appear to strengthen the point made by Lineberry and Sharkansky (1978:179) that power is held in varying combinations by economic leaders,

¹ A more detailed analysis of the most powerful individuals in community decision-making would be required to refine the description to compare it to the various elite forms presented by Form and Miller (1960:540-541).
politicians and bureaucrats, depending on certain historical conditions. There have been indications in this research that when key influentials from all three sectors are in agreement on an issue, they are impervious to opposing groups. The power of the mayor, which I discussed in Chapter 4, is particularly noted in some studies (for example Dahl, 1961:137, 182, 200; Jennings, 1964:110; Trounstine and Christensen, 1982:114, 138). Stone et. al. (1979:155) consider mayors to be "perhaps the principal actors on the urban scene".

The nomination of some newspaper and radio personnel as influential in North Waterfield matches the identification of members of the media in other studies (Dahl, 1961:156; Presthus, 1964:215; Trounstine and Christensen, 1982:167). However, as I pointed out in Chapter 4, in this community, although media personnel are nominated as influential, at least one newspaper official notes a reduction in his power to influence decision-making in the politically split community.

The presence of independent professionals is also noted among influential community leaders by researchers such as Hunter (1953:76), Dahl (1961:334), Haugh (1980:45) and Trounstine and Christensen (1982:115). Several members of this sector who were nominated as influentials in North Waterfield were noted to be, or have been, directors of the Chamber of Commerce or active in right-leaning party politics.
Church leaders are occasionally identified (Hunter, 1953:98; Presthus, 1964:178). Hunter (1953:83) points out that church leaders do not make top billing, although church backing is one way to get a project underway. Jennings (1964:192, fn.11) suggests that church leadership is one established funnel to community leadership. In North Waterfield there is evidence that at least some influential church leaders have connections to the dominant clique, either through shared memberships in civic organizations, or through their ability to encourage NWVA politicians to attend Christmas services at their church.

Those in education are less often mentioned as being in the power clique. Dahl (1961) had focused on an issue in educational policy and therefore some members of this sector were included among his leaders and sub-leaders. Trounstine and Christensen (1982:160) report the unexpected influence of a school board administrator, but judged that he was influential more for his personality and interpersonal network than because of his job. I infer from the Jennings (1964:187) review of "major activity areas for attributed influentials in two communities over an extended length of time", that educational activities are a low priority among influentials. The low profile of members of this sector in some of the studies parallels the lack of influence of people in the educational sector in North Waterfield.

I note that the New Haven mayor had jurisdiction to appoint school board members, in contrast to the case in my Canadian community.
A few union leaders are noted in some studies, for example, Dahl (1961), Port (1972) and Trounstine and Christensen (1982). The union official in Port's one-industry town was active in promoting new industrial development proposals which would mean an expansion of the job market in the community. North Waterfield's expanding economy may perhaps explain why private union leaders did not surface as influentials in public decision-making. However, as I have noted, civic union leaders sometimes work with NWCV elected members to put pressure on the outcome of public policy when there is a decision to shrink the size of the civic workforce, but those efforts are not always successful.

In general, it would seem that the same categories of individuals are found to participate in public decision-making, no matter what type of North American community is studied.

Molotch's (1976) conceptualization of "any locality" as a "growth machine" is useful as an explanation for the predominance of certain categories of individuals in community power structures. He asserts (p.311-314) that "land is a market commodity providing wealth and power and that some very important people consequently take an interest in it". Molotch states that "particular property owners and investors in locally oriented financial institutions need local government in their daily money-making routines and that lawyers . . . and realtors also need to put themselves in situations where they can be most useful to those with land and property resources". He also notes
there are those who, although not directly involved in land use, have their futures tied to growth of the area. Certainly, these people would include small business owners, as well as those whose homes and property gain value as land use is intensified and the community gains more municipal services and urban lifestyle facilities. Thus community growth and progress would be important to a large number of people in the community, including union leaders, whose members benefit from an expanded job market.

Molotch's hypothesis that all community leaders work for an expansionary economy, provides an explanation for the dominance of the NWVA clique interests in North Waterfield, and for the similar consideration by NWCV members for growth in the community, but it does not explain why there would be opposition to certain developments. Logan (1976:339) points out that resistance to industrial growth among suburban communities can be found:

The 'quality of community' is a significant value among suburban residents, particularly in older, more established, or more rural communities. The issues of growth may therefore create a strong political cleavage in the employing suburbs, so that the pursuit of intensive development depends on the ability of the real estate and big business coalitions to dominate local politics.

This would seem to describe succinctly, the organization or power in the suburb of North Waterfield.

I also compared the distribution of characteristics of the men identified in other studies with that of the men interviewed in North Waterfield. Once again I find similarities. Although
data in the studies I have chosen to review are not completely comparable, in those studies I find that most influentials have resided in their community for fifteen years or more, are over forty years of age and often considerably older, and are "joiners", belonging to three or more organizations. The influentials are also white. This profile generally describes the men I interviewed, although some of my respondents cannot be considered the most influential members in the power structure. The only difference that is readily apparent is that some of the influentials in North Waterfield have only resided in the community for ten years, but that may be explained by the fact that there was a major expansion in the population ten years ago at a time when the political climate was hardening into two camps. Politically-minded migrants were immediately drawn into the political realignment process. Nevertheless, those men who received the highest number of nominations were all long term residents. The highest profile members of the most integrated visible minority group have also been long term residents.

