DECISION-MAKING IN A
ONE-INDUSTRY TOWN

by

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ABSTRACT

Communities with relatively undiversified economies are an intermediate category between the monolithic "company town" and the industrially diversified metropolis. A community with an undiversified economic base is influenced by factors external to it, including absentee ownership of industry and the international market. The part which the "company" plays in the decision-making process of such a community is examined. Propositions concerning the emergence and viability of decision-makers in this particular environment are considered.

Research was carried out in a community of 12,000 people which depends heavily on a single industry. Leaders were identified by a multi-step approach which drew on a panel of knowledgeable persons in the community. Twenty-two men identified as leaders were interviewed. Their interrelationships and participation in decisions which affected the community were explored. The individual and collective resources available to leaders were considered.

It was found that the major employer had made unilateral decisions on economic and organizational grounds. As long as these decisions resulted in stability and continuity for the community this
activity was not recognized by the citizens as company participation in the decision-making process of the community. When these unilateral decisions adversely affected the community it became possible for new decision-makers to emerge from the most threatened non-company sector of the community. "New leaders" were instrumental in having the economic situation in the community redefined as problematic. Not only did new leaders emerge, but new organizations were created which, when they were defined as legitimate, provided a mechanism for tapping the resources already in the decision-making network.

Brief consideration is given to the possibility that access to the decision-making process based on unusual circumstances can be transferred into more conventional positions of power in the community.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Merton (1968, p. 157) argues that the model of scientific research which sees investigation progressing from hunch to inference to hypothesis to empirical test fails to describe "much of what actually occurs in fruitful investigation" because it "exaggerates the creative role of explicit theory just as it minimizes the creative role of observation".

Without claiming great creativity for the observation, we note that: 1) much of the research on community decision-making has been done on economically diversified and highly industrialized urban areas, and 2) many communities in western Canada do not have these characteristics since their reason for existence is to be found in the exploitation or preliminary treatment of a natural resource by a single company that is the major employer. This results in a relatively isolated, and economically and occupationally undiversified community in which the company, as the major employer, plays an important part.

Company towns per se have all but disappeared in the United States as the problems of being both landlord and employer become more complex (Allen, 1966), and in Canada the trend is also in this direction.
But, communities still exist in which the majority of the work force is employed by a single employer. Even though a major employer is not overtly involved in the day to day running of the town, its influence on a community is still considerable.

The existence of a major employer in a community provides a common work experience for most residents. Two other characteristics of such towns must be pointed out. The first is that the major source of employment is usually controlled by absentee owners but administered by resident managers. The articles by Pellegrin and Coates (1956) and Mott (1970) demonstrate that the policies pursued by the managers of absentee-owned firms are based on a view that sees the company versus the community rather than the company in the community. Concern over the company's public image leads to subtle but nonetheless real attempts to direct community decisions.

Secondly, factors beyond the community's boundary may affect it. The market for the company's product is outside the community and perhaps even outside the country. Thus, market decisions made outside the community may greatly influence it, as will trade restrictions at the national level. Other factors external to this type of community, although not unique to it, include the pressures for change which come from new legislation and also from changing cultural values. Thus, although the town may easily be bounded geographically, it is part of a much larger social system.
Many decisions taken by the major employer will be reflected in the community. For example, a prolonged shutdown, which causes young families to migrate out of the area, will skew the population structure toward older persons and may eventually result in a population that cannot support some sectors of the local economy.

When a major employer is thus indirectly involved in the decision-making process in a community, important questions are raised: "What happens when external factors which influence the community change? How are new problems identified and solved? Under what conditions can new leaders emerge, and what are their characteristics?" These and similar questions will be considered in this thesis.

Because it takes time for members of a community to develop a sense of their own awareness and knowledge about those in the community who can "get things done", well developed lines of communication or great community involvement are not likely in the so-called "instant towns." Thus, a community meeting our research needs will be one that has been established for some time, that has a large proportion of the work force employed by a single company, but which has additional sources of employment. It will have developed at least potential loci of influence outside the company structure and a status hierarchy not entirely based on company rank.

In undertaking another study of decision-making in a single community, one must face up to the shortcomings of this method pointed
out by Rossi (1957, p. 438), and provide a justification for continuing this approach in the face of his observation that:

... research on decision-making should be extensive rather than intensive and comparative rather than the case study technique. Three levels of comparisons should be made: decision makers of different types, operating within different community and institutional settings should be compared as they come to the settlement of a range of issues.

When comparative studies are not possible, for whatever reason, the value of a single case study can be increased by ensuring that at a later date it will be usable along with other studies as raw data for synthesis. This requires that variables already in common usage be included when possible, that the methodology be clearly set out, and that the research be guided by existing community decision-making theory. We believe that as a type, the single-industry, major-employer community provides a legitimate area of study.

There is some difficulty in abstracting from the existing research narrowly defined but widely used concepts and methodologies. However, the task of imposing order on the large number of monographs and articles has been undertaken by Walton (1966). He organizes community studies by reference to such commonly used variables as region, population size and composition, extent of industrialization, economic base, and kind of issues considered. More will be said about each of these as we proceed, and this will allow the possibility of this case study being combined with others.
In Chapter II the major concepts and methodologies found in this area are considered.
CHAPTER II
COMMUNITY DECISION-MAKING
Elitists and Pluralists

One of the questions which has for a long time attracted students of social organization is the distribution of power. There are two major orientations to such a question. The "elitist" view is that the bulk of power rests in the hands of a small but purposeful group, dedicated to the control of the population for its own ends in the totalitarian elite model, or controlling the masses for their own good in the benevolent elite model.

The proponents of the "pluralist" view argue that decisions are shared by a much larger proportion of the population. The possibility of greater involvement is associated with the formation of interest and pressure groups which may combine and recombine to serve their own best interests on any particular issue.

When interest in the political process at the civic level increased in the 1950's and 1960's, these existing models formed the basis for the analyses.

The awareness of structured hierarchies in society led sociologists to see the community as stratified, with disproportionate amounts of political, economic, or social power concentrated in an upper stratum
or ruling elite. In Regional City, Hunter (1953) identified an economic elite by developing and using the "reputational" method for discovering community influentials. Schulze (1958) in his research on Cibola pointed out that elites need not be monolithic. He identified three dominant groups: the political dominants, and two economic dominants, a local business and an absentee-owner elite. He also drew attention to the relationship between absentee-ownership of industry and decreased participation of the economic dominants in some areas of political life.

Replicating Schulze's work in Wheelsburg, Clelland and Form (1964, p. 521) found a similar bifurcation between the political and economic structures, although they concluded that several factors related to the integration of the community were important determinants of absentee-owner "withdrawal". These include:

... the absence of local party politics, a history of local industries becoming absentee-owned rather than the introduction of branch plants from outside the community, the institutionalization of local political controls and the absence of ethnic, class, or other cleavages which contribute to partisan politics and reduce the withdrawal rate of economic dominants from participation in community associations and local power arrangements.

Thus, it appears that economic dominants might remain more visible in less integrated communities.

Although the evidence suggests that within some communities there can be cleavages within the elite, Mott (1970), after further study of Cibola, has concluded that a lack of overt participation does not necessarily mean a decrease in the influence of absentee-owned corporations
in the community (Schulze's "withdrawal"). Indeed, he makes the point (p. 178) that:

Corporate power is being exercised; new roles using new methods are being developed. Community relations has become the work of specialists who combine the techniques of public relations, employee involvement in community affairs, and hard negotiation to maximize their social value and resource power. It is a mistake to discount public relations activities as a viable tool in community control activities.

As more and more companies are involved in corporate mergers, as more men become career managers rather than owners, and as advances occur in the specialized skills and techniques used by absentee-owners to protect their own best interest, it seems reasonable to expect that accurate identification of powerful persons in the community, at least by the reputational method, will become more difficult.

Difficulties with the reputational approach were pointed out shortly after Hunter's (1953) work on Regional City. The comments on this method of identifying community leaders were wide-ranging and involved three aspects: a) criticism of the elitist model, b) criticism of the reputational method, and c) the advocacy of a "decision" approach for identifying community leaders. These comments in turn provoked an exchange of arguments and counter arguments that continued for several years.

a) Of the ruling elite model, Dahl (1958, p. 466) pointed out that in order to test the hypothesis of a ruling elite's existence, the following conditions would have to hold:
1) The hypothetical ruling elite is a well-defined group.
2) There is a fair sample of cases involving key political decisions in which the preferences of the hypothetical ruling elite run counter to those of any other likely group that might be suggested.
3) In such cases, the preferences of the elite regularly prevail.

He warned against the temptation to attribute power to invisible elites, the "they" of unsophisticated explanations, since this can result in assigning power to ever more invisible elites. Causality must be demonstrated. Such a demand is no more than may be directed to any theoretical statement, but does not in itself demonstrate the non-existence of political elites. On the other hand, no matter how ideologically desirable the pluralist model, it is not clear that every citizen participates. Thus, attention still focuses on a sub-set of citizens in the community.

b) With respect to the reputational method of identifying community influentials, Wolfinger (1962), speaking "for Dahl, Polsby, and myself", states, "It is true that we consider the reputational method worthless, and think it likely that local political power in the United States is more widely and differentially distributed than do scholars like Miller and Hunter" (emphasis added). Here we have evidence of the bias introduced into research by any frame of reference. The commitment to pluralism appears to have blinded pluralists to the utility of other models.

Nevertheless, the points Wolfinger (1960) raises are strong ones and must be acknowledged. He argues that the reputational method fails
to recognize that without a definition of power, a respondent may be communicating information about status, perceived power, or may have in mind power in disparate areas. He also points out that a description or ranking of leaders does not constitute an analysis of the political system. Also, he rejects the implication of a static power structure based on an examination of reputations for generalized power.

c) The third aspect in this exchange of views involved the pluralists' "decisional" approach as an alternative to the reputational approach of the ruling elite proponents.

One of the strongest statements of this position came from Polsby (1960) who saw no possibility of the reputational approach providing an adequate statement about community power. His arguments may be summarized thus:

1) No elite dominates a town; power is widely distributed.
2) Power distributions are not static but often change.
3) Only by observing decisions or issue areas can the power structure be discovered.
4) The researcher should choose important issue areas for study.
5) Inclusion of groups or bodies on a priori grounds is not acceptable.
6) Thus, the only acceptable object of research is behaviour of individuals associated with "important" community issues defined in terms of the number of people affected by the outcome, the scope of the decisions, and the extent of change represented by the decision (Polsby 1963).
However, his attempt to reject the reputational method suffers a little when he admits that although the researcher "... should study actual behaviour either at first hand, or by reconstructing behaviour .... There is no harm in starting with a list of people whose behaviour the researcher wishes to study ...."

As might be expected, the differences in orientation and methodology between pluralists and elitists increasingly came to be examined by others not so intimately involved. A third phase in the development of a theory of community decision-making is thus discoverable. Commenting on both approaches, Bachrach and Baratz (1963) pointed out a previously unrecognized limitation of the pluralist approach. They argued that it does not take into account the exercise of power which results in issues not becoming public and therefore not open to research by pluralists. In a later work (1970, p. 45) they identified the outcome of this kind of suppression as a "non-decision".

Non decision-making is a means by which demands for change in the existing allocation of benefits and privileges in the community can be suffocated before they are even voiced; or kept covert; or killed before they gain access to the relevant decision-making area; or failing all these things, maimed or destroyed in the decision-implementing stage of the policy process.

Those who are charged with identifying issues or problems may legitimate particular ones by their interest, while by a lack of activity, cause others to be defined as not important. For example, fire and health inspectors can ignore particular situations, keeping them from appearing as "problems". That is, such persons have, within the community, a
"legitimating" ability for situations and issues.

Anton (1963), in reviewing both positions, clearly outlined the underlying orientation of each approach: the assumption on the part of sociologists that power could only be understood within the context of structure positions, while political scientists were directed by a model which saw power as a separate entity, divorced from the context in which it was used. From these two perspectives it seems questionable that the same variable is being tapped by the research.

Of a further difficulty he wrote (p. 456, footnote):

Pluralists talk about issues, which may or may not be community issues, while the followers of Hunter talk about power, which may or may not be community power.

This distinction between community power and community issues without a specification of the boundary of the community has not received the attention it deserves. Recognition of factors beyond the community boundary is usually limited to fleeting references to state or federal governments, or to the political orientation of community leaders. An exception must be recognized in the limited literature on absentee-ownership of industry already noted.

Power

Although the concepts of power and influence would seem to be central to any examination of the decision-making process, there is a wide variety of definitions. These range from the ability to work one's will against others (without a specification of the resource which allows
this) (Weber, 1947, p. 152), to the more rigorous approach which treats influence as an intervening variable in decision-making (March, 1955). But as pointed out by Dahl (1968, p. 412):

... no single classification system prevails, and the names for the various categories are so completely un-standardized that what is labelled power in one scheme may be called coercion or influence in another.

