

POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND LEADERSHIP

(1953)

Among the conditions that make political science an implausible discipline is a general ignorance of who are active in politics and who are political leaders. The elementary human facts of the field are little known. In seeking, ~~such~~ ~~knowledge~~, such knowledge, political scientists have borne ^(their usual) heavy weight of myth and ideology that political doctrines have ^(imposed upon) ~~borne~~ them. Furthermore, they have had to contend with recalcitrant and shy subjects, reflected in the condition of political data, which are so few, so scattered, and so variously labelled, as to excite the risibilities of other scientists.

I hope in the present study to systematize the relationships of myth to fact on questions of political activity and leadership, to analyze ~~the~~ ^{certain} elements of activity and leadership, to describe several profiles of activity and leadership, and to suggest several hypotheses on the distribution of activity and leadership in groups.

I.

Democratic Doctrine

Without going into the several branches of democratic thought in order to determine their degree of difference and their respective effects upon men's minds, it may yet be claimed that one ~~important~~ important doctrine has consistently asserted the actuality or at least the potentiality of political activity being found among all men. A concomitant doctrine holds the same position with respect to political leadership. It has been vehemently asserted that all men are or ought to be equally active and contribute equally to the direction of change. In great numbers, men have struggled for political reforms and revolutions in the belief that, though activity and leadership were manifestly unequally distributed in the present, the next stage of society might see such equality come to pass. In the words of the English Leveller, Overton, "By naturall birth, all men are equally and alike borne to like propriety, liberty and freedom ... every man by nature being a King, Priest and Prophet in his owne naturall circuite and compasse."* The word "are" is changed to "ought"

* An Arrow Against All Tyrants, quoted in Don M. Wolfe, Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution (1944), 11.

and the deductions are then: men can become equally active and influential; institutions so far as possible ought to be constructed so as to facilitate the equal activity and influence of men. Under the influence of this ethical directive, a large number of public and private institutions in modern mass democracies have been constructed.**

* Cf. Alfred de Grazia, Public and Republic (1949), 21 ff, 53 ff, V, VI.

~~Still another variant of the same doctrine~~
~~is influential, especially among scholars.~~ *Whether "is" or "ought" dominates the phrasing,*
~~preceding special doctrines~~ *can be* ~~are~~ *a* labelled myths, *the*
 symbolic identifications with *or* unreal situations.**

** Cf. e.g. Georges Sorel, Reflections on Violence (1912), 133-137; Gunnar Myrdal, et al.; An American Dilemma I (1944), 3-25; H. D. Lasswell and A. Kaplan, Power and Society (1950), 116-133; Ernst Cassirer, The Myth of the State (1946); Hans Vaihinger, Philosophy of "As If" (1924); Charles E. Merriam, Political Power (1934); Gaetano Mosca, The Ruling Class (1939); and Robert Michels, Political Parties (1915).

Some call them "mere myths", meaning by "mere" that they are a kind of useless superstition. Others regard them as essential to the existence of democracy; ^d indeed, it is no accident that men known otherwise as democrats prefer this latter position, since a democracy in which equal activity and equal leadership were regarded as unimportant would be

almost a contradiction in terms. At least the doctrine is recognizable to all, and is worth comparing with the reality of activity and leadership.

One may picture the idealized state of activity and leadership in a democracy as that of a law, well-obeyed. The overwhelming proportion of the population would conform to it, and a relative few - - mentally weak, disabled physically, below the age of consent, physically mobile, or morally defective - - would fall off from the norm. If one were to graph such mythical behavior he would discover a curve in the form of a "J", similar to those drawn by Floyd Allport to describe behaviors of high conformity to law or stringent rule. Thus, motorists' behavior in a limited parking zone (Fig.1), workers punching the time clock when beginning work, and Catholics' behavior in observing the Holy Water Sacramental before entering church, were seen to follow a pattern represented by the curve in Figure 2.* The

* Floyd H. Allport, "The J-curve Hypothesis of Conforming Behavior," V Journal of Social Psychology (1934), 141-183.

vertical (Y, ordinate) axis would designate the extent of participation in the behavior, and the horizontal (x, abscissa) axis would designate the intensity or conformity of the measured behavior. Thus, a high conformity of behavior participated in by a great proportion of subjects would be plotted at a point around "P" in Figure 1.(I postpone a discussion of the fixation of the curve's extremes at this time.)