Income and educational data are not readily comparable across studies, because of variations in the classification of data, but there is enough information to make some generalizations and to suggest that of those who participate regularly in the decision-making process, most have the benefits of income above the community average. Although education and income levels of influentials may vary from community to community (Presthus, 1964:187; Jennings, 1964:46), Dahl (1961:230) had noted the tendency of leaders identified in his
survey to be above average in income and education, and that the subleaders were also a "somewhat select group" (p.170). In North Waterfield, most of the men I interviewed had some form of post-secondary education, and apart from some retired men, they earned more than the community median in family income.

Dahl (1961:91) has stated that the political stratum is far from being a closed or static group, but the evidence from this study and from the others is that there are too many similarities among influential men to expect that integration into the small group of leading decision-makers is readily available to all citizens.

Another similarity across the studies is that some organizations are identified as central to the organization of power in every community. The Chamber of Commerce is noted as a key organization in every study I use for comparisons. Other organizations mentioned regularly are service clubs and fraternal organizations, and the Community Chest or United Appeal Fund. Quite often there is a community industrial development or progress planning committee. Common memberships in these various organizations and committees are frequently documented. In North Waterfield, the Chamber of Commerce and various service clubs are important meeting places for right-leaning influentials although, as has been reported in this study and in the Trounstine and Christensen (1982:72) research, the influence of the Chamber of Commerce has declined in the past few years. In North Waterfield, the Community Planning
Committee is under the auspices of municipal council. Several members of this committee are also members of the organizations through which NWVA members are interconnected, although there are also some members of the NDP on the committee. The United Way is not an important organization for male influentials in North Waterfield, but perhaps that is because in the past decade it has been a committee more involved with social service planning than with fund raising, a function that has been centralized through the regional office in the neighbouring city. However, through the work of this committee over the past ten years, many of the women influentials have come to know each other and draw on each others' resources.

In summary, there are many similarities in the organization of power found in North Waterfield and in other North American communities. No matter what the community type, business owners and managers predominate, along with politicians, public servants and independent professionals. No matter what type of community, there is a tendency that community leaders will be long resident, over forty, well integrated into community politics through a number of organizational memberships, and generally above average for their community in levels of education and income. The predominant organizations are the Chamber of Commerce and service clubs and community planning committees; the predominant issues are likely to be community growth and business development. I therefore have some assurance from this comparative overview that I have captured the essence of the structure of power in North Waterfield. I can now assess
where women fit into that structure.

The women in community politics

In the previous section I suggested that in spite of the debate in the literature about the organization and distribution of power in a community, there were significant similarities across communities of various types in terms of the institutional and organizational connections of men who influence local decision-making. In this section, I compare the descriptions of women identified as influential in other studies to the material gathered about women who participate in North Waterfield's community politics to determine women's relation to the structure of power.

In North Waterfield no women were mentioned to be among those government and business representatives who privately lobby council members for taxation and zoning considerations. But their names appear occasionally as elected officials, mostly on School Board. No women are department heads in the municipal public service. Some women nominated as influentials are found to be small business owners or managers of medium sized economic enterprises. They and other women participate as members and executive officers on a variety of civic organizations and citizen advisory committees. These organizations and committees include ones concerned with social services and the arts, as well as those which monitor and promote neighbourhood development or are focused on business or community growth.
In other studies we find the following information. Hunter's (1953) survey identified six women among the top forty community leaders. He labelled five of the six "leisure personnel", perhaps because they were members of the "society and wealth" sector, and because they did not have paid occupations. One was noted to be a source of funds for community projects, a philanthropist. He found them to have considerable leadership skills but assumed they did not participate in the power network, because that was facilitated through the downtown clubs, boardrooms and offices that served as meeting grounds for the powerful men. The sixth woman was a schools supervisor but was not connected organizationally with the prominent male community leaders (p.89).

Dahl (1961) placed women in a subleader category, and they made up about one third of the total in that group. He stated that the subleaders were found, generally, to be active in one issue only (p.174), and that their services included "formulating strategies and policies and carrying out dull, routine, time consuming... work" (p.96). Some who were active in the urban renewal issue were noted to be wives of executives or professional men (p.177) but no mention was made of the others.

In Jennings' (1964:40) survey of Atlanta influentials, seven women "qualified for elite status". Three occupied leadership roles in organizations such as the League of Women Voters, the
Atlanta Voters Guild and the city-wide PTA. Three of the seven were active in electoral processes, two in educational matters, one in human relations (a term that is not explained further), and one in a variety of activities in electoral, civic and charitable matters. One of these women was noted to be a schools superintendent.

Presthus (1964:129) offers a little more detail about the women "specialists" in the community of Edgewood. Three of the six women identified had full time, white collar jobs in secretarial or sales positions. Five of the six were university educated. He note that "they and their husbands are in the middle income categories, ranking lower than economic and political leaders in both income and group memberships". All the women had "exceptional interest in 'welfare' kinds of community improvements" and one was also "apparently motivated even more strongly by tax reduction considerations". She worked for the manager of a local corporation as a "leg-woman". Three of the women were School Board members. In Riverview, the other community studied by Presthus, only one of the two women specialists was identified, a 70 year old woman who had been member of the School Board for seventeen years, was politically sophisticated and a staunch Republican (p.165).