The lack of agreement in the literature on what power consists of, or resides in, is unfortunate because at the intuitive level the idea of power does not present any great difficulty. It is clear that some people act while others are acted upon, that some lead while others are led.

To cause or encourage others to choose a specific alternative from among those available requires a "power base" or resource. Dahl, quoted in Polsby (1960), suggests that a list of such resources might include "... money and credit; control over jobs; control over the information of others; social standing; knowledge and expertness; popularity, esteem and charisma; legality, constitutionality and officiality; ethnic solidarity; and the right to vote."

Without a resource, one is powerless. But, having a resource which no one knows about renders one equally powerless. The connection between a resource and knowledge about it was hinted at by Warner (1949, p. 21) when he wrote: "Money must be translated into socially approved behaviour and possessions, and they in turn must be translated into intimate participation with, and acceptance by, members of a superior
class." This relationship was stated more forcefully by Hunter (1953, p. 2-3) when he argued that effective use of power at the community level only occurs when it is "structured into associational, clique, or institutional patterns."

The acknowledgement that one has a resource involves interaction between the "acknowledger" and the "acknowledgee" or another "acknowledger". Such interaction leads to similar personal orientations and styles of life. The acknowledgement that one has a resource which provides a basis for acting or leading is an important point. The network of "acknowledgers" becomes a resource since it legitimates claims to power and participation. Research which identifies those who have power will also identify them as having acknowledged resources and will identify those by whom they are acknowledged.

Perrucci and Pilisuk (1970) claim that resources must be combined in a network before important decisions can be influenced. They propose an alternative to both the elitist and pluralist views in which power is conceptualized as existing in the network of relationships between formal, informal, and organizational leaders in the community. In their words:

We may then formulate a theoretical statement about a locus of enduring power to which both elitists and pluralists may subscribe; i.e. the resources relevant to the existence of power are dispersed and reside in the interorganizational connections that may be mobilized in specific situations, particularly dealing with allocations of scarce values. (p. 1042-3)

The evidence demonstrates that the question of elitist or pluralist power structure can only be answered in
terms of the involvement of resource networks, and not individuals in specific decision-making situations. (p. 1056)

However, we do not mean to suggest that such a network must allow uninhibited access of each member to all others nor that such a network is united in its activity. As already noted, Schulze (1961, p. 23) found support for his hypothesis that:

... the community power structure tends toward bifurcation, in the sense that it consists of two different sets of individuals in the economic dominant and public leader statuses, but that the persons comprising these two sets will be notably distinguishable from one another in terms of their involvements, commitments, and relationships in the community.

The differences found by Schulze appear to be similar to, and perhaps explicable in terms of, the "cosmopolitan-local" dimension expanded by Merton¹ (1968). "Locals" were essentially persons who were well known by name to much of the population, often locally born, with a view of the world which saw the community occupying a central position. Typically they occupied the local elected offices.

"Cosmopolitans", on the other hand, occupied positions in the community where their well developed administrative and communication skills could be used. In acquiring these skills at university and in

¹ This concept, developed by Alvin Gouldner in his "Cosmopolitans and locals: toward an analysis of latent social roles - I & II," Administrative Science Quarterly 2 (Dec. 1957), 281-306 and (March 1958), 444-80, was explored by Merton (1968), 441-74.
organizations outside the community, a broader perspective was developed which was maintained in later life. Cosmopolitans were found to travel more outside the immediate area and to be better informed about national and international matters. We might also expect this pattern to exist in a community with a closely knit indigenous population and a major employer requiring large numbers of highly trained university graduates.

Associations

Excepting the case of the "pure" company town, communities in the Western democratic tradition operate with elected leaders who are responsive to the demands of a multiplicity of points of view. However, in addition to elected or appointed decision-makers, there are other leaders who do not have a mandate from the public at large but still actively participate in the decision-making process by representing an interest group in the community.

Many of these leaders participate through membership or leadership in the various voluntary associations found in every community. However, not all voluntary associations are equally influential. In a small community, Young and Larson (1965, p. 184) found that organizations which were seen to be most prestigious and important in the community were those "that embody the main institutional or value constellations of the community." Thus, by discovering those organizations which are highly regarded in a community, we should be able to identify, at least in part, the value system of the community.
Gordon and Babchuk (1959), in exploring differences among voluntary associations, identify three factors associated with high prestige organizations:

a) membership is limited by the organization to persons with specific characteristics;

b) the association has high prestige in the community and can confer it on individual members;

c) its activities lie primarily in the instrumental realm.

We would therefore expect persons identified as leaders to be members of organizations which exhibited all of these characteristics to some extent.

Membership in such an association is a resource for the individual inasmuch as it identifies him as a person active in the pursuit of something valued in the community. Leaders also have other individual resources, including such things as free time, an income which permits the expenditures which inevitably accompany such involvement, knowledge about the community and other leaders, and communicative and organizational skills. A network of leaders involves the idea of shared resources and individual resources which allow participation in the decision-making process of the community.

Summary

The literature on community decision-making provides evidence of a number of regularities which may be summarized and treated as propositions.
These in turn serve as parts of a model of community decision-making. As such they direct research in the community and can be made to serve as low-level hypotheses for a specific community.

1. In principle, communities can be ordered along a dimension of political "plurality", ranging from the "ideal type" company town in which there is no possibility of community participation in decisions which affect members of the community (totalitarian), through those communities that have an unchanging elite that may include both members of the community-at-large and the major employer (elitist), to the third possibility in which the leadership structure changes across time and new leaders and organizations emerge and participate in the decision-making process (pluralist). An examination of the extent and type of participation in a major employer community should allow a decision to be made about the type of political structure.

2. Community decision-making is influenced by a number of factors including the degree to which the community is divided on ethnic, political or economic grounds. In communities in which the residents are not in principle excluded from the decision-making process, as they are in the company town, these differences become resources for individuals or groups which support alternative dispositions of problems or issues. However, differences within the community based on such factors as ethnicity, politics, or religion tend to generate different responses to problems or issues. Leaders who share one or more of these characteristics are likely to act together over several issues and at several levels e.g. on committees and socially. Such sub-sets of leaders may in addition be
characterized as "cosmopolitan" or "localite" on the basis of their identification with the community. In testing this assumption we would look for differences within the community that are seen by the residents themselves to have some importance. In addition, the existence of leaders who indicate that they are members of particular ethnic or economic groups or who espouse a predominantly local or non-local viewpoint would be seen to support this assumption.

3. Because leaders are recognized as an integral part of both the elitist and pluralist models attention is directed to leaders and their interconnections rather than the differences between the two models. A small number of persons, identified as leaders, exist over time in the community, individually and collectively having resources which allow them to participate in decisions which affect the community-at-large. Such persons may be found within the major employer's organizational structure or within other sectors of the community. The question of what number constitutes a "small number" will be considered below. The sectors of the community these leaders represent will indicate something of the power structure of the community. If, for example, all leaders have demonstrable connections with the major employer we would conclude that the community is a "company town".

4. The fourth assumption involves the way in which resources and issues are connected. Specifically, different decisions or "issue areas" require the mobilization of different resources. Thus, different networks of leaders will be found to be associated with different decisions. These networks exist over time but can change as issues change. Examination of
past and current issues in the community should indicate which leaders exercise power in which areas.

These assumptions or propositions can be combined to provide further points which might be profitably examined. For example, the combination of numbers two and four suggests that there may be responses to particular issues which are essentially based on the divisions within the community which are exemplified by the leaders. Or, as the combination of numbers three and four suggest, power imbalances in the community may be met by the collective action of a number of leaders. If the second proposition is taken into account at this point we see that such joint action may well be aligned along the existing divisions within the community.

Although the above treatment cannot be considered rigorous or exhaustive it does provide direction for research in the community. The following chapter is a brief description of the city chosen for the research and the several characteristics which allow it to be "keyed into" the main variables identified by Walton.
CHAPTER III

PLANT CITY

The Community

Plant City\(^1\) is situated in western Canada, several hundred miles from any large Canadian urban area. Within seventy-five miles is another city of similar size, while many hamlets provide a rural residence for those who wish to escape the sight and smell of the plant.

When entering Plant City for the first time, the visitor is acutely aware of the physical existence of the major employer: the tall stacks discharging smoke and steam, the railway tracks crossing the street, the power lines, and at night the buildings outlined by lights. Downtown, the ebb and flow of traffic follows the pattern of shift work in a continuous production operation.

However, when the newcomer looks more closely at downtown Plant City, it appears to be much like any other small city. It has its own radio station, department stores, specialty shops, parks, and schools. In addition to the plant there is another physical feature of interest:

\(^1\) In order to protect the anonymity of respondents and other persons who are discussed in this thesis, their names have been changed. Plant City, too, is a fictitious name, as are those of the organizations discussed.
an older part of the city, somewhat modified by urban renewal schemes but still known locally as Italian town. Although the upwardly mobile or their children have left for the new subdivisions, many remain. The area's narrow streets, brightly painted houses, and specialty shops and restaurants are believed by residents to reflect a European atmosphere. The area is regarded locally with some affection.

In Plant City there are two fraternal organizations serving the same ethnic minority. Of these, the Tuscany Lodge is the most prestigious. Formed after the turn of the century, shortly after the establishment of the Company's operations, it provided a reference point for the Italian immigrants who came to do the manual work in the Company shops. It provided a rudimentary sort of insurance scheme, help with the new language, and a familiar social structure brought from the "old country." The society owns a wooded picnic site outside the city and a large hall downtown in which are held various functions and dinners.

Although not as necessary as before, the Lodge still provides a focal point for many activities in the Italian community. The continued migration of Italians, although diminished recently, and vacations to the "old country" for those who can afford them, keep alive the language and culture. Thus, at least within the Italian community, Tuscany Lodge is an important institution. Its position has not been seriously challenged by the Italian-Canadian Association.

The names of city council members and of local businesses indicate that this minority group is active and viable. This perhaps should be
expected. Both Gans (1962) and Boissevain (1970) have pointed out the strong sense of community and the kinship ties that existed in the Italian communities they studied.

Plant City claims a population of some 12,000 people, a slight increase from the 1966 Census due in part to annexation. Within its boundaries are three discrete residential areas, the downtown core which includes Italian town and its residents, and the adjacent open spaces and buildings of the major employer.

According to the 1966 Census of Canada, the city and surrounding bedroom communities and rural areas have a population of some 37,500. According to the 1961 Census, 55% are of British origin, 11% are of Russian origin, 10% are Italian, 6% German, and 5% Scandinavian.

Within the city itself, the figures show a major shift in the Russian and Italian percentages. Only 2% of the city population claims a Russian background, reflecting this group's agrarian past and their continuing desire to live on the land. Those of Italian background are clearly concentrated in Plant City, making up 21% of the population. Thus, a distinctive character is given to both the rural and urban areas.

More than 60% of the work force engaged in manufacturing in the area work for a single firm which employs over 4,000 people. We will refer to it simply as the Company. It is without doubt the major employer in the city.
The Company produces a number of products which find a ready market. Labour strife has been minimal over the years. Residents of Plant City have one of the highest "male wage-earner" annual incomes in Canada. Other organizations with large numbers of employees include the city itself, the hospital which serves the region, and the school board, reflecting the service nature of the employment structure outside the Company. The area is diversifying into other primary industries and tourism and is striving to promote secondary industry. These changes have led to Plant City becoming more of a service center than previously.

In order to maintain its competitive position in the world market, the Company has had to improve its older, less efficient methods of production. At various times this has resulted in a number of blue-collar workers being replaced by machinery and some machinery being replaced by more sophisticated equipment. Because the administrative structure cannot as easily be streamlined, attrition of the Company workforce has occurred mainly among blue-collar workers. The jobs lost from changes in the production process at the Company have been barely offset by new jobs associated with the diversification and expansion of the city's economic base. The population is not increasing, and this sets the pattern for other economic indicators. Although the area is not "booming", it is stable and prosperous. Within the community this stability came to be defined as a problem.

The most visible components of Plant City are Italian town, the Company site, and the downtown business core. Persons in the community
may be associated with more than one of these components, since they are not mutually exclusive. Each of these sectors may be seen to represent sources of alternative desired ends in the community and may give rise to conflict over the allocation of scarce values. At the political level, differences are mediated by a six-man council and mayor, all freely elected under the charter held by the city. Although not a "company town", the fortunes of Plant City are clearly tied to those of the Company.

The Company

Any discussion of Plant City must recognize that without the Company the town would not, in all likelihood, have developed to its present extent. On the other hand, without the services and amenities developed by independent businessmen the necessary work force would have been difficult to attract and retain. In this section we look at the performance of the Company in the community and how it has promoted stability.

During the worst days of the Depression, rather than lay off a large part of the work force, a program was developed under which single men continued to work on a half-time basis, while married men were employed for three-quarters of their former hours. This allowed the community to continue with a reduced but relatively normal life style.
Outright work stoppages have occurred only twice, once in 1917 and once in 1964. Both stoppages were the result of strike action and neither lasted as long as a week nor involved bitterly contested issues. Union officials who represent the hourly-paid Company work force are hardworking and responsible, recognizing that some automation is inevitable, that costs continue to increase, and that the Company's products compete in an international market. Nevertheless, Company wages are comparable to those paid to union members in other parts of the province. The overall effect of this stability has been to provide employees of the Company with one of the highest per-capita incomes in Canada. For both company employees and local businessmen this stability has provided a well founded sense of security.