Thousands of
Cases

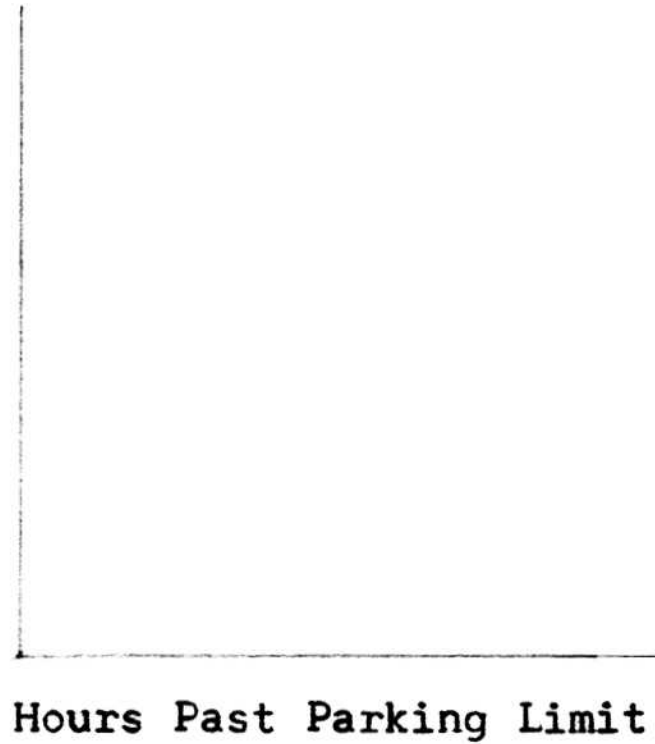


Figure 1.

Length of Motorists' Parking Hours
in Zone Limited to Half-Hour Parking
in Detroit (From Hawley S. Simpson
and Allport, op.cit., p.00.

Extent of
Participation

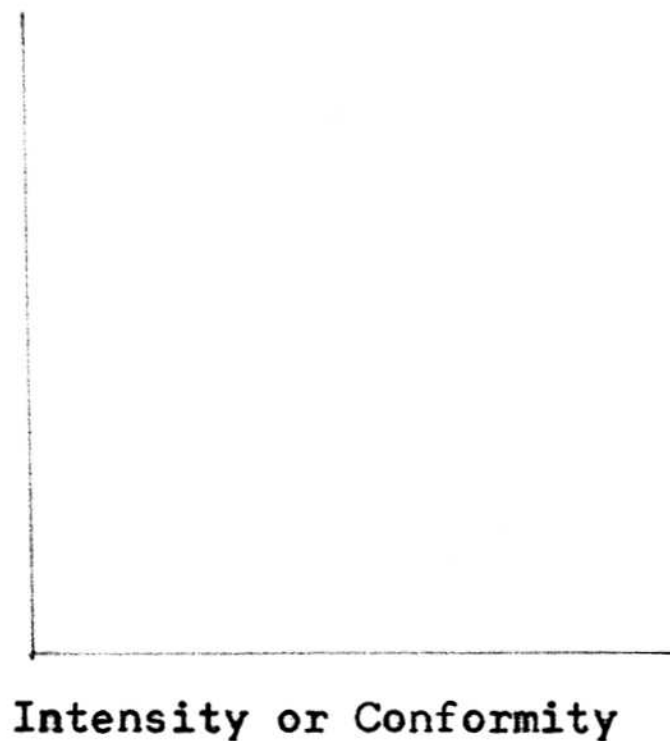
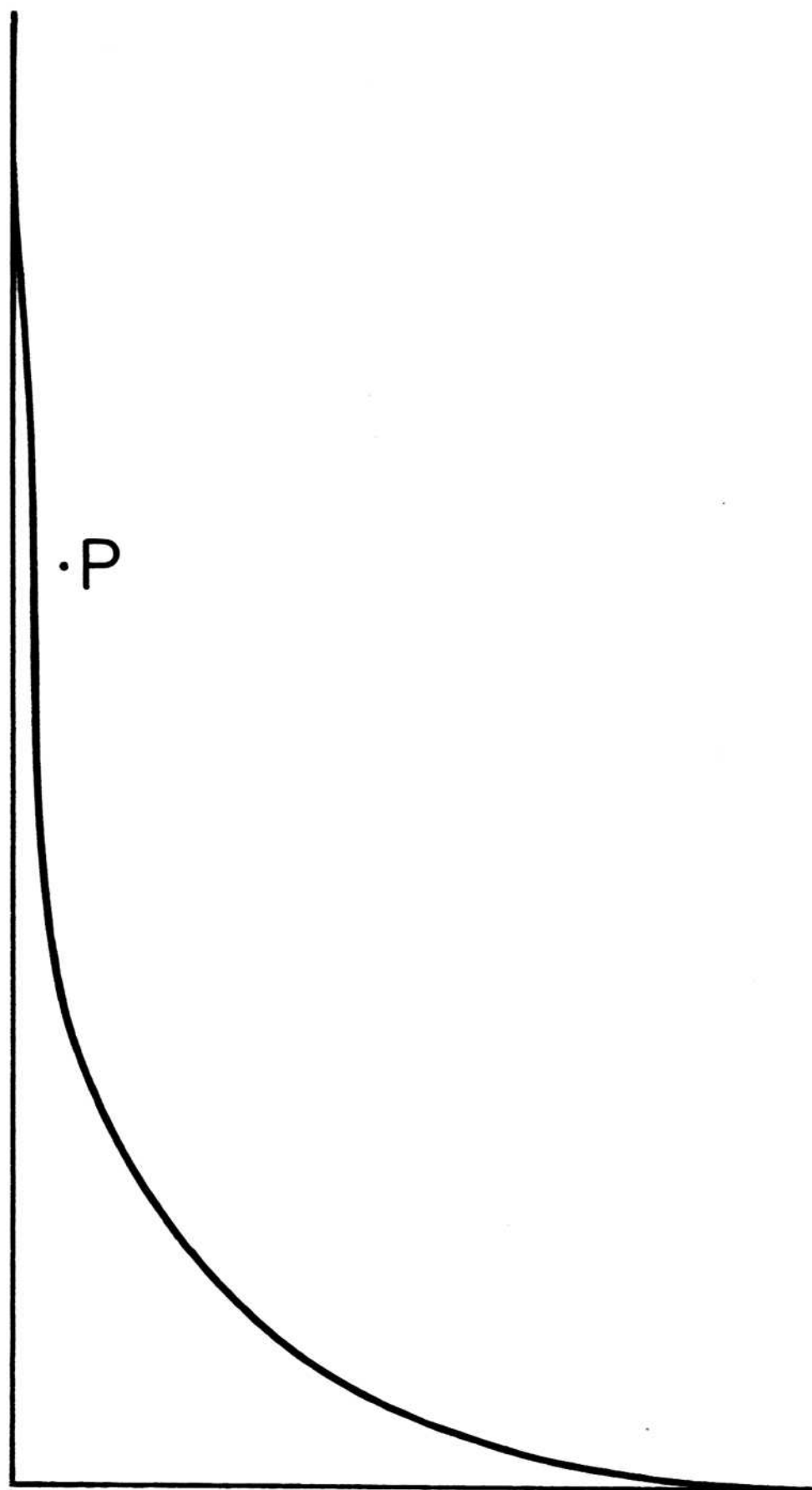