Trounstine and Christensen (1982:138-142) describe, in some detail, the most influential woman in the power structure they

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1 I would recommend this portrayal to others who are studying women and power.
identified in San Jose. This woman was the mayor, but was considered by knowledgeable to be powerful more for her position than for her personal characteristics. A resident in the community for twenty nine years as the wife of a physician, she was for many years active in various community projects including children's welfare. She turned later to work with the League of Women Voters and to sit on a number of council-appointed committees. She eventually ran for a council seat "winning easily", and four years later was elected mayor. Trounstine and Christensen (p.116) note that after the election of a woman mayor, San Jose was dubbed "the feminist capital of the nation". The other woman, a county supervisor, was not described.

Although Haugh (1980) did not identify any women among the 19 Upper Limit Leaders of the Public-Voluntary-Not-For-Profit sector in a city in Virginia, he did describe his key informant and some of the other women nominated in his reputational survey (77,86). These women were all highly educated and were interconnected either through their affiliations to one university and one church, or through membership in the Junior League. Some of them were members of the all-female Board of Directors which was totally responsible for the Children's Hospital. However, although these women were married to local business leaders, they were not members of the business organizations through which the influential men gained knowledge of the resources available to decision-makers.
In summarizing the data on women from other studies, there is evidence that over the past thirty years, women have seldom been located in positions of power in the triumvirate of institutional sectors found to be central to the organization of power in any community. No women have been documented in key positions in the business sector, and few are shown to be elected leaders. One woman was a council member, then became mayor in 1974 (which was noted as a remarkable national event) and four were identified as School Board members. Three were identified as civil servants with some authority. The scarcity of influential women in these important sectors is confirmed by the information gathered in North Waterfield, and it has been indicated in this study that it can be difficult for women to get into these positions.

In spite of the attention paid to the organizational connections of men, there is little information in the studies on community power about women's links to the cliques of dominant men.

Hunter (1953) had observed that the "social leaders" of Atlanta and the school supervisor were not connected to the main networking system. In this study, I found that there were a substantial number of the interviewed women who were not formal members of either dominant political clique in North Waterfield.

Presthus (1964:407) had stressed that the women he identified were part of "a third elite... a residual category of welfare-oriented leaders distinguished from others in the
elite structure by their marginal power and prestige". Haugh identified the same phenomenon (1980:77). I also discovered the presence of a clique of welfare-oriented leaders, whose prestige is relatively high, if I note the number of Citizen-of-the-Year awards which are given to members of this clique, but whose power is limited.

Some of the most influential women do have connections through a variety of affiliations, to key organizations and individuals, and to a relatively large number of voters. The woman who was mayor of San Jose drew on her ties with "schools, environmentalists, women's organizations and neighbourhood groups . . . to narrowly defeat her opponent for the position. . . . She also received hefty contributions for her earlier campaigns from San Jose's power structure". Her political advisors included a developer and a couple who between them held the presidency of the local bar association and the art museum" (Trounstine and Christensen, 1982:139-140).

This woman's profile is very similar to those of the two most frequently nominated women in North Waterfield. Another interviewed woman, who was on the North Waterfield School Board for ten years was also well integrated into an earlier structure of power at a time when the dominant civic political party was centralist in political bias, drawing together many of the key influentials from all political perspectives. The mayor at that time was also a member.
When I search for details about the nature and scope of women's influence, I find that nearly all studies report women as active in issues that concern the welfare of community residents, educational matters and electoral concerns. In North Waterfield, women also show concern for those matters, but because of my more detailed study of women's activities, I suspect that women's interest in economic matters is underplayed. Presthus (1964:129) sounded somewhat surprised to report one woman's concern for tax matters, yet Jennings (1964:109) reported a Women's Chamber of Commerce in Atlanta. North Waterfield's businesswomen are members of, and take leadership positions in the local Chamber of Commerce, although not in as large numbers as men. They are also members (and Chair) of the Community Planning Committee, and the Visitors and Convention Bureau, as well as taking an active role in some of the organizations that respond to the social needs of residents.

Information about women's personal characteristics are not detailed enough to make many comparisons across studies, but there are hints of some similarities among the women. The survey of influential women in North Waterfield indicates that on attributes such as age, length of residence, and number of memberships, women are similar to the local men. The description of San Jose's mayor suggests that her profile is similar on those variables. Most studies note that women active in community politics, like the men, have higher than average levels of education, but in Presthus (1964:129) and this study, found women to have lower family incomes than those of the men
who were political and economic leaders.

One common feature among the women in every study is that they are reported to have outstanding organizational and leadership skills.

I now have an overview of the similarities and differences between men and women, in terms of their positions in dominant institutional sectors and in key community organizations, as well as in areas of influence and in personal characteristics. I am now in the position to offer some explanations for the lack of information about women's participation in community politics.

Why women are (almost) invisible

Power structure research has always focused on the most powerful members of any community, and the simplest and baldest explanation for the invisibility of women in those studies is that in every community the decision-making process is dominated by men and men's groups, for men's interests, and using men's styles of politicking. Women are the outsiders.

Nevertheless, the stereotypical profile of women's participation in community decision-making, which stresses their orientation to concern for community welfare matters, and their memberships in "peripheral" organizations, has been somewhat discredited by the information about women documented in this study. Yes, women are concerned with education and social
services, but some also attempt to exert influence in decisions about business interests, community growth, land use and electoral matters. They are invisible in the studies of community power, I suggest, for four major reasons: one, they are not predominant in positions of power; two, they are seldom active in the dominant groups which control decision-making; three, fewer women than men participate in the economic issues that are central to community politics; and four, as non-males they lack prestige and a reputation for power, so have been, in general, ignored by the informants and researchers who make judgements on who is influential.