Presently, within the upper administrative positions of the Company men are found who began their careers with a Bachelor of Science or Applied Science degree but found themselves doing manual work, "starting at the bottom". Over the years as they rose through the ranks, bonds of friendship were formed that help tie the organization together across the production-administration division. The Company makes some of its junior executives available to community organizations on a consultative basis, doing engineering studies, giving legal advice, etc. In dealing with people in the community, young engineers and administrators establish relationships, some of which turn into genuine friendships and help to integrate the community and the Company.

Stability and continuity are promoted in another way. Approximately twenty percent of the current work force has been employed by the
Company for more than twenty-five years, while fifty percent have over ten years service.

Because of the long service of many employees, the average annual vacation is now quite long, and in some cases a two month absence is possible. Consequently, many summer replacements are required. In the past as many as four hundred young people have been recruited for summer employment in the following order: 1) university students in the appropriate disciplines who might be permanently employed by the Company on graduation, 2) sons and daughters of Company employees at university, 3) sons and daughters of Company employees still in high school. This also tends to develop strong ties within the work force and positive attitudes toward the Company.

The interplay of community, Company, and work force can be demonstrated by reference to the Company's position on funding community needs. Voluntary organizations seldom have sufficient funds to carry out all the projects they deem to be important. Many people believe that large corporations "can afford" to underwrite the cost of many projects. In Plant City the Company has frequently received requests for funds. The usual response to such requests is that the Company does not make such donations, but if the group can raise part of the sum required, the Company will make a donation proportional to the amount raised. The proportion is negotiated for each donation. In this way the Company has encouraged citizens to participate in the life of the community. At the same time, while it was being a "good citizen"
and contributing to the financing of many of the community's recreational
and social needs, it may have been fostering a false sense of the ease
with which results could be attained, since only one major source of
funds had to be solicited by those seeking support.

An aspect of the Company not yet considered is its existence out­
side Plant City. In addition to the production facility in Plant City,
the Company also serves as a purchasing, accounting, and service organ­
ization for related subsidiary operations in other parts of the country.
The complexity and diversity of the corporate structure, the number of
employees involved, and the traditions established by the earlier general
managers, has resulted in a high degree of internal organization. Never­
theless, there has recently been a major administrative re-organization.
The Company had its head office in the east until recently, when it was
moved to another city. Some of the Plant City staff were transferred
there, raising a concern in the community that a wholesale reassignment
of employees could only harm the local economy. Although the expected
exodus did not materialize, a decision of this nature, along with those
involving automation and streamlining of the production process and the
subsequent decrease in the work force, point up the way in which decisions
taken by the Company, for defensible economic and organizational reasons,
can seriously decrease the viability of the community. In other words,
in a community that has experienced a high standard of living, stable
employment, and an approachable benefactor, a sense of security is de­
developed. If any one of these factors is withdrawn or curtailed, the
circumstances of the community's existence must be redefined. If the
community is to maintain its position, alternatives must be generated and acted upon.

Questions of who creates such definitions and who acts on them remain to be answered. Those who do act are likely to be seen as community decision-makers and leaders.

The Problem

As the research progressed in Plant City and its particular character was explored, a major observation began to emerge. Various leaders identified problems and issues such as the attempt to establish kindergartens within the school system and the subsequent defeat of the related by-law. Also mentioned were the decision to co-operate with other municipalities in the installation of a sewage treatment plant, and the current disagreement over the location of a new water supply.

But these were not the items of major concern. Here, a distinction should be made between an issue, which allows the opposition of various groups, and a problem over which there is no disagreement about its existence or the need to act on it. Plant City has a problem, a problem consisting of economic stagnation, declining employment, and a lack of industrial diversity.

Leaders and the community indicated that Plant City was faced with increased demands for social services that had their origin outside the area. It was also believed that the lack of an increase, even the
possibility of a decrease, in the work force was a serious matter, since young people were leaving the area and older residents were not in need of more consumer goods, so that the merchants suffered a decline in sales.

Demands which have their origin outside the city are not community decisions. Introduction of provincial legislation which required the installation of a sewage treatment plant made discussion about having or not having a plant pointless. The increased share of welfare payments borne by municipalities under the new legislation, although it strains the budget, must be paid. The demand for increased educational facilities and opportunities in the area can be partially attributed to North American culture which emphasises education as a means of social mobility. Increased facilities bring increased costs.

The increase in costs to the city has not been paralleled by an increase in its income because there has been almost no residential or industrial expansion which would result in an increased tax base. The main theme which occurs again and again when talking to leaders involves the lack of occupational opportunities for the city's young people because of automation at the Company and the lack of secondary industry in the area. The subsequent migration out of the area results in an age structure skewed away from young families who build homes, and buy such things as clothing, furniture, and insurance. Local merchants and service industries find their sales declining. What had formerly been defined as economic stability was redefined as economic stagnation.
Problems and issues identified by leaders may be grouped into two categories, those which involve the local economic situation and are seen by the leaders as essentially local problems, and those which are recognized as having an external cause such as the provincial government. Although all leaders were asked to identify three major problems which the City had faced in the last year or two, many indicated that the general economic situation was the only one. Others noted several more specific but less important issues. Thus, numerically the seriousness of the economic problem is underrepresented in Table I.

**TABLE I**

**PROBLEMS IDENTIFIED BY COMMUNITY LEADERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of local economic expansion</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of aggressive civic service organizations</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of employment for young people</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declining tax base and civic income</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High wage settlements for union</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertainty of Company plans</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>External</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Required expansion of utilities/services</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location of new public buildings</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved road/rail access to City</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is no bitterly contested issue in the lack of economic growth which must be faced by residents and administrators. Therefore we will not focus on the conflictual aspects of political life in this community, but seek rather to understand the process by which this major problem was in part created by the existence of The Company in the community. We will explore the circumstances under which this situation was defined as problematic by "Postnikoff and his boys". We will see how this definition was carried to the Provincial and Federal Governments by the Industrial Development Committee (I.D.C.), an organization created for this purpose, and how a second organization, Local Investors, developed to mobilize the economic resources of Plant City. Such work is done by men who are leaders in their community. Some were established leaders in the community, some emerged during the process and rose to new positions of importance. Their characteristics and the parts played by them during this problem are also considered.
CHAPTER IV
COMMUNITY LEADERS

Identification of Leaders

In research on community decision-making, whether an elitist, pluralist, or some other model is used, the question of identifying leaders must eventually be faced. Several approaches have been used and, based on the type of leadership each focused upon, may be identified as positional, reputational, or participatory (Freeman, 1963).

Positional leaders are those who publicly hold office, such as the president of a civic association, a political office incumbent, or the head of a labour organization. Although allowing the easy identification of leaders; this method has the disadvantage of having to assume that office-holders do in fact make decisions and that the potential for power is exercised.

An alternative approach involves asking knowledgeable persons in the community to identify those men or women who are believed to be powerful in the community. Form and Miller (1960, p. 526) cite evidence that frequency of nomination is an adequate indicator of magnitude of reputed power. However, those reputed to be powerful may not in fact deserve that reputation. These points have been strongly made by pluralists.
The third approach used to identify the community power structure requires that some issue in the community be followed from the time it is first raised to its final disposition. Those who define and bound the issue and initiate actions for and involve others are taken to be powerful in the community. Although this approach probably results in the best approximation of reality, it is not always possible for the researcher to have access to all the "behind the scenes" activity. In addition, it presupposes that important issues in the community will have protagonists and antagonists who will make the issue visible. It may be the case that a problem is of such importance to the community that there is no disagreement, so that the limited amount of conflict generated belies its importance.

The examination of the community decision-making literature made by Walton (1966) shows that a combination of methods is often used in an attempt to overcome the shortcomings of each one. Several approaches were combined in the search for Plant City leaders.

The first step in identifying leaders involved compiling a list of positional leaders by examining the City Directory, yellow pages in the telephone book and a local directory of community facilities such as churches and service organizations. This resulted in a listing of heads of industry, finance, civic government, and service organizations.

To this list were added the names of people reputed to be powerful. Examination of the back issues of several local newspapers turned
up positive comments on long-time residents as well as references to persons who were believed to be speaking for others or who were believed to hold some resource which could be used to benefit the community. Casual conversations with local residents also produced the names of people believed to be important.

To identify participatory leaders, back issues of the local newspapers were examined. Conversations with residents also produced information on important community issues and on who had participated in them, at least at the overt level.

By this method some one hundred and twenty persons were identified. It was expected that some people on the list would in fact be community leaders, but at this stage they were all merely identified as panel members. Panel members are a non-probability sample of citizens who are taken to be more knowledgeable about who makes community decisions than a random sample from the whole community. Had interest centered on, for example, participation rates for different strata of the population, then a procedure to insure a probability sample would have been chosen.

During the second stage each panel member was sent an introductory letter asking that he or she participate in some research being carried out in the community. Participation involved filling in a questionnaire and returning it in the stamped envelope sent with it. The questionnaire asked the respondent to identify persons in the community with whom others could work on an important issue, who might be influential at the provincial or federal level, or who might be generally
influential in Plant City. The questions used are similar to those already used in community decision-making research. (See Appendix A).

Not all questionnaires were returned promptly. Therefore, a more detailed follow-up letter was sent to those who had not responded and this increased the number returned. Half the panel members still did not respond. This is a very low return and consequently results in a low number of nominators. However, this is not as serious as it may appear because non-respondents fall into two groups. The larger consists of those who neither returned their questionnaires nor were nominated as leaders; they neither see themselves nor are seen by others as leaders in the community. The second group is smaller and consists of men who were subsequently identified as leaders. When approached later for personal interviews, they quickly consented and said that they had not returned the questionnaire simply because they receive and ignore many demands on their time through the mails.

When a questionnaire was returned, each person named on it was considered to be "nominated." Some of those nominated were panel members, the names of other nominees were unknown, and in some cases known but unexpected. As might be expected, some panel members were not nominated at all. Those non-panel members who were nominated twice or more were treated as panel members. That is, they were also sent a questionnaire and an introductory letter asking for their help. Finally, a list of 162 persons was compiled consisting of persons who had been nominated once or more and they became the list of "potential leaders".
These are the men and women believed by knowledgeable persons in the community to have been influential on past issues and who would be able to influence the outcome of future issues. Clearly they are not all equally powerful on every issue in the community. Because no specific issue was used to elicit responses in the questionnaire, those people who were nominated will be associated with issues or problems which are important to the community. The activities of the most frequently nominated leaders give an indication of what the community takes to be important issues. This is seen to be an improvement on the approach in which the researcher determines which issues might be of importance to the community and then proceeds to examine them.

At this point a rationale is required for partitioning the 162 "potential leaders" into a smaller category which might with more justification be called leaders and a residual category of non-leaders. Both the pluralist and elitist models assume the existence of a relationship between the number of decision-makers in the community and the power each has to make decisions. In the elitist model, power is concentrated in the hands of a small number of persons, while in the pluralist model power is dispersed among a larger number of decision-makers. Both views include the assumption that below some level power is not available to the individual or not exercised in a frequent and meaningful way for participation in community decision-making. For example, citizens may not vote either because of disinterest in the issue or because they are disbarred by not being property owners. In
either case they cannot be said to influence in a positive way the decision made.

At the conceptual level, two distributions can be derived from these assumptions by ordering persons in the community on the amount of power each has. Figure 1 represents the elitist model in which a small number of persons has power above the minimum level for participation. The curve also indicates that the leaders are not infinitely powerful and also that non-leaders are not totally powerless.

![Diagram showing power and participation in the elitist model.](image)

Figure 1.—Power and participation in the elitist model.

In the pluralist model, shown in Figure 2, power to make decisions is distributed over a much larger number of persons in the community. The non-asymptotic character of the right-hand part of the distribution is meant to represent this wider dispersion of decision-making activity.
Again there are persons who do not engage in decision-making. But those who do constitute a much larger number than under the elitist model. That is, decision-making for the community is spread over a larger number of persons. Note that neither model precludes the existence of a well-developed internal structure in the group identified as leaders nor demands that those identified as leaders be a homogeneous group.

Based on the conceptualization of power and participation used here, the identification of leaders in Plant City was carried out in the following manner. The 162 persons nominated once or more and who were identified as potential leaders were distributed as in Figure 3.
The number of times an individual was nominated was taken to be an index of his reputed power in the community, while the number of persons nominated any given number of times was easily found in the data. When the approximately five hundred nominations are plotted, two discontinuities occur on the "reputed power" dimension. These discontinuities provide the basis for identifying three groups among those Plant City residents identified by the panel as leaders.