Figure 2.

The Theoretical J-Curve



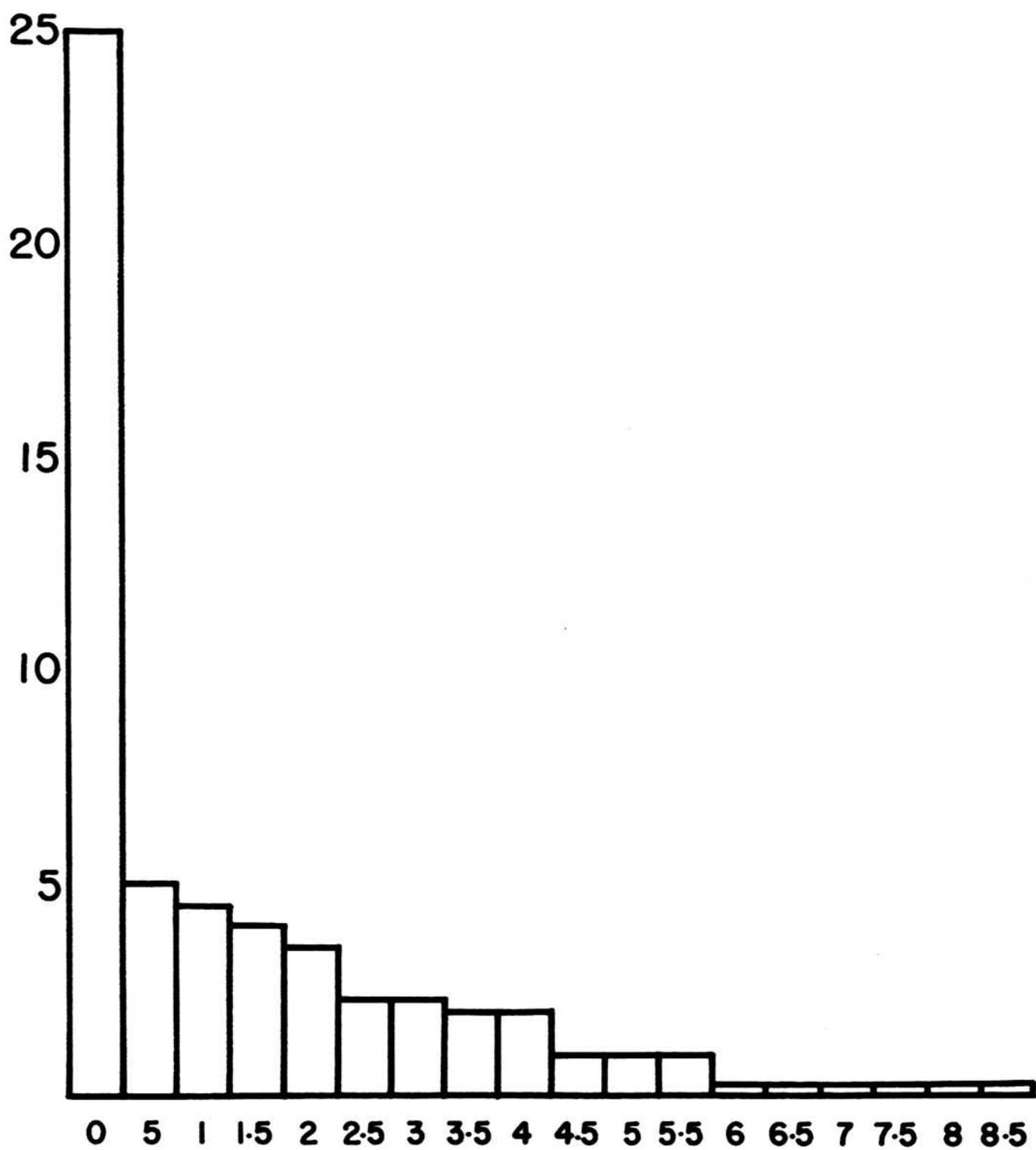


Figure 1

But, whatever the ethical directive or fiction, no reliable observer has ever credited political activity and leadership with this form of distribution. Rather, the myth has operated to conceal realities from great numbers of the uninstructed, to impel people towards action considered beneficial to the community or group, and to deprive opposing realities of a claim to legitimacy. These are exceedingly important, though not well measured, effects of the myth of activity and leadership.

II.

Historical Comment

As absurd as it may seem in retrospect, one reason why realistic surveys of political activity have been lacking is the irresistible urge of many writers to define activity as worthwhile activity. They revealed a problem but foreclosed its development and solution. One has only to count those on his side if he wishes to assess the amount of "worthwhile" activity. Equally absurd perhaps

is one of the reasons why the gross amount of activity has been of growing concern to modern theorists: activity per se is regarded as worthwhile and hence deserves to be measured.

We cannot escape the origins of our scientific interests, but we can certainly get far by treating activity per se as a factual question of extent and kind. The origins should be remembered, however; for the aspect of the question most vulnerable to theoretical criticism is the selection of criteria by which to measure activity and, later, leadership.

Plato was perhaps the earliest writer to guess at the distribution of active citizens in the population. Of course he meant men morally fit to rule, yet it is unfortunate that political science since that time has been content with observations scarcely more clear or precise. In his dialogue, The Statesman*, is found the following exchange

* The Dialogues of Plato (Jowett Trans., New York: Random House, 1937), 320-321.

of remarks:

Stranger: Do you think that the multitude in a state can attain political science?

Younger
Socrates: Impossible.

Stranger: But, perhaps, in a city of a thousand men, there would be a hundred, or say fifty, who could?

Younger
Socrates: In that case political science would certainly be the easiest of all sciences; there could not be found in a city of that number as many really first-rate

draught-players, if judged by the standard of the rest of Hellas, and there would certainly not be as many kings.

Only a few kings might be enough for Plato's oligarchy of the wise, but their number would be too small for our myth. Apparently Pericles felt some impulse to defend a democratic myth of participation and leadership in the face of such estimates as Plato advanced. We find that Thucydides has that astute popular leader declaring in a speech to the Athenians:

"Our public men have, besides politics, their private affairs to attend to, and our ordinary citizens, though occupied with the pursuits of industry, are still fair judges of public matters; for, unlike any other nation regarding him who takes no part in these duties not as unambitious but as useless, we Athenians are able to judge, at all events, if we cannot originate, and instead of looking on discussion as a stumbling-block in the way of action, we think it an indispensable preliminary to any action at all."