If the ability to influence decisions is facilitated by being in key positions in the dominant institutional sectors, then we must note that women are seldom in the positions which have been identified in this and other studies as central to the organization of power. Women are moving into some key positions as is shown in the example of the the mayor of San Jose. However, as Trounstine and Christensen (1982:140) point out, the female mayor came to power "at a time of great upheaval in the balance of power; her own survival was made possible by the shift away from the strangle hold the developers and the construction industry once held at City Hall".

If ability to be powerful is facilitated by being firmly located within a powerful group or clique, then we have information that suggests that many women are not connected with the dominant men through organizational memberships. Women are
moving into the Chamber of Commerce and are taking positions such as the manager or executive officers but they do so at a time when the locally based organizations are losing power in the structural changes taking place in the economic sector, a change which results in the concentration of corporate power at regional, national and international levels.

There is also evidence to suggest that many of the women active in community decision-making may not be in the same economic and therefore social class as the men in the dominant clique, in spite of having many other characteristics in common with influential men. Although the data provided in some studies such as Hunter (1953), Dahl (1961) and Haugh (1980) indicate that the influential women are wives of influential men, there is evidence, in Presthus (1964) and in this study, that many of the active women have family incomes below those of the most influential men. My evidence suggests that, in general, the wives of the most powerful men do not get involved in community politics, and that the wives of less prominent men do.

The third reason for women's invisibility in power structures is that relatively few women focus their attention on the issues that are of key importance to the dominant cliques of men, i.e., business sector interests and community growth. In North Waterfield, Chamber of Commerce businesswomen and women council members have actively promoted growth in the community. Another woman in North Waterfield has been effective in organizing opposition to one land use proposal. The mayor of San
Jose drew support from some leaders because she was able to slow down land use intensification although "every person affected by that decision had called her a numbskull and a nitwit" (Trounstine and Christensen, 1982:140). In general, though, few women are active in this area. Most of the women identified as influential in any community are more concerned with the welfare issues of community life than with economic matters. Some also take an active part in electoral campaigns. Most women, at least in North Waterfield, are not the one-issue specialists that Dahl (1961) and Presthus (1964) portrayed them to be.

The fourth reason why women tend to be invisible in these studies is that women are not perceived as influential. Being in an elected position lends some authority but, as I noted in Chapter 5, some women must be persistent in running as candidates in order to get elected. Once in office they again must overcome the bias against women. The harshness of the criticism about the woman mayor documented by Trounstine and Christensen (1982:140):

She's just inept. She's a nice charming housewife. She ought to go back to being one... She's not a leader qualified to head a major city... She's just an opportunist who's simply there by the persistence of the women's movement.

attests to the difficulty women face when they attempt to move beyond their expected role in society.

Women have a hard time proving the value of their contributions to community politics, in spite of sometimes being in the dominant clique and in spite of the evidence that women
have been shown to have important personal resources such as organizational and leadership skills, an attention to the need for well-researched background material, plus the energy and ability to juggle many responsibilities and interests.

As I review the data gathered for this study, I come to the conclusion that the problem for women in getting their contributions to community politics valued and therefore documented in power structure studies is not just one of changing methods of research. The underlying problem is that there is a decision-making bias which systematically serves economic sector interests at the expense of other sectors, in spite of the fact that many women and some men consider the other sectors equally worthy of political interest. In addition, there is a bias which systematically accepts dominant men's interests and skills as the norm, and which undervalues women's skills and their efforts to shape community policy to the priorities that many women hold to be important. Women, like less influential men, must work harder and use different methods to exert influence in the decision-making process because, in one or more ways, they are outsiders to the groups which dominate community decision-making.

Nevertheless, a focus on developing methods which will redress the invisibility of women in the public decision-making process has two particular benefits: in the first place, it will more fully describe the contributions women make to community politics and document the nature of women's exclusion from the
central organization of power; in the second place, it will be useful to social scientists in augmenting the research devised to develop a theory of power. The study of the organization, exercise and distribution of power from the perspective of less powerful individuals should serve as an additional check on the validity of the present findings in that body of research.

In the next chapter, I evaluate the methods that were used to identify women who are active in community power structures, and offer some recommendations for future research.
Chapter seven

Evaluation of the research and recommendations for future studies

There are two parts to this evaluation process. One is to assess the value of the methods used to highlight the contributions of women to community politics and to identify the organization of power in order to note the location of women in the local power structure. The other is to assess the value of this particular research design to the process of developing a theory of community power and a theory of women and community power. I evaluate the research methods first.

Research methods

I set out in this study to answer three questions: who are the women who participate in a community power structure; what is the nature and scope of their influence; and why are they almost invisible in power structure studies? Because there are continuing debates about the determinants and definitions of power structure types, I was obliged to identify the organization and distribution of power in the Canadian suburban community, in order to assess women's location in that structure of power. I present first a brief summary of the methods used in the research and then comment on the benefits or difficulties of each phase of the work.
To gain an initial sense of the individuals and groups most closely associated with community politics, I interviewed politicians from municipal Council and the School Board, to ask them to list the individuals they listened to in making decisions, and to gather the names of local groups in which they held memberships.

I also gathered the names of local women and men who were active in community politics, by using two methods of determining power. The positional method listed men and women in elected office, in the public service, and in decision-making positions on civic committees and the citizen advisory committees with formal liaisons to Council. In the reputational method I requested knowledgeable citizens from a number of sectors of community activity to list the names of men and women who they thought were influential in community decision-making. I then interviewed some of the individuals named, to ask them to specify the ways in which they had been influential in the community.