The reputedly most powerful form a separate group consisting of three people: Johnson, a retired newspaper publisher and former alderman of Plant City; Vincentti, born in Plant City of Italian parents and now serving his second term as Mayor; and Postnikoff, chairman and prime
mover in the group attempting to bring secondary industry to the area. Just as the names "Plant City" and "The Company" were invented, so too were the names of the men in this thesis.

A second group consists of nineteen men and includes merchants, lawyers, elected civic officials, radio and newspapermen, and upper echelon staff members from the Company. The third group, which is the largest, includes all those who were nominated once but less than nine times and are not included as leaders. The distribution of nominations is taken to be the panel's estimate of the relative positions of leaders in the community. The discontinuities are seen to reflect the stratification of leaders who can in turn be seen as a stratum of Plant City society. The decision to include only the top twenty-two leaders was made on the basis of these discontinuities and the assumption that only three men would be unlikely to be the totality of the Plant City "power structure", but that being nominated only once was not grounds for inclusion in it.

In taking these twenty-two men to be the leaders of Plant City we must bear in mind that because the community has identified them they are likely to represent the major concerns and values of the city. It remains to be seen what these concerns are and if the leaders reputations for power are objectively supported.

In addition to the information collected through questionnaires and recorded material, data were collected during extended interviews in the homes and offices of these men. The interview schedule is included as Appendix B.
Leader Resources

There are of course differences between leaders, but there are many similarities as well, and an "average" leader can be abstracted from the data. No women appear as leaders; the average leader is male, fifty-two years old, a family man with children. He is a Canadian by birth, most likely of British origin but possibly Italian. If he was not born in Plant City he came here twenty-five years ago to work for the Company in his first job after graduating with an engineering degree or to begin in business in the retail or service sector of the local economy. Each leader has climbed the corporate ladder within the Company or expanded his business to the point where he now employs nineteen people. In either case he has had no desire to move to another city, finding the region attractive and the people congenial.

If he was born in Plant City he is unlikely to hold a university degree or to work for the Company, but he is likely to own his own business in the retail or service sector of the economy. At forty-five years of age he is younger than other leaders. He moved to Richmond, a modern subdivision, nine years ago when it was being developed. Six leaders live there with their families.

If a leader is a Company administrator he is likely to live in Newton, an area near the plant, formerly controlled by the Company but

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1 Here leaders and leadership are considered in general terms. Brief biographical sketches of leaders are included as Appendix C.
annexed by the city a few years ago. This former municipality, with its large houses and quiet streets, is the city's high-status residential area. It is small and secluded, with a population of some three hundred and fifty people. Four leaders live there.

A third concentration of leaders occurs in Pine Grove, an area between Richmond and Newton but not contiguous with either. It is also a high status area, with fine homes built in the early 1940's. If a leader was not born in Plant City but owns his own substantial business he is likely to have lived there for the last thirteen years. Of the twenty-two leaders, six live there.

Only six leaders live outside these three areas. Three are in or near the downtown core. Three leaders live outside Plant City proper, in a contiguous municipality which has its own government. One of the men perceived to be a leader in Plant City is the mayor of this municipality. There seems to be no clear geographical centre of power, perhaps a reflection of the small scale of the community, the small population involved, and the ease of communication in a community of this size.

A factor which is important to an understanding of the Plant City leadership network is the long average length of residence of leaders in the community. Because of the widely separated offices and operations of the Company it was expected that its administrators would be found to have relatively short periods of residence in the community,
but that their organizational and communicative skills would allow them to assume positions of some importance in the community. However, whether they migrated to Plant City to take advantage of occupational opportunities, or they were born in the area, most leaders have spent most of their active adult life there.

The potential for unplanned contact between leaders is high because of the small size of the downtown business district and because of the small numbers of persons living in the residential areas already discussed. The limited cultural, social, and recreational facilities, patronized by the same people, increases the probability of chance encounters among active and knowledgeable people in the community. Communication between leaders is much easier than in the metropolitan setting, where distances are greater, the population is more dispersed, a greater variety of activities is available, and the probability of a chance encounter is small.

The relative isolation of Plant City and the stability of all levels of the work force, in conjunction with the factors already noted, creates a rich social fabric. Thus, it might be argued that the character of the community is a resource for leaders. That is, the ease of communication, the lack of newcomers, and the lack of change in the community all promote a situation in which decision-making activities can easily and unobtrusively be carried on. An interviewee hinted at this Gemeinschaft aspect of Plant City when he said of a mayorality candidate, "It doesn't really matter what he says or promises. We knew
his father and his family. We know him. We know where he stands. He can't surprise us."

Most leaders as indicated in Table II have been active in the numerous civic and social organizations in the city, holding executive positions in the Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, Kiwanis, Tuscany Lodge, and the Golf Club. Almost without exception leaders are no longer engaged in these activities for two major reasons. The older men, some looking
toward retirement, have begun to divest themselves of commitments which keep them away from home and family. The younger men have given up these activities in order to devote more of their energies to a new organization which promotes economic expansion.

Although leaders have withdrawn from active participation in the various service clubs, they did so after "going through" the executive positions of one or more of them. Leaders in general now assign little importance to these past activities, but it must be pointed out that several benefits accrue to those who have had this experience. Firstly, they become known to, and know, a large number of men in the community who are also in business and industry either privately or with the Company.

Second, the opportunity exists for the development of interpersonal skills when the member serves on internal committees and performs other low-level functions. Later, at the executive level, there is an opportunity for the development of administrative and organizational skills.

Ross (1954) has detailed the way in which junior executives in corporations are encouraged to engage in philanthropic activity both to develop these skills and to demonstrate their ambitions and competences. As already pointed out, the Company also encourages its junior engineers to develop these skills through participation in the community. "Going through" the offices of a service club provides a similar opportunity for
the small businessman who cannot gain such experience within his own organization.

Although leaders dismiss this earlier period of their lives lightly, service organizations are an important training resource for the young man who would become involved in his community. The contacts established at that time endure beyond the cessation of active participation and continue to be an important resource.

There are no full-time Plant City leaders. Every leader except one is engaged in some other full-time occupational or professional activity which constitutes his "work". Leadership activities are over and above this. The third proposition stated that "a small number of persons would be found to exist in the community who would be identified as leaders, and who would have resources which would allow them to participate in the life of their community. The twenty-two leaders identified here are taken to be a "small number".

Of the leaders identified, fifteen can be considered to be self-employed and are shown in Table III. Some are not outright owners of their businesses but are variously identified as directors or managing directors and are majority shareholders in their firms. Size of firm ranges from two to fifty-five employees, averaging nineteen.
TABLE III

OCCUPATIONS OF SELF-EMPLOYED LEADERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>Business/Profession</th>
<th>Work Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D'Amico</td>
<td>Hotel Owner</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin</td>
<td>Pres., Auto Sales &amp; Service A</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ouram*</td>
<td>Newspaper Publisher</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astor</td>
<td>Pres., Auto Sales &amp; Service B</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Pres., Wholesale Foods</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bochman*</td>
<td>Man./Dir., Broadcasting Co.</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maglio</td>
<td>Pres., Pharmacy</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDonald</td>
<td>Pres., Plumbing &amp; Heating Supply</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DeRossi</td>
<td>Pres., Insurance &amp; Realty</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postnikoff</td>
<td>Pres., Construction Supply</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calori</td>
<td>Partner, Law Firm A</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vincentti</td>
<td>Owner, Repair Shop</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robinson</td>
<td>Partner, Law Firm B</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Denotes Board of Directors concentrated in another city.

All of these leaders are able to regulate their business in such a way that they can take time off during the business week to engage in community activities. All have trusted employees or partners who "mind the shop" during their absence. Bochman and Ouram are both able to participate freely in Plant City since they have no immediate superiors in the area, although they are responsible to a Board of Directors elsewhere. Johnson, a retired publisher of a local newspaper, still maintains
an office and spends his afternoons there, keenly interested although much less involved than formerly in the city that has been his home for more than forty years.

Seven of the twenty-two leaders are employees rather than owners, and are associated with the Company. Five are directly employed by it at the managerial and administrative level. One is highly placed in an important subsidiary of the Company, while another, on leave of absence from the Company for the past several years, is the president of the union that bargains for the hourly-paid employees of the Company. These leaders are listed in Table IV.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>Position/Employer</th>
<th>Work Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>McLeod</td>
<td>Senior Executive, Company</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thaker</td>
<td>President, Labour Union</td>
<td>3 (2,900)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pye</td>
<td>Admin. Ass't., Company</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones</td>
<td>Pres., Energy Company</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teal</td>
<td>Admin. Ass't., Company</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill</td>
<td>Admin. Ass't., Company</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonaldi</td>
<td>Co-ordinator, Company</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Only the office staff of 3 is under Thaker's direct control. Union membership is 2,900.
Company employees who wish to participate actively in the community find the size of the organization a resource in as much as a shifting of work loads is possible. In addition, employees wishing to run for public office are assured of a leave of absence if elected. Leaders employed by the Company have the opportunity to use the office and secretarial resources of the Company.

There is no evidence of the Company in any way suggesting that employees run for public office nor of the Company attempting to influence the position taken by leaders who are employed by the Company. However, the Company is engaged in the decision-making process in as much as it does make unilateral decisions with which the city must live. Changes in employment resulting from such decisions led to Plant City being faced with a major problem which resulted in the formation of the Industrial Development Committee.

It is significant that leaders in Plant City are either employed by the Company or are self-employed and as such are in a position to underwrite or have underwritten many of the expenses incurred by those who take an active part in the life of their community. Although few meetings are scheduled during working hours, a certain amount of information-transmission and decision-making of a limited nature takes place over coffee or casual meetings around the city. The hourly-paid worker is usually not in a position to participate in such activity partly because of the technological demands of his work and partly because participation would require time off work, and this would be
immediately reflected in his paycheck. Thus the ability to underwrite such expenses is an important resource for anyone wishing to participate in the political process of the community and results in a heavy representation of the business and professional sectors in it.

The number of persons supervised, ranging as it does from none to four thousand, is not an adequate indicator of relative position in the community decision-making process. Presumably all of the men identified as leaders can muster the minimum resources necessary for that participation. But not all persons who have the minimum resources are perceived to be leaders. We conclude that identification as a leader depends on factors which are visible to members of the community at large. A listing of visible factors might include the ability to control the livelihood of others or to provide services necessary to others who cannot themselves supply them, the power to make authoritative statements in the political realm, or the respect with which one is regarded by his fellow citizens. In short, the resources already considered in the section on "power."

Leader Networks

The minimum condition to be met before the existence of a network of leaders could be inferred is that the men identified as leaders do in fact admit to knowing each other. If, in addition, some leaders interact socially and serve on the same committees then better grounds exist for claiming that a network of leaders exists.
Each leader was requested, as part of the interview, to indicate his knowledge about other persons on a list of names supplied to him. The list consisted of the names of the twenty-two leaders, although they were not identified as leaders to the respondent.

Rather than add to the number of research instruments already in existence, and to increase the comparability of the data, a self-scored question advocated by Miller and Form (1960, p. 701) was used.

However, after the data were collected it was realized that in fact two dimensions are included in this question. The first four categories ("Don't know" to "Know well") tap "knowledge about" other leaders, while the remaining two ("Exchange home visits" and "Worked on committee") are categories of "actual interaction". Future research would benefit by treating each of these leader resources separately.

Some difficulty was experienced in separating these dimensions during the analysis because of the instructions given to the subjects. They were asked to indicate the "way or ways" in which they knew the named persons. It is possible that a respondent could recognize the two dimensions and score each of them, or the respondent might recognize that there are two dimensions but score only one, or he might not recognize more than one dimension and thus score only one response.

Recognizing that a lack of precision would result, we nevertheless tabulated both dimensions included in the question. These data are summarized in Tables V and VI.
TABLE V
RESPONDENT'S KNOWLEDGE OF OTHER LEADERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
<th>Heard Of</th>
<th>Know Slightly</th>
<th>Know Well</th>
<th>Total*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total for 22 Inter-views</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Respondents could indicate both 'knowledge about' and 'interaction with' other leaders in the questionnaire. The latter data appear in Table VI. If only one column per leader had been checked by the respondent 462 choices would have been made. As it was 645 were recorded. (The sum of 430, 86, and 129).

The responses in Table V indicate that eighty percent of the leaders listed were "well known" to each interviewee, while nineteen percent fell into the "know slightly" category. The remaining one percent was distributed between "don't know" and "heard of". This involves two men who do not know or have only heard of each other and a third man who is not known by one of these two. Thus we can say that the potential for a leader to interact easily exists, since each knows the majority of the others well.

If a network actually exists, then some kind of interaction between leaders is necessary. Contact might occur socially, through the exchange of home visits, or might take the form of working together on committees in the community. As shown in Table VI, such interaction
does occur. However, more leaders were known through committee work than were known through visiting activity. On the average, each leader was known to 5.5 other leaders (ranging from 1 to 12) through working on committees in the previous year.