Thus some Greek democrats assumed a realistic position while holding to the myth. They regarded participation as an intelligizing, commenting, and judging function, although it might not extend to active politiking. This may seem to be a play upon definitions; participation is declared to include any remotely political action, internal or external. But certain recent studies, picking up the Periclean notion of participation, have shown it to have some meaning, as we shall see later on.

Modern democracies have demonstrated a similar conflict of head and heart as the realities have clashed with the doctrines. It would be good to have historical documentation of the distribution of political energies among our recent ancestors. When Alexis de Tocqueville writes of the universal political participation and anarchic leadership systems of Americans of the 1830's, does he have relatively in mind some European apathy, or is he perhaps persuaded by the enthusiasm engendered by the myth rather than the reality itself? And if the myth today is descended from some early state of fact, as men used to say of the social contract, how could it have developed at a time when, according to writers such as Beard* and Luetscher,** a very small percentage of potential electors bothered to vote.

* An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States (1913), 242

** Early Political Machinery in the United States (1903), 25.

We must for the moment remain dissatisfied with the historical record, though I should guess that this is one area where focussed historical research might bring welcome rewards. The myth persisted and apparently so did the lethargy or subjection of the mass of people.

When James Bryce wrote of political activity, he found the contrast of myth and reality persistent and unfortunate:*

* I Modern Democracies (1921) 47-48, 50.

"An Ideal Democracy.. may be taken to mean a community in which the sense of public duty and an altruistic spirit fill the minds and direct the wills of the large majority of the citizens, so that the Average Citizen stands on the level of him whom we sometimes meet and describe as the Model Citizen. What then, expressed in the terms of our own day, would such a community be?

In it the average citizen will give close and constant attention to public affairs, recognizing that this is his interest as well as his duty. He will try to comprehend the main issues of policy, bringing to them an independent and impartial mind, which thinks first not of his own but of the general interest. If, owing to inevitable differences of opinion as to what are the measures needed for the general welfare, parties become inevitable, he will join one, and attend its meetings, but will repress the impulses of party spirit. Never failing to come to the polls, he will vote for his party candidate only if satisfied by his capacity and honesty. He will be ready to serve on a local Board or Council, and to be put forward as a candidate for the legislature (if satisfied of his own competence), because public service is recognized as a duty ...