The two questions I pose in the evaluation of the methods used are: did I adequately identify the women who are active in community politics, and how accurate was the information gathered about the organization of power in this community?

I had not completely anticipated the usefulness of the interviews with the politicians. That method provided a wealth of information about the decision-making process from the perspective of the politician, although I learned little about
women's participation in community politics. Firstly, the politicians indicated that the most important influences on the outcome of Council decision-making came from representatives of senior governments and big corporations with economic interests in the community, rather than from the local notables. The names of those highly influential individuals did not surface in either the positional or reputational surveys that were done later. Secondly, by talking with members of the two civic political parties represented on Council, I was provided with insights into the constraints under which all local politicians make choices, even when there is organized opposition to the dominant group. Thirdly, documenting common memberships and types of memberships of publicly elected officials was useful in providing me with a working base from which to start identifying cliques of individuals who might be controlling community decision-making. In the fourth place, it was from the politicians that I learned about the most contentious issues in local politics. Finally, the fact that I was gathering material from the perspectives of members from opposing parties on Council made me reasonably sure of the reliability of the information offered.

Variations on the positional method

In order to identify women who were in positions with potential for power over decision-making, I did not spend time listing the names of prominent business leaders, but focused on positions in which women were more likely to be located; in
public office, the public service, and on key civic committees and organizations. This variation served well to highlight the women in positions central to the community decision-making process and influential business-women not serving in these positions were identified during the reputational survey. Businessmen who were central to decision-making process were also identified during interviews with politicians as well as through the reputational survey. This variation also highlighted the names of politicians and public servants, whose reputations for influence would be ranked in the reputational survey.

I acquired names of executive members of each organization for the positional survey, although full membership lists would have helped in identifying the connections and interconnections of the influentials not interviewed. And considering the attention that I paid to the political affiliations of the influentials, it would have also been useful to have collected lists of members of the various political parties and campaign groups, although I suspect that these would not be readily available. Some political parties did publish lists of executive members in the newspapers, and I had found them of some value in identifying connections among influentials.

Variations on the reputational method

The informants who were asked to nominate influential community members were drawn from various institutional sectors, and they were urged to identify the women as well as the men who
were influential in their own sectors and in the community in general. The result was that the list of names included a sizeable number of both men and women who, in a variety of ways help shape the community environment, both in its physical aspects and in the services which are available to residents. Some names were mentioned more than once, providing a ranking of the individuals named.

It is interesting to note that the informants did not mention those business and government representatives who were identified by the politicians as the individuals most influential in shaping decisions of Council. The knowledgeable informants named only the community-based influentials, that is, those who exerted influence not only for their own interests but who also worked for the community as a whole: for example, the businessmen who were mentioned included the local philanthropist, and those who are active in community boosterism or sports promotion. It would appear that there are some influences on the public decision-making process that are not readily perceived by informants outside the government sector.

1 I recognize that ethnicity must also be taken into account when studying the power of different groups. I did ask for names of members of visible-minority racial groups who were influential in the community. Members of the most integrated minority group were most often mentioned and they are as yet the only visible minority group which has been central to the decision-making process. Two members of this group were interviewed.
In comparing these first three methods, I find that the information provided by the politicians complemented the reputational survey in two ways. From them I had knowledge of the pressures which come from influentials outside the community; and, because the community influentials named by the politicians were also nominated by the informants in the reputational survey, I had some measure of the reliability of the data.

The fact that the overlap between the lists from the positional and reputational surveys was small has already been discussed in chapter 5.¹ Used as an independent method for gathering names of influentials, however, the reputational survey is useful for three reasons: one, it augments the list of individuals in key positions, because informants provide names of those citizens who have been central to community politics for some time, whether or not they are presently in positions of civic authority; two, the reputational survey serves to rank the perceived influence of those presently in positions of control over decision-making, even without a list of names being shown to the knowledgeable informants. Most importantly for me, it served to identify women who were successful activists in community politics even if they were not in any positions of potential power, or members of associations central to the

¹ There is a great deal of discussion in the literature about the validity of each of the methods in determining who is influential in community politics (for example, Schulze and Blumberg, 1957; Freeman et. al. 1963).
organization of power in the community. Nevertheless, I did find two difficulties with this method, one being the problem of choosing informants who are thoroughly knowledgeable about community politics, the other a difficulty in deciding who among the nominated individuals is very influential, and who has less influence but is "newsworthy". Let me explain.

Among the men and women I chose as knowledgeable informants, there were variations in the acuteness of their perceptions of the process of community politics. Some were perfectly attuned to my need to know "who runs this town", but others, although active in community politics, had not thought about how power was organized in the community. One might try using the method suggested by Bonjean (1963), which gathers one list of influentials from informants and then uses the most nominated individuals on that list as the "knowledgibles", to check whether this would provide more "politicized" informants, although I have already noted in Chapter 4 that even some politicians fail to discern the actual distribution of power. A drawback in that refinement is that, in my research design, one might then interview the same people more than once to gather different sets of information. I was faced with that difficulty when I found two of the knowledgable informants to be among the influentials I wanted to interview in some depth. However, these women respondents were gracious in giving me the extra time and attention.
The other cautionary note is that, as one of the informants from the media noted, some nominated individuals are very influential whereas others are "newsworthy" but less central to the organization of power. I was able to check that observation only by interviewing individuals and by asking them to tell me ways in which they had been influential in the community. These difficulties are similar to the concerns about this method noted by pluralists.