TABLE VI

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CONTACTS WITH OTHER LEADERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Know Socially, Worked on Committee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exchange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visits</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total for 22 Interviews

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Number</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Contacts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average number of leaders with whom each leader claimed to "exchange home visits" was 3.9 and ranged from zero to six. This low figure is consistent with the statements made by several respondents to the effect that they did not have time to engage in casual social visiting and with the pattern of organizational membership indicated in Table II. Thus, on committees, leaders interacted with one and one-half times as many leaders as they exchanged visits with. Being a leader in Plant City is a serious and business-like activity that leaves little time for casual visiting.
However, these figures do not give any indication of the existence of networks or subsets of leaders. The fourth proposition indicates that there will be subsets among the community leaders and that these subsets will be associated with different decisions or issues. A community the size of Plant City could reasonably be expected to generate a large number of varied problems or issues which would require the community to be continually engaged in making decisions in many areas. This was not found. As already pointed out, the problem of economic stagnation had assumed a position of major importance. There were no other issues in the community of comparable magnitude which would allow a defensible comparison of the sub-groups associated with different issues. Nevertheless, an examination of visiting relationships shows that subsets of leaders do exist and that they are internally homogeneous.

Unambiguous evidence for a relationship between leaders is provided by a "symmetrical" or mutual choice situation. When mutual choice visiting relationships are considered, networks of social interaction are identifiable. These relationships and networks are shown schematically in Figure 4. In general, visiting occurs across the boundaries of different residential areas and probably results from the physical proximity of parts of the community. Of the seventeen leader-leader links, ten cross at least one residential boundary.

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1 For a more detailed example of how this and other sociometric concepts can be applied to the spatial distribution of friendship groups, see: Leon Festinger, Stanley Schacter and Kurt Bach, Social Pressures in Informal Groups. Stanford, Stanford Univ. Press, 1950.
When the visiting relationship is examined, three discrete networks are discernable consisting of two, five, and eight leaders. Seven men are not found in any social network. The eight and two-man groups must be characterized as minor with respect to the complexity of their communication networks since each member exchanges social visits with no more than two other leaders.¹

The eight-man minor network consists mainly of non-Company men. The lack of "cross-connections" in this group suggests that, regardless of the strength of individual relationships, the group cannot be considered a cohesive whole at the social level.

With the exception of Pye, Jones, and Bonaldi, leaders from the Company are not part of these social networks. This unexpected finding must be taken as evidence for a degree of separation between Company personnel and the rest of the community at least at the social level.

The five-man group is identified as a major network. It is remarkable for the completeness of its communication network. On the average, each member participates in 3.6 relationships within it, close to the theoretical maximum of 4.0 in a group of this size. It also exhibits the least geographical dispersion and consists entirely of

Figure 4
Place of Residence and Visiting Patterns of Plant City Leaders (schematic)

- Self-Employed
- Co. Employed
- Boundary
- Visiting
- Industrial Development Committee Member

RICHMOND
- Downtown Core
- Place of Residence and Visiting Patterns of Plant City Leaders (schematic)
- Boundary
- Visiting
- Industrial Development Committee Member

DOWNTOWN CORE
- DeRossi
- Vincentti
- Self-Employed
- Co. Employed
- Boundary
- Visiting
- Industrial Development Committee Member

ADJACENT MUNICIPALITY
- Newton
- McLeod
- Teal
- Jones
- Pye
- Robinson
- Bonaldi
- Hill
non-Company men. During the initial stages of the research, it appeared that these men were the driving force behind the Industrial Development Committee, the organization formed to combat the problem of economic decline in Plant City. However, the five-man major group does not include all of those who were initially involved. In addition, it includes others who have no discoverable connection with IDC. What four of its members have in common is that they were born in Plant City. The fifth came to the city as a young man. It appears that the basis for this group's existence is to be found in the shared experience of local birth, but it does not explain the large number of relationships formed by the group. All but one of these men are of Italian descent. Researchers of the Italian community have already pointed out the extensive ties that characterize it. It appears, then, that locality-ethnicity is an important factor for membership in this group.

These visiting patterns indicate that the leaders of Plant City are partitioned, however slightly, into the Company executives, the Italian businessmen, and the predominantly English business sector. People in Plant City would probably be surprised if told of these divisions but we conclude that they do exist. As has been demonstrated, all sectors of the community can work together when the need arises.

Discrete subsets of leaders exist as anticipated and the leaders in each group exhibit similar characteristics. However, membership in each group appears to depend more on ascribed characteristics rather than a shared interest in a particular problem or issue.
Leaders were also asked about their shared committee experience. As in the case of the social visiting activity, only symmetrical relationships were considered. These are shown schematically in Figure 5. There are almost twice as many links between leaders based on committee work as on visiting (i.e., thirty links as against seventeen); unfortunately, the data do not identify the specific committees on which they worked together.

Of these thirty relationships, twenty-six cross one or more residential boundaries, indicating an even greater dispersion of contacts than for the visiting relationship. Seven men are not identified as part of this network; although this is the same number of men who are not involved in visiting networks, they are not the same men. Of those identified as leaders, only Thaker, Johnson, and McLeod are not involved in a visiting or committee network. However, they should not be excluded from the ranks of Plant City leaders. McLeod is the chief executive of the Company; Thaker, as head of the union, consciously does not meet with other leaders, and Johnson, as already noted, is highly regarded by the community and other leaders but because of his age no longer participates actively. It would be unjustified to assume that these men could not mobilize the resources found within the networks of leaders if they perceived a need to do so.

Unlike the visiting relationships, separate networks are not easily identifiable within the committee relationships.
Figure 5
Place of Residence and Shared Committee Activity (schematic)

- **Self-Employed**
- **Co. Employed**
- **Activity**
- **Industrial Development Committee Member**
When the possibility for contact in the downtown core is considered, along with the visiting and committee relationships and the fact that 80% of leaders are known to each other, it must be concluded that leaders are found within well developed networks which are resources for them.

We expected that subsets of leaders would be relatively homogeneous, as they are, and that differences between subsets would allow them to be ranged along the "cosmopolitan-localite" dimension. It was anticipated that those with an interest in local issues would be born locally or would interact with those born locally, would have travelled away from the community less frequently, and be less well educated than other leaders.

As already noted, the lack of issues other than the economic one resulted in a situation in which only one sub-group of leaders was active. The recognition of a local problem by men in the community, the sum of money raised locally, and the formation of IDC suggested a local response to a local problem.

By examining the characteristics of those who were involved and comparing them with those of the remaining leaders we can make a weaker test of the proposition that leaders associated with IDC exhibit a localite orientation.

Leaders associated with IDC were identified in the following way. When the first brief was presented to the provincial government,
ten leaders were listed as members or group representatives of IDC. Although some were not present at the first informal meetings, they were contacted very early and agreed to participate and to contribute knowledge of the political process, radio coverage, and the support of the hourly-paid workers at the Company, some of whose jobs were marginal.

A distinction is not made between these leaders on the basis of when they become involved since they were all identified as participants in the first public statement to the provincial government. As such, they constitute a sub-set of leaders directing their energies toward a particular problem. The characteristics of this group can be compared to those of the remaining leaders with the expectation that the ten IDC leaders, because of the local nature of the problem, will have more "localite" attributes than the remainder of the leaders who are identified below as "others".

When the highest level of education received is dichotomized into "some university" and "high school or less" we find that in both groups five men have a university degree or some university education. This means that proportionally, localites are better educated than others.

Being born into a community is associated with a local orientation. Four of the ten IDC leaders (40%) were born locally compared to four of the twelve others (33%).
However, when length of residence is considered, it is found that although more IDC leaders were born locally the average length of residence in the community for others is greater by four years (31.3 years to 35.5). This is in part attributable to the greater average age of those leaders who were not involved in IDC and to the fact that those locally born leaders who have a university degree had to leave Plant City for several years to obtain it.

If frequent travel away from the place of residence contributes to the cosmopolitan point of view, then IDC leaders must be considered more cosmopolitan than others. IDC leaders travel to other parts of Canada and the United States for professional conferences and business meetings on an average of five times per year as compared to only three times per year for others.

On balance it appears that IDC leaders are more cosmopolitan than others; therefore we cannot accept the proposition that leaders associated with the local problem which led to the creation of IDC are more localite in their orientation than others.

This conclusion, when taken in conjunction with the lack of a visiting network of leaders based primarily on a commitment to IDC, must be interpreted to mean that within that group identified as leaders in the community there is no clearly bounded sub-set. This is consistent with the conclusion reached by Perrucci and Pilisuk that individual leaders could activate a network of resources when necessary but that a network of leaders need not always be visible.
A possible explanation for the lack of a visible localite subset is that although the Plant City problem was identifiable locally, it was part of a much more complex situation which extended well beyond the boundaries of the community. As such it required men to confront it who had a broader outlook and who could conceptualize if not understand that larger system.

Yet the question of why some particular leaders became involved in IDC and not others remains to be answered. We may turn this question around and ask, "When leaders do become involved in a community issue, what resources do they have and in what direction do their characteristics predispose them to act?"

The success of any undertaking, particularly of the magnitude to which IDC developed, requires an enormous amount of hard work. Young men who can devote their time and energy to the project are absolutely essential for its success. IDC members are younger and do devote more time to community activities than others. IDC leaders have an average age of forty-nine compared to fifty-six for others (48.8 to 56.4), while 70% are self-employed. Although an IDC leader spends an average of 8.7 hours per week on community activities (compared to 5.9 for others), his activity is focussed much more narrowly, if not entirely, on IDC.

Young, hard-working, self-employed leaders with a flexible work schedule seem to be necessary to the success of a project. Their
particular point of view as businessmen predisposes them to see some problems in the community and not others. In the case of Plant City the lack of economic expansion was accorded top priority by these men who could act and who did so.
CHAPTER V
THE NEW ORGANIZATION

The First Steps

In this chapter we focus on the major problem that was before
the community and the response by some leaders identified in the pre-
vious chapter. We examine the stages by which a situation was identi-
fied as problematic at the local level, how this definition provided a
basis for action, and how this definition was carried to the provincial
and federal governments. Resources outside the community were called
upon which connected the community to systems beyond its boundaries,
just as the Company is part of systems beyond the community boundary.

We expected to find that the resolution of a particular prob-
lem or issue in the community would require particular resources.
The most clearly defined problem on which members of the community
acted was that of economic stagnation. When this is considered we find
that not all leaders are involved. This is consistent with the fourth
proposition, which predicted that leaders would be differentially in-
volved in a particular decision.

By examining in some detail the men and resources involved in
this specific problem we may see the process by which a problem was
identified and acted upon.
On the surface, Plant City appeared to be enjoying its usual serene and stable existence. But doubts that all was well began to grow in 1968. Each local businessman had watched the odd firm close its doors and individually knew that his own sales were not increasing. Early in 1968 the Mayor had appointed a commission to examine possible ways of expanding and diversifying the local economy. The commission felt no sense of urgency and did not meet during the first year of its existence. Motivated by declining sales, the Chamber of Commerce struck a committee to examine possible ways of bringing more money into the city, and specifically to the business sector. The committee concluded that nothing could be done to modify the underlying causes, and that promoting tourism was the only way of expanding the local economy. If that did not work, the community would have to "learn to live with it". That report was presented to a Chamber meeting in the fall of 1968. No other groups or organizations examined the situation at this time. It is quite clear that by their actions, the already existing agencies with the responsibility of identifying problems in the community defined the conditions in the city as not problematic.

For some time prior to this, a group of approximately a dozen and a half of the younger downtown businessmen had been meeting for morning coffee. This group was very casual. It had no formal structure, and some of the men were known only very slightly to others. One morning, conversation turned to the lack of business expansion. At this point each businessman found that every other businessman was experiencing a lack of growth similar to his own. Some, who were also members of
the Chamber of Commerce, were unwilling to accept the conclusions of
the Chamber report. It was at this point that an unorganized collec­
tivity began to define the existing economic situation as problematic,
i.e. that other economic conditions could prevail.

After this first awareness it was decided that something should be done and it was clear that those present would have to do it them­
selves since the existing organizations in the community had not. An informal meeting was called by Postnikoff and was attended by Maglio,
Calori, McDonald (who was not yet an alderman), and West. Two others, although not now identified as leaders, were also present. After some discussion these seven drew up a further list of men in the community who might be interested in the problem of economic growth. Some were included because of their business knowledge and others because they were believed to have special skills or resources which could be applied to the problem. Included were Martin, and in the latter category, Hill, with presumed contacts in Ottawa, Bochman from the radio station, and Ouram of the newspaper. Both of the latter were believed to be able to create local public support through the media. These men were per­sonally contacted by one of the group and agreed to participate. At a later date, the major sectors of the community were invited to send re­presentatives to work with the fifteen directors. This resulted in the participation of Bochman for the city, Thaker for the union, and Teal and another for the Company. The remainder of the fifteen-man committee included eight men who would have to be identified, using our criterion, as non-leaders. Of the twenty-two leaders identified in the community,
ten are directly involved with IDC either as members or as group repre-
sentatives. Thus, nearly half of the men identified as leaders are
active participants in a group which is seen as important by the community.