It is the conception of a happier life for all, coupled with a mystic faith in the People, that great multitude through whom speaks the Voice of the Almighty Power that makes for righteousness - - it is this that constitutes the vital impulse of democracy. The country where the ideal democracy exists has not yet been discovered, but the faith in its existence has survived many disappointments, many disillusionments. Many more will follow, but then also the faith will survive. From time to time hope is revived by the appearance of a group of disinterested reformers, whose zeal rouses a nation to sweep away abuses and leaves things better than it found them. It is only sloth and torpor and the acquiescence in things known to be evil that are deadly. So we may hope that the Ideal will never cease to exert its power, but continue to stand as a beacon tower to one generation after another."

In practice, Bryce estimated, the highly active group in modern democracies was small, the group of intelligent commentators considerably larger, and a final apolitical group "everywhere larger than is commonly supposed."*

* Ibid., 157.

And with the contrast of myth and reality went the problem of estimating the participation "needed" for democracy to survive. More naive than Bryce, but concealing his innocence under the logical fallacy of petitio principis, John Stuart Mill wrote that men must participate at a stated minimum if representative government were to survive; political machinery is not automotive; men must operate it.

"It needs, not their simple acquiescence, but their active participation; and must be adjusted to the capacities and qualities of such men as are available. This implies three conditions. The people for whom the form of government is intended must be willing to accept it; or at least not so unwilling as to oppose an insurmountable obstacle to its establishment. They must be willing and able to do what is necessary to keep it standing. And they must be willing and able to do what it requires them to enable it to fulfill its purposes."*

* Representative Government, 177

Many other writers of the modern democratic period might be cited on the distribution of political activity and leadership. Little point would be served in doing so, however, since their comments would simply

give fuel to conjecture.*

* A publication of the Committee on Citizenship, Department of Education, State of California, June 30, 1951, called "The State Colleges and Citizenship," contains a long list of points about the behavior of "The Educated Citizen" and what he is supposed to know and do. It is somewhat incredible.

Perhaps some benefit may come from translating the historical problem of activity and leadership into graphic terms, relevant to Figure 1 where a J-curve denoted the distribution of activity in a setting of high or sanctioned conformity. Let us suppose that before the triumph of democratic ideology there existed a legitimate despotic ideology. This despotic ideology would have doctrines regarding the optimum participation of the total population. Those doctrines would hold that the mass of people should be politically passive, distributed as a J-curve of conformity to a few duties to the rulers and state; and that a tiny elite should conduct political affairs. Those individuals who were active beyond the minimal limits set for them would be considered reprehensible or illegitimate, according to the ruling doctrine.

But from these individuals and their allies came the new doctrine of democracy that proposed not only to legitimize their greater participation but to extend legitimacy to the full political activity of

the masses. Some thought the masses were awaiting only the legitimizing of the doctrine to become active while others thought education and other training needed to precede the postulated condition.

The new doctrine triumphed, but the shift from passivity to activity was enormously retarded and can be recorded graphically only as a modest increase in the activity scores of some persons and the entrance of new kinds of personalities to political life. In consequence, the new graphic profile of the masses, instead of assuming the doctrinal or mythical J-curve, appeared as a reversed J-curve of "unconformity". The several hypothecated changes are drawn and explained in Figure 3.