Variations on the decisional method

I did not use the decisional method, which focuses attention on the public forum of political activity, as a device to gather names of influentials. Instead I gathered names by the other methods and then tried to assess how these individuals participated in the various issues that were part of the public decision-making process. As it turned out, I think I overcame some of the problems that have been raised in the literature about this method, for example, the problem of deciding which issues are contentious enough to warrant attention of the most powerful members of the community and at the same time address the need to show that some issues do not engage the interest of community leaders; the problem that some important issues may in fact be vetoed and are therefore not subject to the scrutiny of the researcher (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962:952); and the problem that some aspects of the decision-making process may be hidden. I also overcame the problem of identifying women's contributions to community politics.
By talking with politicians from both political camps I was able to identify clearly the most controversial issues in this community. I also learned that there are some issues that all politicians agree are "too hot to handle" and which are therefore suppressed, at least temporarily, from being discussed at Council. (Those issues might include the availability of pornographic materials in the community or the existence of illegal suites.)

I also found out by interviewing influentials to ask them how they exerted influence, that there are some hidden connections among influentials that would leave the observer of the public meeting unaware of who actually initiates action on an issue. And as I have already noted, some public decisions get shaped behind the scenes by the most influential lobbyists to Council.

By asking individuals to list the ways in which they have been influential, I have been able to document more accurately the nature and scope of influence of those men and women who participate in community decision-making. In this way I am able to list issues that are salient to individuals other than businessmen, which overcomes what Polsby (1980:68) stresses is a common methodological error of stratification theorists. I am able to list the number of issues in which the men and women are

1 Bonjean and Grimes (1974:393) note that this is a less common procedure, but suggest that it is preferable to the use of "objective criteria".
active and which issues are important to which individuals. This procedure should be useful in breaking down the stereotypes about men's and women's behaviour that is found in the literature on political behaviour of all kinds. It will also prevent some influentials from being dismissed as "one-issue specialists".

In summary, by using these variations of the positional and reputational methods to gather names and by urging informants to provide names of women who were influential members of the community, I am confident I overcame the invisibility of women in community politics. By asking women to list the ways in which they have been active in community decision-making I have been able to show the number and variety of contributions they make in shaping public policy. By treating women as independent individuals instead of classifying them as appendages to men, I have been able to describe the similarities and differences between men and women active in community politics, although for future research I would draw a sample of men more closely matched to the representativeness of the sample of women.

By focusing first on the types of organizational memberships of the politicians and checking the shared memberships between them and some non-elected influentials, I was able to determine that there are two distinct cliques of individuals who are dominant in community politics in North Waterfield. By documenting the positions that members of these two cliques hold on various citizen committees and civic
organizations, and the issues in which they participate, I am reasonably sure that I tapped the organization and distribution of power in the community. The comparisons that can be drawn between the data gathered here and in other studies also provide some assurance that the profiles offered about women and men active in the decision-making process in North Waterfield are reasonably accurate, even though I did not centre attention on the most powerful members of the community.

In fact, by focusing attention on the political activities of less powerful members of the community as well as the powerful individuals, I have been able to identify the variety of ways in which power is exercised, both by members of the dominant clique and the opposing group, and by non-aligned individuals.

This first effort to document the activities of women in community politics has attempted to cover a great deal of information. A second task of this evaluation is to assess the value of this study to theory building. I now want to discuss some of my thoughts about the study of community power and the study of women and public power and to make some suggestions for future research in these areas.

Toward a theory of community power

Like many of my informants in this research, I knew very little about the organization of power in a community when I started this research project, and had only a beginning
awareness of the need to develop a feminist perspective in order to adequately document women's contributions to community politics. I had not fully realised that so few women were in positions of civic power in this "democratic society" or that women were "politically" active in so many other ways in the local decision-making process. My naivety about the organization and exercise of power caused me to approach this study exactly as Polsby (1980:113) would have wished, that is, "assuming nothing categorical about power in any community". Thus I was receptive to the arguments of both schools of thought in the debate about community power structures.

In the attempt to accommodate the two dominant perspectives, I designed the research to examine both the power bases available to individuals for the exercise of power, and the exercise of power. I have documented the institutional and organizational connections of individuals who act to influence the outcome of public decision-making as well as some of the personal skills that individuals bring to bear on the influence process. The design has focused equally on the contributions of the politicians and the non-elected community activists. I have also used all the standard methods recommended in earlier studies, varying them slightly in the attempt to highlight the less powerful members of the power structure as well as the more powerful ones.
In spite of this consideration for avoiding an a priori bias in the design, I have found that those who participate in community politics, whether as one-issue specialists or as long term activists well integrated into the central organization of power, must be described as part of the elite of the community because they are disproportionately drawn from among those community residents who have higher education, higher incomes and higher status jobs. I have also shown that although there are two competing civic parties who share control over the publicly elected positions, one party controls the decision-making on the most controversial issues. This party is supported by the predominant clique of residents comprised of members of the business, independent professional and church communities who are drawn together through similar right-leaning political values and goals, and who are interconnected through memberships in the Chamber of Commerce, the various service clubs, church organizations and right-leaning political parties.

The presence of an organized opposition somewhat limits the domination of this clique in community politics, but does not prevent the tendency that community policy is shaped according to the values and interests of members of the ascendant clique.