At that time, the structure of the group was still very loose. The first step to be taken involved researching the problem so that its magnitude would be demonstrable. Members each agreed to research a particular topic such as, for example, changes in employment over time, housing starts in the area, and growth rates of other parts of the province so that comparisons could be made which would indicate the position of Plant City relative to other parts of the province. This very loose organization continued gathering data and called a public meeting in January 1969 to lay the evidence before the community and seek its support. This meeting was attended by the curious as well as the concerned, as the existence of IDC was becoming known throughout the community but its function was not. An unfounded rumour circulated to the effect that the group was a new political party. In view of the subsequent attempts to elicit aid from all levels of government and all political persuasions, nothing could have been further from the truth.

By mid-March the organization had been incorporated as Industrial Development Committee with Postnikoff as its chairman and the remainder of the group as directors. The organization was now a legal entity and out in the open.
Results of the research were compiled and a brief prepared for presentation to the provincial government at the end of March. The brief indicated that employment at the Company had slowly declined by thirteen hundred jobs since the early 1950's and that another eleven hundred were "marginal" from the Company's point of view. The construction of new buildings in the area had been so limited that the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation had closed its office there. The brief also pointed out that the population of Plant City had increased only .2% from 1961 to 1966 (the years for which census data were available) compared to a 15% increase in the provincial population. The brief concluded that the community was faced with the very real prospect of the decline and deterioration of its current social, medical, educational, and cultural amenities because a declining economy would no longer be able to support them. What the brief proposed was the introduction into the area of secondary industry which could employ young people as they came onto the labour market and so provide an alternative to migration out of the area.

Directors were talking informally of an annual budget of $50,000, with most of it going to an eastern firm of industrial consultants which would promote the area to manufacturers seeking industrial sites.

Arrangements were made through the MLA who represents the area to have the brief presented in Victoria to the provincial Minister for Commerce and Industrial Development. Eight members of IDC and seven
municipal representatives met the Minister in Victoria two months after the first public meeting called by IDC and less than six months after the first overt recognition of the difficulty.

The Minister recognized the validity of the arguments presented but pointed out that the government had no means by which the situation could be changed. However, members of the provincial government were able to press for a meeting with the appropriate officials in Ottawa. Consequently, a mere three weeks after the Victoria meeting, delegates from IDC, members of the provincial government, and local mayors met in Ottawa with the Minister for Regional Economic Expansion to discuss the possibility of having the area designated under the existing Area Development Act. Unfortunately, since the Plant City area suffers negligible unemployment, it could not qualify for aid. This was the paradox that the area had faced all along - one of the highest per-capita incomes in the country, but with a steadily decreasing number of wage earners.

However, during the spring of 1969 the federal government had given first and second reading to a bill that would broaden the criteria used for defining which areas were in need of financial assistance. Previously, unemployment had been the only basis for aid under the Area Incentives Act. The Regional Development Incentive Act, which became effective July 1, 1969, recognized lack of economic expansion as a legitimate ground for federal aid even when unemployment is low and wages
are high. On August 7, 1969, the Minister announced the areas which had been "designated" as slow growth areas and therefore eligible for federal money to establish new industries or upgrade existing ones. The area which surrounded Plant City was included in that designation.

At this point the IDC could count its first major success. Going beyond the vague feelings in the community, the men who were directors provided the evidence which showed that commercial and industrial activity was not expanding in the area. At the same time, demands for school, hospital and welfare services, over which the city had little control, were increasing, and therefore the city was in danger of slipping backwards. This evidence had been successfully carried to the provincial and federal governments and resulted in the area becoming eligible for some part of the twelve million dollars available under the new federal act. The area "designated" was larger than anticipated and, as we will see, caused some difficulty later on. This difficulty did not arise from the action of designation but from the inclusion of previously unrepresented communities into the area for which IDC spoke. Thus IDC suffered some problems of internal organization. These were in turn related to a second difficulty — how the money made available at the federal level could be channeled into Plant City.

Although it would appear that young businessmen in the community had emerged when an active response to the city's situation was necessary, it must be emphasised that they were able to utilize an already existing
network of governmental agencies and officials which stretched all the way to Ottawa. That is, these new leaders did not single-handedly define the problem and carry it to the government but were aided in that task by men in the community who could focus public awareness of the problem and who could help bring it to the attention of the appropriate men in the provincial government. These men in turn were able to accelerate the process by which IDC could gain a hearing in Ottawa.

The point to be made here is not that a group of leaders emerged in opposition to the existing leaders, but that the older leaders helped to further the cause which had been identified by the new leaders. That is, there was a problem which called for limited cooperation rather than an issue which generated conflict.

Legitimation

The efforts put forth by IDC members on behalf of the area resulted in a major advance — the "designation" of the area. Recognition at the federal level meant that officially there was a problem. That is, the local economic situation had been defined as a problem by an ad hoc group of citizens, and their definition of the situation as problematic had been upheld by the governments in the provincial and federal capitals.

At the same time that efforts were being directed toward gaining recognition for the problem, IDC members were also engaged in various
activities directed toward gaining recognition for their organization.

Initially the organization had existed only as a loose group exploring a problem. During this time invitations had been extended to the city's Committee for Development to discuss what it had found. Since it had never met, it never found anything and never responded to these invitations. Finally, in June 1969, when IDC was more firmly established, it made application to the Plant City Council to be named as the official Industrial Commission for the city. It was so named and given a free hand to promote industrial expansion. Since this date was after that of the submission to both Victoria and Ottawa, it would seem that the established agencies in the community were slow to recognize the existence of a new organization and that the initiative for recognition came from IDC itself.

The attempts of IDC to attract new industry to the area clearly are important to the city. This suggests that IDC and City Council should be constantly aware of what the other is doing. For liaison, a man with membership in both groups would be ideal, but during this time no such person existed. As the municipal elections at the end of 1969 were approaching, McDonald, a director of IDC who had never held public office, announced his intention to contest an aldermanic seat. In this he was strongly encouraged by his fellow directors of IDC. He was elected and now provides the link between Council and IDC. With the election of McDonald to Council, one of the new leaders had moved into the formal leadership structure of the community.
At this time IDC directors spoke at council meetings in the surrounding municipalities to point out the benefits to be derived from joining with IDC to form an agency which would serve the larger area. In addition, IDC arranged a number of seminars and meetings with federal government officials throughout the area to help citizens and businessmen understand how the provisions of the new Act could be utilized by the communities. At these meetings the visible interaction between federal officials and IDC directors provided the community with evidence of the importance and validity of IDC activities. In presenting such seminars, IDC assumed the role of an established organization and provided evidence of its legitimacy.

Not all the surrounding communities and unincorporated areas saw the emergence of IDC as an unmixed blessing. Those which were unexpectedly included in the designated area and those which did not have viable industrial development organizations of their own expressed fears that their interests might not be best served by an organization of Plant City businessmen. This was the situation at the end of 1969. These fears were based on the fact that when IDC first went to the provincial and then the federal governments seeking aid it already existed as a fifteen-man organization. To this were added single representatives from each municipality that had decided to cast its lot with IDC.

The announcement by the federal government in August indicated that an area very much larger than visualized by IDC was being
designated. The federal government has, since designating the area, sent various development officers into this larger region to encourage the establishment of groups which would promote development. This has resulted in the appearance of a number of groups with few resources which have ineffectively challenged the impartiality of IDC.

The IDC response to this has been to withdraw a little, focus its major effort in Plant City, and leave open the possibility for interested municipalities to join.

In summary, we can say that IDC has become a legitimate organization in the community and that those associated with it have been accorded status through that association. The original success in having the area designated and the coverage of the whole process in the media have caused the residents of the city to become acutely aware of the problem and of the possibility of "doing something about it". The new industries optimistically projected have not materialized after two years of intense effort. The community's enthusiasm and support for IDC are beginning to wane because it has not been able to pursue successfully one of the currently highly held values in the community — the promotion of secondary industry and the diversification of the local economy. The reasons for this will be considered in the following section.

Funding

Although the men who were initially involved with IDC, as heads
of their own firms, could underwrite some expenses, it soon became apparent that the organizational, promotional, and communication expenses of IDC would be high and would continue for a long period of time. In early 1969 it was estimated that an annual budget of $50,000 would be required. Clearly a financial chairman was necessary, and this job fell to Maglio, the youngest of the leaders and a director of IDC.

A two-stage program of financing was outlined. For the first six months of operation, until the end of 1969, participating municipalities (those agreeing to be represented by IDC) would collect and remit to IDC an amount of money based on the population of the municipality. IDC had no way of enforcing such a levy, and not all municipalities paid it quickly.

For the second stage, beginning in January 1970, the cost to participating municipalities would be increased and paid in part by the businessmen in each municipality, the amount to be based on the business license.

A few days after the federal announcement that the area had been designated, Monk and Associates, an eastern industrial consulting firm, was retained at a fee of $42,000 per year for three years and opened an office in Plant City in November. This firm was to contact companies throughout North America which were engaged in light manufacturing and promote the area to them.
Attractions included, in addition to the federal money which would be available to a firm locating in the area, residents who were willing to invest in a new industry. IDC also held options on land serviced by road and rail which would be turned over to a manufacturer requiring a site. The possibility of an industrial park was being considered.

A substantial effort was required to meet the projected annual cost of IDC. In fact, it was not possible to raise such a large sum. Only slightly more than the projected annual cost was raised in two years despite the Company, in its usual "good citizen" role, contributing some $12,000. Lack of funds resulted in the renegotiation of the contract with Monk and Associates. One-third of the work is now being done for one-third the fee. Despite the protestations of the chairman that IDC is in no danger, such a cutback, when no new industry is yet in the community, produced a rapid decline in the optimism that earlier had pervaded the community.

Although there is potentially a very large sum of money available from the federal government to help new industries locate in the area, this money is only available when the manufacturer can also put some capital into the development of a new production facility. There is a requirement that twenty per cent of the final total cost be held by the developer before federal money can be made available.
Manufacturers who do not need financial assistance can locate where they choose. Manufacturers who do need capital can be encouraged to locate in a federally designated area by making them aware of the availability of federal aid. But often businessmen looking for a place to locate do not even have enough capital to meet the twenty percent minimum required to qualify for federal aid. This difficulty gave rise to a second new organization in Plant City's struggle against economic stagnation.

When the first manufacturers showed interest in locating in Plant City, members of IDC began soliciting those people in the community who were popularly believed to be able to invest privately in a specific company. Two directors of IDC became directors of a company which planned to make machine components. However, this method of raising capital was not really successful. A better method of tapping the large amounts of capital believed to exist in the community was required. A limited company was formed, called Local Investors, which sold shares locally for $500 each. A publicity drive was undertaken by the newspapers to encourage the local residents to buy shares. Although a legally separate organization, two of its three directors are also directors of IDC. To date it has raised $85,000 which can be invested in a firm needing further capital to meet the twenty percent minimum before it would be eligible for federal aid under the Act.

If all the organizations concerned play the part they are expected to play, a potential manufacturer would be found somewhere in
North America by the firm of industrial consultants retained by IDC. He would be put in touch with IDC, who would "sell" him on the advantages of the area and smooth the way with its contacts in the city. If necessary, Local Investors would be able to provide the capital needed to raise the amount held by the developer to the minimum required by the federal government.

Despite the efforts of these three organizations, whose existence in the community can be traced back to that first informal meeting of young businessmen, no new industry has located in the area to date.

What we conclude from this brief history of IDC is that, in general, the existing decision-making bodies in the community were not set up in such a way that they could easily anticipate potential problems and, in particular, one which involved the possible decline of the community as a whole. When the economic problem was first raised they did not act positively but exhibited what has already been identified as non-decision-making.

The IDC definition of the situation as problematic was accepted by agencies outside the community. With that acceptance IDC and its directors were accorded high status within the community.

The Company neither initiated nor inhibited the development of IDC. The support it gave was similar to that of other business enterprises, although in total it was more than that of any other single
business because of its size.

Funding has, however, been a crucial issue for IDC, located as it is in a region where budgets are tight. Despite the warnings of the consultant retained by IDC and of the Federal Government that success in attracting industry was not assured, the community was initially optimistic. The presence in the city of each potential manufacturer was noted in detail by the media.

The lack of success in attracting a new industry and source of employment has resulted in greater difficulty in raising funds for IDC, which has in turn meant a curtailment of its activities.

Cutbacks may well lead to fewer prospective manufacturers being made aware of the area and its advantages and may thus reduce even further the likelihood of attracting alternative sources of employment to the community.

While no immediate changes are apparent in the economic circumstances of Plant City, in the following chapter the question of change in other areas is explored.
CHAPTER VI

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

Only one major issue in a single community was examined in this thesis and thus it falls short of the ideal in which a range of issues are considered in the same community or in which similar issues are considered in different communities. However, as has been shown, Plant City is a community which is primarily dependent on a single "major employer". Thus, it can be considered as a particular type of community. During the time research was carried out, one issue dominated all other concerns and provided a simplified situation in which to study the process of decision-making but this did not allow a comparison of how other issues are resolved in this community.