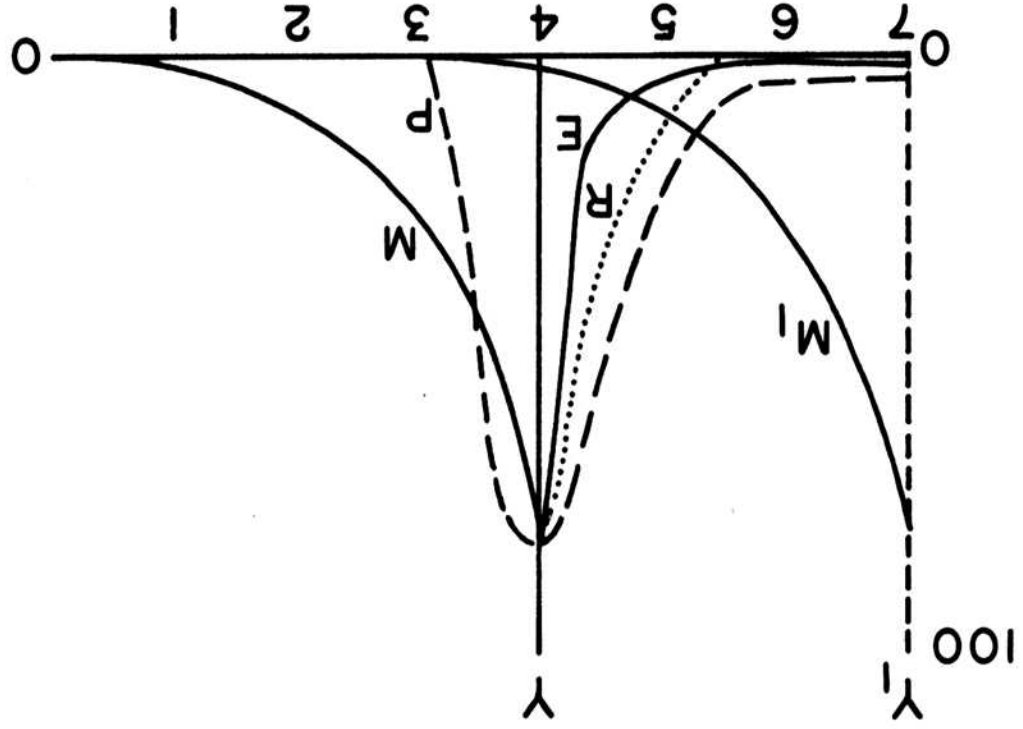
% of population
qualifying

Intensity of participation
(arbitrary intervals)

Figure 3. Historical Transformations of
the Profile of Popular and
Elite Activity

(continued on next page)

3
29



-12 a-

Under despotic ideology: mass (M) achieves scores 0-4
 elite (E) achieves scores of 4+
 illegitimate activity (R)
 (rebels, zealots, reformers)
 occurs between 4 and 5.

Under democratic ideology: new perpendicular (Y_1) is drawn by a doctrine of popular participation, which legitimizes formerly illegal or reprehensible activists (R) and invites (expects, hopes for) a shift of the J-curve (M) to a new position (M_1).

Results:

(here hypothesized and later to be discussed) of ideological transformation: legitimization of (R); politists; general picture of a reverse J-curve to describe political activity under democratic doctrine (both latter developments represented by "P").

introduction of
 new and increased
 activity of

III.

Political Activity

It was said that the past has given us the questions, but little of their answers. We should then define political activity and determine how to discover the extent and distribution of it. Certainly activity of any kind, including political activity, ~~is an outgrowth~~^{flows} from psychological springs. The dynamics of character development in a society should be studied for explanations of why individuals are in various degrees political. However, save for a theoretical treatment of this subject in the last section of this study, the major concern here is with activity in a contemporary, existential sense, and with its distribution in the population.

The Criteria of Activity

Therefore, activity is taken, in its surface manifestations, to be any human action. It may be interpersonal, intrapersonal, or between a person and an impersonal medium. By political activity is meant activity that has meaning to the distribution of political power, which in turn is defined as ability to influence decisions concerning government. As I analyzed it elsewhere, the objective meaning of political includes actions and events occurring in

the government, or that are conditioned by or relevant to what the government does.*

* Elements of Political Science (1952), 13-15

From this we deduce that political activity is "artificially" segregated from forms of activity that may be genetically and effectively quite close; the only distinction will be cut by the term "political".

Moreover, we may deduce from the definition of "political" a host of discrete and particular actions that can be used to judge the extent and amount of activity present in a class of situations. For instance, voting is a particular instance of political activity that is within the direct governmental category. Activity in an organization that maintains a lobby is a particular instance of political activity conditioned by and relevant to the government. These and many other items of activity are necessary to describe a person's activity accurately and relatively to that of others.

Besides giving objective meaning to the term "political activity" by elaborating the categories of the political, one may give the term subjective meaning. Subjective meaning may be provided by accepting a respondent's verdict that an act in question is political. To take an extreme case not liable to be objectively ascertained, if refusing to be interviewed on political

questions is regarded by a respondent as a political act, his judgment is accepted.

Extending this principle, one may take as political a modal definition provided by the population of respondents. When modal attitudes are given credence, the problem is easier to handle in research and theory, and in fact the ensuing definition will probably correlate closely with the objective definition. Yet we should be aware of the individuality of meaning of numerous actions. Respondents differ in their awareness of the political implications of actions. Some see the whole world as political; others tend to be highly legalistic. (This is similar to the problem of the objectivity of the term "graft"; many interesting and amusing cases might be advanced to illustrate the different definitions adhered to by individuals.)*

* Cf. J. S. Bruner's survey of theory and research in perception, entitled "An Approach to Social Perception," in Wayne Dennis, et. al., Current Trends in Social Psychology (1948).

Several studies have coined items purporting to measure or indicate political activity and they may be used to illustrate the problem. Julian L. Woodward and Elmo Roper asked a series of questions, which, in summary form for scoring, obtained the following items:**

** "Political Activity of American Citizens," XLIV American Political Science Review (1950), 872-885.

<u>Voting</u>	<u>% of total sample qualifying</u>	<u>Score points credited</u>	<u>Total possible score for channel</u>
Once or more in last four years	75	1	3
Three times or more	47	1	
Five times or more	21	1	
<u>Discussing Public Issues with Others</u>			
Discusses frequently and takes equal share in conversation	21	1	
Discusses frequently and usually tries to convince others he is right	6	1	2
<u>Belonging to Organizations that Take Stands on Public Issues</u>			
Belongs to one or more	31	1	2
Belongs to two or more	7	1	
<u>Written or Talked to Congressman or Other Public Official to Give Own Opinion on Public Issue</u>			
One or more times in past year	13	1	2
Two or more times in past year	7	1	
<u>Worked for Election of a Political Candidate in Last Four Years</u>			
	11	2	2
<u>Contributed Money to Party or Candidate in Last Four Years</u>			
	7	1	1
TOTAL POSSIBLE SCORE:			12