The fact that the most active members of the dominant clique are similar to those described in other North American studies sampled for comparative purposes, no matter what methods are used to identify influential community members or what type of community is examined, suggests that there is support for the
claim by stratificationists that there is a systemic bias in the distribution of power. Although the contributions pluralists have made to the refinement of methods cannot be underestimated, their assertion that no one group dominates the public decision-making process, cannot be upheld, even by those who attempt to start from a neutral perspective (Presthus, 1964; this study). I would argue that pluralists overstate the potential for pluralism in community politics.

I suggest that we need to view the organization of power in a societal context, rather than focus on individual power at the community level. Even if we then take the pluralist perspective and assume that the State, whether in the form of national, provincial or civic governments, is central in its power to mediate between competing interests of representatives from various social institutions such as the economic, education and social services sectors, we must be able to show that state support in terms of public funds, tax concessions and other non-monetary benefits is distributed equally to the various sectors, to show that no one group or sector dominates.

At the community level we need to examine the pressures on the decision-making process which come from sources outside the community, that is, from senior governments, absentee business owners, non-local development companies, and to show that the values and interests of national economic leaders are transmitted through nationally organized institutions and organizations (Domhoff, 1978:172).
At the individual level, we need to recognise that individuals without power bases available for the exercise of power are less likely to be successful in influencing the outcome of decision making on issues considered crucial to the dominant clique, but that from time to time there are people outside this clique (and sometimes from within) who, with differing priorities or political values, will successfully challenge the policies and decisions of the dominant clique. For as Domhoff (1983:2) points out, "domination does not mean total control, but the ability to set the terms under which other groups and classes must operate". Thus labour unions and even the most powerless of individuals can gain decisions in their favor or disrupt the system even if for a short time (p.2-3).

Studies which focus on the individual as the unit of analysis can easily lead the researcher to a presumption of pluralism. I have shown in Chapter 4 that three possible power structure types could have been designated for this community depending on the issue studied or the perspective of the researcher. Two of these types might be construed as evidence of pluralism. As we view the number of individuals petitioning the politicians during council meetings on a variety of issues, and we observe the varied ways in which elected officials vote on different issues, we might assume that a democratic process is at work. And that happens a great deal, I suspect. Consider the fact that some of the key activists in North Waterfield suggested that there was no dominant group in the community. Trounstine and Christensen (1982:129) also noted the same
phenomenon:

"Most leaders maintained that there was no formal or informal bloc that acted in concert to shape public policy, determine the course of civic events, or in any other way rule the city. Yet they recognized that certain individuals and their institutions exerted greater influence and wielded more extensive power than others."

We may be better served by developing our research designs to address the assertion by Form and Clelland (1962), that pluralism in values is a better indication of pluralism than the number of individuals or the number of groups represented.

I suggest that we start all studies with an assumption of bias towards control of public decision-making by those with economic interests and their allies, and concentrate the research on identifying the exceptions to this rule by studying the exercise of power by individuals who are "the outsiders" in community politics. I have indicated in this study that the ability of the dominant clique to control issues of great interest to its members rests in the election of a mayor who holds the same values as the members of this clique, as well as in having a majority of the elected officials from the same camp. We might examine what happens when there is a mayor or a council elected who espouse political philosophies that are different to those of the normally dominant clique. How is power exercised then? How much can these "outsiders" change the existing system of benefits? What are the external constraints under which they must make decisions and what issues are the most contentious ones in these cases? We might also examine how power is organized, exercised and distributed under the
alternate structure of government found in North America, that of the "reformed" council-manager type of government (Trounstine and Christensen, 1982:43).

We can also view the exercise of power from the perspective of those who are outside by virtue of class, race or gender, and ask what issues are raised by those groups and what coalitions are most successful in mounting oppositions to the prevailing bias in decision-making. Research designed to answer these questions at the community level will add to the detailed work already done in developing a theory of power and a theory of community power and will hopefully combine the research foci of both sociologists and political scientists into a "dual perspective".

I would urge that the definition of the term "power structure" be clarified in future research. In some of the literature on community power the term is used to denote the most powerful members of the community; in other studies the term is taken to include anybody who is found to be active in the decision-making process, from the most powerful members of the community to those who are "one-issue specialists". And for the sake of preventing obfuscation of the term "pluralism", let us state clearly that our research only focuses on those few members of any community who have both the personal and collective resources to be active in influencing public decision-making.
If power is more easily exercised through the organization of individuals into collectives, then let us also examine the activities of those members of the community who lack that resource as a base for power, to see how they exert influence in community politics, and the kinds of issues in which they are successful. And let us not be so blinded by the need for empiricism that we ignore some aspects of the exercise of power because we have not as yet found ways of adequately measuring them. We must ask why it is that so many community activists are not aware of the way power is organized and distributed in their community.

By seeking to discover the organization, exercise and distribution of power from the perspective of the relatively powerless we may hasten our ability to develop a theory of community power. It is in that light that the study of women and power will be useful to the study of power and community power in general.

Toward a theory of women and public power

The study of women in community politics is one step toward the development of a theory of women and power, but it is also an alternate way of studying public power in general. Women are unique in that although they are "outsiders" in a male dominated society, they nevertheless share many of the same characteristics as the men in their lives, i.e., class, race and political bias. Thus while class or race may be a barrier to
participation in community politics, we can still study less powerful members of the local political elite by studying the women of this group.