The physical isolation of Plant City belies the extent to which its fortunes are affected by factors outside its boundaries, and in this it is similar to other communities that depend on absentee-owned industries. The products manufactured by the Company compete in an international market. Improvements in the technology or resource position of other producers reduce the market position of the Company. It must respond and in so doing adversely affects the work force and economy of Plant City. Changes in provincial legislation resulting in increased capital and operating expenses which must be met by the city are similarly
initiated beyond its boundaries, as are new expectations about life styles and standards of living which are reflected in increased demands for amenities within the community. Thus, although the city has its own governing body, it is influenced in its actions by other governmental bodies and by international pressures. To speak of community decision-making without taking the external factors into consideration understates the complexity of the situation.

In addition to a "major employer" in the community, there are other well defined components based on ethnicity and the service sector of the local economy. Communities which exhibit political or ethnic diversity have been found to have a more pluralistic decision-making structure than undifferentiated ones. Plant City men from the different sectors were found to be leaders. Their participation in the city's decision-making process and their association with different issues lends support to the previous finding.

Leaders were identified by a process which began with the names of persons who occupied formal positions of power, or who had reputations for power, or who were visible participants in community decisions.

These persons were treated as a panel that was assumed to be knowledgeable about which issues were of importance to persons in the community and which persons were involved in these issues. This process resulted in the identification of twenty-two leaders who constitute a stratum of Plant City society.
Leaders were conceptualized as forming a network and were shown to be known to each other and to share interests, resources, and participation in decision-making. No assumption was made about the network being either a pluralistic or elitist structure. That is, rather than bringing a model of structure to the community and fitting leaders and issues to it, research in Plant City proceeded on the assumption that the residents of Plant City could best indicate what the common concerns were and who acted on them.

Informal social contact between leaders is weak in general, with the exception of one group which shares a common local and ethnic background. However, the lack of communicating informally must be noted. A total of eighty-four memberships in civic and social organizations are shared by the twenty-two leaders and allow frequent contact between them. In addition the limited size of the community permits frequent contact.

Other attributes of leaders that can be seen as resources that allow them to participate in the decision-making process include being self-employed or a salaried employee at the administrative level. Also, most leaders have gained valuable organizational experience by participating in the service clubs or within the Company.

More specialized and less widely shared resources include access to the media, holding formal political positions, or having "contacts". Access to the network of leaders also gives access to these resources which are used for group rather than individual ends.
Because the individual who takes an active interest in his community requires some financial support and flexibility in his work schedule, leaders are disproportionately drawn from the ranks of Company executives and self-employed businessmen. The particular orientation of those who have sufficient resources to participate led them to direct their energies to economic issues. In other words, although many values may be held in a community, those held by persons who have the resources to articulate their own are more likely to become manifest community values.

The problem which residents identified as most important involved the lack of economic growth in the area. For some time there had been an awareness on the part of many individuals in Plant City that all was not well. The declining tax base, the difficulty of maintaining existing amenities, and decreasing sales in the area had become obvious to some individuals. But this situation had not been formalized by such bodies as the Chamber of Commerce or the City Council; they could be said to have engaged in non-decision-making.

Finally, the possibility of serious economic decline in an area noted for its high income and stable employment became apparent. This was seen as a threat to the "social capital" accumulated over the years and to the business enterprises which were supported by the Company payroll. A group of local men took it upon themselves to determine the extent of the situation and to present that evidence to the community.
This activity resulted in the formation of the Industrial Development Committee, with which half of the men in Plant City identified as leaders were associated. This group also includes a number of "new" leaders. The large proportion of leaders in IDC is taken as evidence of the importance that the community places on the problem of economic development.

After assembling the resources that they shared, the Industrial Development Committee marshalled other resources which were available beyond the community's boundaries, such as the ability of the federal and provincial governments to support the IDC definition of the local situation as problematic. Although the economic problem in Plant City was visible locally it was a product of factors beyond the community boundary and its solution lay beyond the community boundary. Men with the skills required to deal at this level must be characterized as "cosmopolitans" rather than "localites".

Although those leaders who became involved in IDC were able to indicate the source and extent of the problem, support for attempts to modify the situation increased markedly when the presence of the provincial and federal governments signalled that there was in fact a problem in the area. It must be emphasized that in the preliminary stages the involvement of the existing "power structure" was necessary to carry the problem beyond the community and to the government. That is, although those men identified as "old leaders" had not attempted to reduce the magnitude of the problem they did not stand in the way of the "new leaders" who did.
Thus, the involvement of the local leaders is an important step for any group wishing to promote orderly change even when the desirability of change has been demonstrated. In other communities and for other issues the legitimating bodies may be different but nonetheless necessary for the successful bid of a "non-establishment" group to initiate change.

The answer to the question, "Can alternative power sources to the major employer emerge in a one industry town?" must be "yes", at least in Plant City and likely in other similar communities. The emergence of IDC has demonstrated this although it must be noted that the men identified as leaders are found in a particular socio-economic stratum.

The question of whether or not status accruing to persons involved in highly valued activity can be transferred to other activities is more difficult. The experience of McDonald suggests a possible answer. He was encouraged by fellow IDC members to run for an aldermanic seat on City Council. He was elected and provided an official link between IDC and the Council. Near the end of his term he was encouraged by fellow IDC members to run for the office of mayor. Both Martin and West appeared in a newspaper photograph observing McDonald file the nomination papers. His platform reflected the IDC policies of economic expansion through secondary industry.

He was defeated at the polls and thus no longer has available to him his former formal or positional power. He follows D'Amico who
earlier had challenged the "do-nothing" policy of Council but was defeated at the polls. The inability of both of these men to gain office with this type of platform hints at the conservative nature of the electorate. As already noted, the Chamber of Commerce has not responded to the situation pointed out by IDC. The Chamber of Commerce executive are perplexed by their inability to attract members to their organization.

A partial explanation for the difficulty suffered by the Chamber of Commerce and the community in general may be found simply in the existence of the Company. High employment rates, a stable population, and the relative ease with which funds could be solicited from a single source resulted in a conservative orientation toward change and the future. The Company acted as a buffer between elements beyond the community and local residents. The stability and prosperity in the city came from the existence of the Company rather than from leadership in the community. As long as Company policy did not result in shut-downs or lay-offs the lack of positive leadership in the community was not apparent. When the fortunes of the city seemed about to decline, the existing non-Company parts of the "power structure" seemed willing to accept this situation.

However, the closeness of the last election has caused the Mayor to state publicly that the activities of Council in the economic realm will have to be re-examined. Although McDonald has not been personally victorious, such a statement suggests that IDC has had a measure of success in attaining one of its original goals. The problem
of a declining economy has not been eliminated, but it has been identified and a particular alternative acted upon.

The attempts of IDC and Local Investors were not initially successful in attracting new secondary industry to Plant City and it slid further down the listing of cities by per capita income. However, three new industries have been announced by Martin, who recently assumed the presidency of IDC. They are expected to begin operations in the spring and should reverse the trend. Both federal and local funds have been committed and the construction of new buildings will begin soon. Between one hundred and fifty and two hundred jobs are anticipated when the plants are in operation. The demands that will be made on local businesses by the work force should make many of them viable again.

It is clear that a number of persons and groups were involved in bringing new secondary industry to Plant City but there can be no doubt that the men who established IDC and Local Investors played a significant part in it.
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APPENDIX A

PLANT CITY QUESTIONNAIRE*

1. Suppose a major project were before the community, one that required decisions by a group of local leaders whom nearly everyone would accept. Which people would you choose to make up this group — regardless of whether or not you know them personally? Write the names here. Use the back of the paper if necessary.

2. In most cities certain persons are said to be influential "behind the scenes" and to have a lot to say about programs that are planned, and about projects and issues that come up around town. What persons are influential in this way in the Plant City area?

3. If a decision were to be made in Victoria or Ottawa that affected this community, who in the community would be the best people to get in contact with (other than the elected representatives)?

4. Are there other people whom these leaders work with who have not been named so far, but should be included in a list of important people in the community?

APPENDIX B

LEADER INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Sex
   1a. Age

2. Marital status.

3. Number of children.

4. Birthplace (City and Country).

5. Ethnicity.

6. How long have you lived in the Plant City area?

7. How long have you lived at your present address?

8. Have you ever considered moving away to another City? Why?

9. Why are you still here?

10. Highest level of education completed? Where?

10a. Do you hold any special licences or certificates? Where taken?

11. Are you a member of any professional, employer or employee organizations?

12. If Yes—Do you serve on any committees or hold any office in this (these) Organizations? What?
13. If not retired—Are you a partner, owner or employee of the organization which provides your principle employment?

14. For company employees and retired:
   a) Present (or last) employer?
   b) Major product or service of this firm?
   c) How long employed by this firm?
   d) Present (or last) position and how long held? (Job history if varied.)
   e) How many employees or subordinates are (were) under your direction or supervision?

15. For self-employed:
   a) Name of your company.
   b) Major product or service of your company?
   c) How long have you been in this business in Plant City? Elsewhere?
   d) Present position in this firm?
   e) How many employees or subordinates are under your direction or supervision?

16. Does your work take you away from the Plant City area? How often and how far in the last year?

17. Have you been away in the last year for other reasons? e.g. Convention.
18. What, in your opinion were the three most important issues or decisions the community had to act on in the last year or two? Could you order them in importance to the community?

19. Was there a particular individual or group or organization that was instrumental in bringing each issue up for consideration? List.

20. Have these groups or persons (in the last answer) been influential in other issues or decisions? Examples?

21. Were you personally involved in any of the important issues you mentioned? If not, were you involved in other ones? In what capacity? (Chairman, etc.) With whom did you work most closely?

22. With respect to this most important issue, can you remember when you first became involved?

23. How did you become involved? (Volunteered, phoned by friend, chance meeting.)

24. Did you contact others about this issue? Who and How?
25. Are you a member of any civic or regional organization such as the Chamber of Commerce or Rotary?

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<th>Name</th>
<th>Attend Regularly</th>
<th>Committee Member</th>
<th>Officer</th>
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26. Do you belong to other groups or organizations, such as the Ski Club or a Bridge group?

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<th>Attend Regularly</th>
<th>Committee Member</th>
<th>Officer</th>
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27. Suppose that an issue arose in Plant City and that you felt very strongly about it (either way). Do you have particular ways in which you could make your influence felt? e.g. Write an editorial, use your company name.

Which is most effective?

28. If you act on an issue in the community, do you act as an individual or as the spokesman for a group or organization?

If spokesman, do you have to be directed by members for each statement?

29. Considering all the positions and committees outside your normal work:
   a) Which ones do you feel are most important to you?
   b) Which ones do you feel are most important to the community?
   c) On the average, how many hours per week do you spend on these important activities?
30. Are you encouraged by your family and friends in this work?

Are you encouraged by your employer? Can you get time off work or make use of office staff or equipment?

31. Some people seem to know almost everybody in town and have some influence through this. Others seem to know a small number of influential people very well. Would you say that you fitted either of these descriptions?

32. Of the people you know best in Plant City, do you know them through your normal work, socially, or through community activities?
Would you indicate the way or ways in which you know the following people by checking the appropriate column.

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<th>Name</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
<th>Heard Of</th>
<th>Know Slightly</th>
<th>Know Well</th>
<th>Know Socially Exchange Home Visits</th>
<th>Worked on Committee During Last Year</th>
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<td>Mr. Johnson</td>
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<td>Dr. Brown</td>
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<td>Mr. Jones</td>
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<td>Mr. Thaker</td>
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<td>Mr. Bochman</td>
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<td>Mr. Postnikoff</td>
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<td>Mr. McDonald</td>
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<td>Mr. Bonaldi</td>
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<td>Mr. D'Amico</td>
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<td>Mr. Maglio</td>
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<td>Mr. Martin</td>
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<td>Mr. McLeod</td>
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<td>Mr. Ouram</td>
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<td>Mr. West</td>
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<td>Mr. Robinson</td>
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APPENDIX C

Biographical Details of Leaders

In this appendix are included brief biographical sketches of the men identified as leaders in Plant City. Although the men's names and those of their businesses are fictitious the essential details of their lives are accurate. By considering these details it is possible to get something of the 'feel' of the city since many of these men have spent decades of their adult life in Plant City.

Leaders are loosely grouped on the basis of the major resource to which they have access. Admittedly the groupings are somewhat arbitrary because all the men have some access to many power bases. Leaders are further identified as falling into the category "old" or "new" leaders. This partition is based not so much on a consideration of age as on participation in the Industrial Development Committee. Old leaders in general have divested or are beginning to divest themselves of various civic and associational commitments as they look toward retirement. New leaders are looking toward a future which includes active participation in the community. We first consider the old leaders.