Agger, Foscutt and Ostrom asked respondents in a small Oregon town and the nearby countryside about the following items, which were designedly biased towards participation in school affairs:*

* Data from a study to be published

<u>Vote:</u>	in school elections, local elections and state and national elections (4 degrees each)
<u>Discuss school affairs:</u>	with family, teachers, friends, school officials (3 degrees each)
<u>Discuss local government or community matters:</u>	with family, friends, civic leaders, city officials (3 degrees each)
<u>Membership in organizations:</u>	name, degree of activity therein, offices held
<u>Activity on any public school issue</u>	
<u>Activity on local government or community issue</u>	
<u>Attendance at meetings on school subjects</u>	
<u>Attendance at meetings on civic subjects</u>	

The Survey Research Center, in its national survey of behavior during the 1952 presidential campaign included the following items indicative of political activity:*

* Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin and Warren Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston: Row-Peterson, 1954).

Read about the campaign in the newspapers (3 degrees)
 Heard about the campaign on the radio (3 degrees)
 Watched the campaign on the television (3 degrees)
 Read about the campaign in magazines (3 degrees)
 Talked to others about the campaign and tried to persuade them
 Gave money or bought tickets, etc.
 Attended any political rallies, meetings, etc.
 Worked for a party or candidate
 Belongs to political clubs
 Belongs to other formal or informal organizations (capable
 of distinctions of kind and number)
 Is active in his formal or informal organizations (capable
 of distinctions of number and intensity)
 Voted this election (on different levels)
 Voted previous elections (by recall)
 Various informational items
 Various items on apathy and involvement (psychological)

Obviously these studies have not exhausted the
 items that describe political activity. Since they have been
 administered to general populations, they are poor in items
 referring to more intense activity - - running for office,
 time spent in meetings, and quantity of activity generally.
 Most of the items are also such as may be discovered by
 impersonal interview of strangers.

Additional items would include questions about
 having ever held public office, or about the level of
 information on the general state of society rather than

specific issues, or on contacts of an unorganized kind with anyone who is a politician. The problem is hospitable to the invention of items; many writers offer excellent suggestions. For instance, the Committee on Political Parties of the American Political Science Association writes as follows:

"The individual voter may personally participate in politics in several ways. As a member of a party, associated with others in one of its local units, he may share in initiating the party's program, discuss issues, pick the local unit's leadership, select representatives to party gatherings in larger geographical areas, win support for his party, and engage in house-to-house campaigning at election time. Also as a member of a party, he may participate directly or indirectly in selecting its candidates for office. Finally, as a member of the larger body politic, as a citizen, he is called upon to participate in the choice of legislative, executive and judicial office-holders when election day rolls around."*

* Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System (1950), 65.

And in another place, Paul Appleby declares:

"Citizens vote (in part) by adding their names and energies to membership rolls. They vote by swelling, or failing to swell, the circulations of particular newspapers or periodicals. They vote by contributing to the popularity of particular radio or newspaper commentators. They vote in every contribution they make to the climate of opinion in a thoroughly political society."**

** Policy and Administration (1949), 168. Cf. "Research in Political Behavior," XLVI APSR (1952), 1015-1024. See also James Davies' forthcoming treatise on the psychology of participation, which is the most complete and systematic of all.

Every extension of democracy's meaning from political to social involves new criteria. Walt Whitman's words may warm the narrow pollster: "Did you, too, O friend, suppose democracy was only for elections, for politics, and

for a party name? I say democracy is only of use there that it may pass on and come to its flower and fruits in manners, in the highest forms of interaction between men and their beliefs - - in religion, literature, colleges, and schools - - democracy in all public and private life, and in the army and navy."*

* Leaves of Grass and Democratic Vistas (Everyman Ed.), 325

The surprising fact is that so great a part of the political activity of a population may be accounted for by the few queries already used systematically. The queries, though addressed to central kinds of participation, possess broad indicative value as well.**

** A research team of the Laboratory for Research in Social Relations of the University of Minnesota has been conducting for several years a dynamic and intensive study of the many correlates of political participation, awareness, and responsibility. Their principal reports are not yet published. The principal research scholar there is Herbert McCloskey. I should also like to call attention to the intensive studies of "Bay City" that will soon be published by Alice Rossi, Leiper Freeman, Peter Rossi, Cyril Sargent, and James Shipton of the Harvard Graduate School of Education. See also, P. H. Mussen and A. B. Wyszynski, "Personality and Political Participation," 5 Human Relations (1952), 65-82.

The Dimensions of Activity

What these and most other tests of political activity lack, from the standpoint of basic research into the distribution of activity, is a complete set of dimensions. Political activity, like all action, is set in a frame, and activity studies lacking a framework, though they may have elemental value, are disappointing for the theory leading

into key problems of democratic institutions. These dimensions that frame activity should be set down in the design of such studies, in my opinion. Only then would the score of an individual on political activity be clearly understood.