Identifying those individuals who are less powerful is not difficult, as I have shown in this research design, but to do so requires that one must temporarily assume that all individuals active in community politics are equally important, no matter in what institutional sector they spend their working hours, what issues they are interested in, what resources for power they have or what individual methods are used. We know that the number of individuals will not be large and that we can devise ways to generate a representative sample of that particular population. It is when the characteristics of that sample of community activists are examined and compared, that we can begin to confirm how power is organized and exercised, because we can show the ways that some members of the community are excluded from, or are peripheral to, the decision-making process.

In this study I indicated that women, as outsiders in the male-dominated public decision-making process, find it more difficult to gain access to positions of political power, that they are not often in the associations through which power over public decision-making is organized, and that they are seldom active in the issues deemed important to the dominant cliques of men. I will discuss each of these points in turn, in terms of suggestions for future research.
It was suggested in this study and in Trounstine and Christensen (1982:140) that women might more easily move into key positions when there is a shift in the balance of power. The examples given were the case of the woman mayor who came to office at the time when developers and the construction industry were losing their traditional hold on city hall politics; in North Waterfield it seems that women are gaining power in the Chamber of Commerce at a time when the local associations are losing power as "big business" representatives concentrate their lobbying at the senior levels of government or bypass the local business organization to lobby politicians personally. Another hint that this might be the case comes from my own experience.

During the 1960's and particularly the 1970's in Canada, the expanding economy produced enough surplus revenue that governments made more funding available to education and to the social service sector. During that period many women took the opportunity to upgrade their education, and many took over the management and the directorship of the burgeoning number of social service agencies set up to meet the needs of community residents. Women ran these agencies, often with none or few men in decision-making positions (cf. Haugh, 1980:77). Since the downturn in the economy, the level of public funding for these sectors is dropping, and with that turn of events, board members of social service agencies, at least in British Columbia, are increasingly searching for directors not so much for their empathy to the needs of the clients, but for their connections to sources of private funding and to others who can get public
and private funding for the agency. Those individuals are once again more likely to be people with business interests and with a bias towards right-leaning political values. It would seem then that the 1960's and the 1970's might be an example of a temporary shift in balance of power between institutional sectors which allowed women to have greater control over decision-making, at least in this sector.¹

It was also during the 1970's that there were so many women on the Board of School Trustees in North Waterfield, their numbers now reduced to one.

I suggest that studying shifts in the balance of power may be one avenue of future research into the study of women and community power. But we must also follow up this work by examining what characteristics of power women need to get into publicly elected positions. In this study I noted that the women most likely to get into office were affiliated with, and anointed and financed by, members of the dominant clique and that they were also well known community leaders in their own right because of their activities with many community organizations. But how then do we explain the election of women who belong to "third parties" or run as independents and who are less active in community associations? And why, in North

¹ Why Haugh (1980) would identify the top 19 leaders in the social service sector in a southern city in Virginia to be male and business leaders, when I am suggesting that in a suburban community in Canada women might predominate, would require further investigation.
Waterfield have women running on the opposing NWCV slate been unable to get elected to Council or to School Board?

Another point to be studied further is the fact that so few women are members of the associations through which power over local decision-making is organized. There are some obvious reasons why women are not members of the services clubs and not as many women are in business in order to qualify them as members of the Chamber of Commerce, but many of the women are not members of the political parties through which civic politics are controlled. We must ask why it is that so many women are "unaligned". Can we compare that phenomenon at the community level to the examples of national women's organizations also being "non-partisan" or "unaligned", for example, the League of Women Voters in the United States and the Status of Women Council in Canada? Do women find it easier to get concessions this way, in the same way that some of the women in North Waterfield suggest that being unaligned gives them greater freedom to challenge the views of both political sides?

The third focus on women and public power might be to examine women who attempt to shape community policy in issues peripheral to the interests of the dominant men to ascertain if they are aware of the way in which power is organized, exercised and distributed. It is indicated in this study and in Presthus (1964) and Haugh (1980) that women in the "welfare-oriented" clique ignore the resource base of those collectives to demand higher levels of funding from all levels of government for the
sector in which they develop policy. Instead, they appear to spend their energy on the management of the scarce resources that they do receive. Is this an example of a "mobilization of bias" so deeply entrenched that we cannot even think that public resources could be distributed in other ways?

The most intriguing question to come out of this research is the indication that women activists may have lower family incomes than those of the economic and political dominants. What are the reasons for this apparently systematic anomaly? I recall that it was men from the dominant clique who more openly expressed a bias against women in public politics, and we must also remember that it is this group of men and women who are more likely to attend churches where the teaching upholds the "traditional" place of women "behind the men". Is it the case that the "political culture" of this group constrains the very women who would be most likely to get into positions of power? Or is it the case that there is only enough family time and energy for one activist per family, and where the men are less disposed to community politics, women step in?

In conclusion, I want to stress that there are many ways in which we can pursue development of a theory of community power. An alternative approach, which examines power from the perspective of the relatively powerless will jolt us from our mainstream paradigms, and cause us to review many of our unexamined assumptions. Using women as a starting point in this study of "outsiders" should have two advantages. First it will
show women the value of their contributions to public decision-making and give them a way of validating their experiences in public life. Secondly, it offers students of community power a way of developing methods to study the public decision-making process from the perspective of outsider groups as a test of the present understandings about the exercise and distribution of power. The study of women's political experiences will provide valuable additions to this body of knowledge.
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Wolfinger, Raymond E.

Wrong, Dennis H.

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Appendix A

Summary of Nominations and Interviews

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