It appears to be the case that some men were identified as leaders because they have been known as leaders in the past. For example, Johnson, who is now over seventy years old and retired, no longer takes
any active part in decision-making. In fact, he was recently away from the city on an extended vacation. When he was younger he served on City Council for six years and was an important and powerful figure who was successful in bringing the "right" people together on a number of issues. His long association with the media provided professional involvement in the community which eventually led him to run for political office. Although no longer politically active, he is highly regarded by the citizens who recently arranged a testimonial dinner for him and he has received other civic honours. We conclude that his past performance and the high regard in which he is held are responsible for his nomination as a leader at this time.

A second leader falling into this category is Dr. Brown who for many years has been the Company doctor as well as being a member of a downtown clinic. Since the 1920's he has been a member of his Church Board and has been active in related organizations.

He is a small, quick man with a good word for everyone. Like Johnson, he is well regarded and well known to a wide spectrum of the population but is not now a powerful leader in the community.

A third leader in this category is Astor, who came from the Prairies to Plant City in the 1930's and later bought into the automotive business of which he is now President. He has been active in the Masonic Lodge, Rotary, Chamber of Commerce, Hospital Board, and Town Planning Commission. However, he is increasingly turning the operation
of his business over to a relative as he plans to retire in the near future.

Finally, we include in this category a man who, after coming from Italy as a child, has lived here all his life. As a youth Bonaldi began working for the Company and rose to an important position. He has been involved in numerous civic and service organizations and was recently feted by the city for his community service. He has been frequently elected the Mayor of a neighbouring municipality.

To attribute his identification as a leader to any single characteristic would be a serious simplification of the role he has played in the community. This is true for all of those older men who have been identified as leaders in Plant City. These men were most active and influential some years ago when they were younger. It is unlikely that the community at large consciously re-evaluates the relative position of its once-prominent people, so that reputations once formed in a small and stable community endure for a long time.

There is another small number of men who are seen to be leaders but who do not participate directly in decision-making. They are unlike those already mentioned in one respect. Their identification rests on the fact that they are the visible heads of large sectors of the work force. Given the community's fear that employment will decline further, these men are ascribed importance even if they do not act. In this category we would include Thaker, McLeod, and Jones.
Thaker is the president of the twenty-nine hundred strong labour union. Employed by the Company since 1945, he has been on leave of absence since he was elected to the union presidency. He belongs to no civic or service organizations, believing that there is a possibility of conflict between the union point of view and the business point of view which predominates in such organizations. He studiously avoids interacting socially with other leaders, claiming that he has no time for it. He is away from the area some four to five months in each year attending to the well-being of the union and its membership, a fact which must inhibit his full participation in the community decision-making process. He has nevertheless been an important figure in maintaining industrial peace at the Company and is thus a contributor to the financial well-being of the community which depends so heavily on the Company payroll.

The Senior Executive of the Company, fifty-six year old McLeod, is similarly visible. Fresh from university in the 1930's, he began as a helper and rose to his present position recently. His position demands that he travel extensively for the Company. Although he is not now active in the community, he was active in the past, having served on such bodies as the School Board. Because announcements of policy changes or shutdowns come from him, he is visibly connected to the economic well-being of the work force and thus the community. For example, he recently announced, in a press release in which his picture appeared, plans for the summer vacation shutdown which will leave about
5% of the work force without pay for part of the period. A man who makes such a public statement, even if he does not make the decision on which it is based, is seen to be powerful since his statement is immediately followed by the action it specifies.

Jones, the President of the Energy Company (a subsidiary of the Company), has been with this firm for a decade. For some years previous to that he had been employed by the Company and has made his home in Plant City for over twenty years. Nearing retirement age, he is now withdrawing from public life. However, he too was active in the community's civic and service organizations such as Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, and the School Board. His firm employs some three hundred and twenty-five people in the area and ranks as a major employer.

Recently concern was voiced in the community over the proposed raising of the water level of a nearby lake which is a popular recreational area. Although the final decision to raise the level will be made by an international commission, Jones appeared in the local press to explain the proposed change to the community.

Although these men have been identified as leaders in Plant City and are visible and clearly connected with its economic well-being, none of the men so far mentioned were instrumental in defining or responding to the lack of economic expansion as a problem.

A third sub-category of more involved leaders can be identified as having "resource power". Currently more active in the community than
those already discussed, they have in common access to a resource which can be utilized by others. This group includes Hill, Bochman, and Ouram.

Hill has been employed by the Company since he came to Plant City to take his first job after graduation from university. Moving up the organizational ladder, he established many relationships within the Company and the community, as have most Company administrators. He has been for many years a member of the Liberal Party and in the last federal election was the Liberal candidate for the riding in which Plant City is located. Although he was not elected, as a defeated candidate he has the ear of many members of the government and of civil servants in Ottawa. As an automatic ex-officio member of many committees of the party at the local level and with a knowledge of the governmental process he is an important link between the citizens in the riding and the government in Ottawa. Active in organizations which attempt to improve the quality of life in the community, his "contacts" make him an important resource for those associations.

Bochman, born in Plant City forty-five years ago, is the managing director of a broadcasting firm and is on its Board of Directors. As chairman of the Arts Council and the Centennial Committee and through his involvement with junior sports and as a member of the provincial executive of a religious group he has demonstrated his concern with the quality of life in the area. Although he cannot use the airways to express his personal views, the editorial position of the station can influence
a project in the community toward success or failure. Thus he becomes an important resource for those seeking community-wide support for a project.

Similarly in control of a medium of communication is Ouram, who came to Plant City fifteen years ago to take a position with a local newspaper. On the retirement of Johnson he became the publisher, retaining his previous position as General Manager. Having only limited membership in the local service clubs, he found time to run for City Council. He was elected and served one term. During this time he was on the Library Board and worked closely with the Mayor on the amalgamation of Newton and Plant City. The amalgamation was an attempt to increase the tax base of the city by including in it the industrial sites occupied by the Company. Because of the possibility for editorial selection, the paper is a resource which can encourage or inhibit interest in a particular line of action in the community.

Turning to those leaders who occupy formal political positions, we find four active men. Probably the most colourful is the mayor, Vincentti, the son of an Italian immigrant who ran a small business. He claims a life-long interest in political and union activity. He has held executive positions in various fraternal and labour organizations and has been involved in civic government both as an administrator and an elected official. In Plant City he has been both elected and defeated in bids to be an alderman and the mayor. He is currently serving his second term as mayor, after being unopposed in the last election.
Although his political philosophy is not accepted by all members of Council he is a good chairman and Council performs efficiently within the limitations of its resources.

McDonald and Pye are two others on the six-man council who have been identified as leaders. Both are serving their first two-year term of office. Pye also served an interim one-year term during amalgamation. In his forties, he is an energetic man, hardworking and with an eye for detail. He has been on the Board of the United Church, Hospital Board, Junior Chamber of Commerce, and Rotary. He gets good coverage in the press and uses it to reach the wider audience outside Council. Although he lives in Newton, his principal social contact is with the publisher of the newspaper who lives across town. Pye also began his career at the Company, coming to Plant City with a new degree nearly twenty years ago. Recently he was transferred from a subsidiary to his present position as an Administrative Assistant in the Company proper. Changes of this nature have been taking place all through the Company's organizational structure as it reorganizes on a geographic rather than a product basis. Such changes have resulted in a number of employees being transferred to other cities with a consequent decline in the Company payroll in Plant City.

The third leader on Council is McDonald, the major shareholder and Managing Director of a small manufacturing firm. Over the years he has been active in Rotary, Masonic Order, and Shrine. It was not until he was fifty-three that he decided to run for municipal office and in
that decision he was encouraged by his friends. He was elected as an alderman in the last election and is vice-chairman of the Water Committee, an important committee at City Hall since the city is approaching the time when it will be chronically short of water. He is also the Council representative to the Industrial Development Committee.

When political power is considered, an additional leader should be included in this category on the basis of his past experience as a city alderman. Although not born in Plant City, DeRossi was born nearby of Italian parents. Active in Rotary, Kinsmen, Tuscany Lodge, and the Golf Club, he served on City Council for two terms. During that time he was chairman of a committee appointed by the mayor to investigate the construction and operation of a proposed sewage treatment plant which was required under recently introduced provincial legislation. The project eventually involved co-ordinating the activities of four separate municipalities when a joint undertaking was advised by the firm of consulting engineers which had been retained by Plant City. When his term of office expired, DeRossi chose to devote much of his energy to his business and has not been very active at the decision-making level since that time.

Another young man who is identified as a leader is Robinson. He was born in Plant City and except for the time required to earn his law degree has lived his whole life there. For a number of years he has been the City Solicitor. In addition, he is the solicitor for the School
Board and the Hospital Board. His knowledge of municipal law is called on to prevent the Boards or Council from choosing alternatives which are illegal or unworkable. Since many of the leaders in the community have served on the School Board or Hospital Board, he becomes a known resource to many leaders. Although not involved in IDC he was instrumental in setting up Local Investors, a related organization.

Although less than fifty years of age, D'Amico has withdrawn from active participation in the community. He views with disfavour the attempts of City Council to work within its limited budget, claiming that such a "maintenance" approach dooms the city to increased economic difficulty. He favours improvement of the local economic situation by the injection of large amounts of capital for the expansion and renovation of the downtown core. In an attempt to direct an expansionary response by Council to economic stagnation he ran for the office of mayor in 1967 but was defeated. It might be said that he recognized the economic problem and tried single-handedly to impose a particular solution. When his bid for public office failed, he withdrew entirely from service and civic organizations and concentrated his energies on his own business. Nevertheless, his identification as a leader rests on his being a spokesman for this position, as well as being the son of an old family.
The New Leaders

So far we have examined those leaders who have what might be called traditional sources of power – affective, economic, or formal political, and their positions or offices which give them the potential for participating in the community. Such resources typically allow those who control them to initiate actions for others by, for example, announcing an employment cutback. Control or possession of these power bases often allows the holder to define what is problematic in the community and to bound the set of possible alternative solutions to the problem. We can go even further and say that one of the obligations that leaders are expected to fulfill is that of anticipating situations which may become problematic in the future.

It appears to be the case that in Plant City some leaders have become increasingly conservative and have not exercised the problem-defining function. Perhaps a better way of phrasing it would be to say that some have become conservative with age, while the environment of the city increasingly generates demands which require new and innovative responses. Although there were agencies such as City Council and the Chamber of Commerce that had the responsibility of defining and acting on problems, the men who held positions within them did not do so.

In the latter part of 1968 a group of men in the city took it upon themselves to organize for the purpose of looking into the lack of economic growth in the city. This organization was the Industrial
Development Committee (IDC). The members defined as problematic the lack of economic growth. Having defined the situation as problematic they attempted to generate an alternative situation. The criterion used to identify new leaders within the group of twenty-two leaders is that they were intimately involved with IDC in its formative stages.

Five of those identified as old leaders (Hill, Thaker, Bochman, McDonald, and Ouram) are associated with IDC. New leaders are considered below.

At the age of twenty-eight Martin immigrated to Plant City from Britain in 1949. After working as an auto salesman he and two partners established their own automotive sales and service firm in the city. The business has prospered and now employs more than forty people. Although devoting much time to his business, he is also active in the United Church and the Masonic Order and knows many people in the area through these activities.

West, also a hard-working businessman, is president of his own distribution company, which employs twenty-five people. He came to Plant City a decade after finishing his schooling in a nearby city. A man who is enthusiastic about the range of activities available to sportmen in the area, he has pursued a course in the past of not becoming involved with issues in the community. His involvement with the Industrial Development Committee is a major exception.

Calori is probably least involved in the decision-making
structure. Son of a well known family, he consciously is not involved in civic or service organizations and has not run for public office. He argues that a practising lawyer is likely to be regarded with hostility by many people in the community since someone always "loses" or is "wrong" in litigation and this would be reflected in a lack of political support. He is, however, on the executive of Tuscany Lodge as well as being a director of IDC a non-political organization.

Another local young man is Maglio. Leaving Plant City only long enough to earn a degree in pharmacy, he returned and was employed by a local drug store, which, along with two partners, he later bought. He has been encouraged to take the chairmanship of the local Community Chest and has been active in the Junior Chamber and the Cancer Society. Concentrating his energies on IDC, he has been its finance chairman since its inception.

The only leader of Russian background is Postnikoff. Born just outside the city, he is well known and active locally. He has twice been chairman of the Summer Festival Committee and has served on the executive of the Chamber of Commerce, the Advisory Planning Commission, Kiwanis, and Red Cross. At forty-six he is the manager (as well as partner and shareholder) of his own construction supply firm. Currently he is the chairman of IDC and as such is quoted frequently in the press.

When they began meeting, new leaders did not have formal power within the city, since they did not occupy positions within the civic
administration. Because of their youth they cannot claim concessions based on affect. Their business activities are such that individually they do not represent a major economic force in the community. Although they did not have access to the resources available only to office holders, they were not powerless. They are important because they provided the nucleus for an entirely new group in the community, one which identified and bounded the problem, generated alternative solutions, and acted on them. Their identification as leaders in Plant City rests on the actions they took on a matter of importance to the community.