What are the dimensions of activity? They are the orientation or reference of the actor; the subject of the activity; the target of the activity; the medium of the activity; and the intensity or force of the action. Perhaps a simple example, set alongside a more extended definition of these dimensions will serve to clarify them. The action recorded is: Mr. Jones declares at a cocktail party that "as Americans we ought to allow free immigration."

DIMENSION OF ACTIVITY	EXAMPLE (hypothetical)	FURTHER DEFINITION OF THE DIMENSION
ORIENTATION (REFERENCE GROUP) (PERSPECTIVE)	"As Americans, we.."	A group is objectively deemed important to activists when it has to do with the struggle for power
SUBJECT	"immigration". His subject is a policy within the scope of the reference group; i.e., an internal decision.	What is discussed?
TARGET	"we ought"	The target is the group or person to be moved by the action
MEDIUM	a cocktail party; informal face-to-face group	Typical settings that are sources of political actions and communications. The medium may itself be a reference group.
INTENSITY (FORCE)	If nothing precedes or follows the statement and "A" talks of base- ball immediately after- wards, the act may be judged of weak intensity	The repetition and persistence of effort to change the condition of the target would measure the actor's force.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF
THE DIMENSION THAT
MIGHT BE OBTAINED
BY OTHER MEANS

OTHER EXAMPLES OF THE
SAME DIMENSION

THE POLITIST
(OR POLITICAL
ACTIVIST)

When asked what he most
likes to think of him-
self as, "A" replies,
"An American."

Family; church; neighborhood;
functional political group,
such as labor unions, PTA,
city council, committees of
various groups, bureaucracy.

Belongs to
political
reference
groups

"A" votes in national
but not in local
elections

Local, state, national, in-
ternational, issues; func-
tional categories such as
educational, party, labor,
farm, etc. issues; or, by
values, subjects may be
divided into power, income,
prestige, etc.

Chooses
political
subjects

"A" reads the New York
Times, "agrees strongly"
with it and says it
"generally collects
public opinion." He
writes letters to the
editor

This reference group or
others; individuals;
self.

Directs his
subjects
towards
political
targets

"A" belongs to no social
organizations but is fond
of social visiting

Mass media; groups;
individuals (other activists
or non-political persons);
intellective (intra-
communicative)

Utilizes media
that are
highly
politicized

"A's" closest friends
are devoted golfers
and yachtsmen

Degrees of expression; number
of attempts at influencing
opinions, and at influencing
action

Is dedicated to
influencing or
changing political
attitudes and
policies

In determining, therefore, the political character of a person from his contemporary behavior, the amount of and several dimensions of his political actions are calculated. If the amount of his activity is relatively "great", he is called a politist; this is a useful distinction among men, even though the distinction between a politist and a non-politist, behaviorally speaking, is one of degree. By ranking people according to their participation with political subjects and with political targets, their preference for political media, and their dedication to changing the political opinions and behaviors of others, we may establish different individual scores that can then be used (1) to test the aforesaid myth of activity; (2) to determine the social origins and characteristics of politicians; (3) to draw ~~drawn~~ implications about the relations of political institutions to other institutions; (4) to compare the politics of informal and formal groups; (5) to observe trends in the social composition of power.

Tests that include only one or two dimensions will have lesser utility. The basic test, primitive and confused, aims only at establishing a gross measure of the extent and distribution of common political behaviors. It will be observed that most activity items in existing studies are generalized as to their references, except that some unconscious tendency motivates the scholar choosing criteria towards the national or local

orientation. I believe that much surer and generally more helpful results would obtain if activity questions were framed within a known reference group of the respondent. He would not be asked: "Do you vote?" but "Do you vote in labor union elections?" or "Do you vote in local elections?" Perhaps one may expect positive correlations among a man's degree of activity in his several reference groups. But the variations will be significant and need systematic ordering, especially, as shall be shown, since leadership is so much a reference group phenomenon; activity and leadership data require therefore common base for comparisons.

IV. The Profile of Activity

Yet, despite their primitive character, the existing studies are highly useful. Their analysis, I hope to demonstrate, will give us a better conception of the nature of political participation. The political activity of a population apparently is highly skewed in the direction of high activity of the few and low activity of the many. The primitive political activity scores of a population forming a "natural" social grouping, when plotted on a graph form a J-curve diametrically opposed to the J-curve of the myth of participation.

That is, the fewest (rather than the greatest) number of individual behaviors fall at the point of greatest intensity of behavior and the greatest (rather than the fewest) number of cases fall at or near the point of least intensity of behavior.

Studies of General Activity

Few enough studies provide data for testing the theory, but the few cases all agree. Furthermore, a study of a considerable body of data of a qualitative sort on political activity, if the data were imagined to be transformed into the appropriate variables and units of measure, seems to favor the theory.

Let us examine first the data of the Woodward-Roper political activity study and plot the scores of the sample on a graph (Figure 4). The items used in the study were listed above. The distribution of scores on the scale of 0-12 follows:

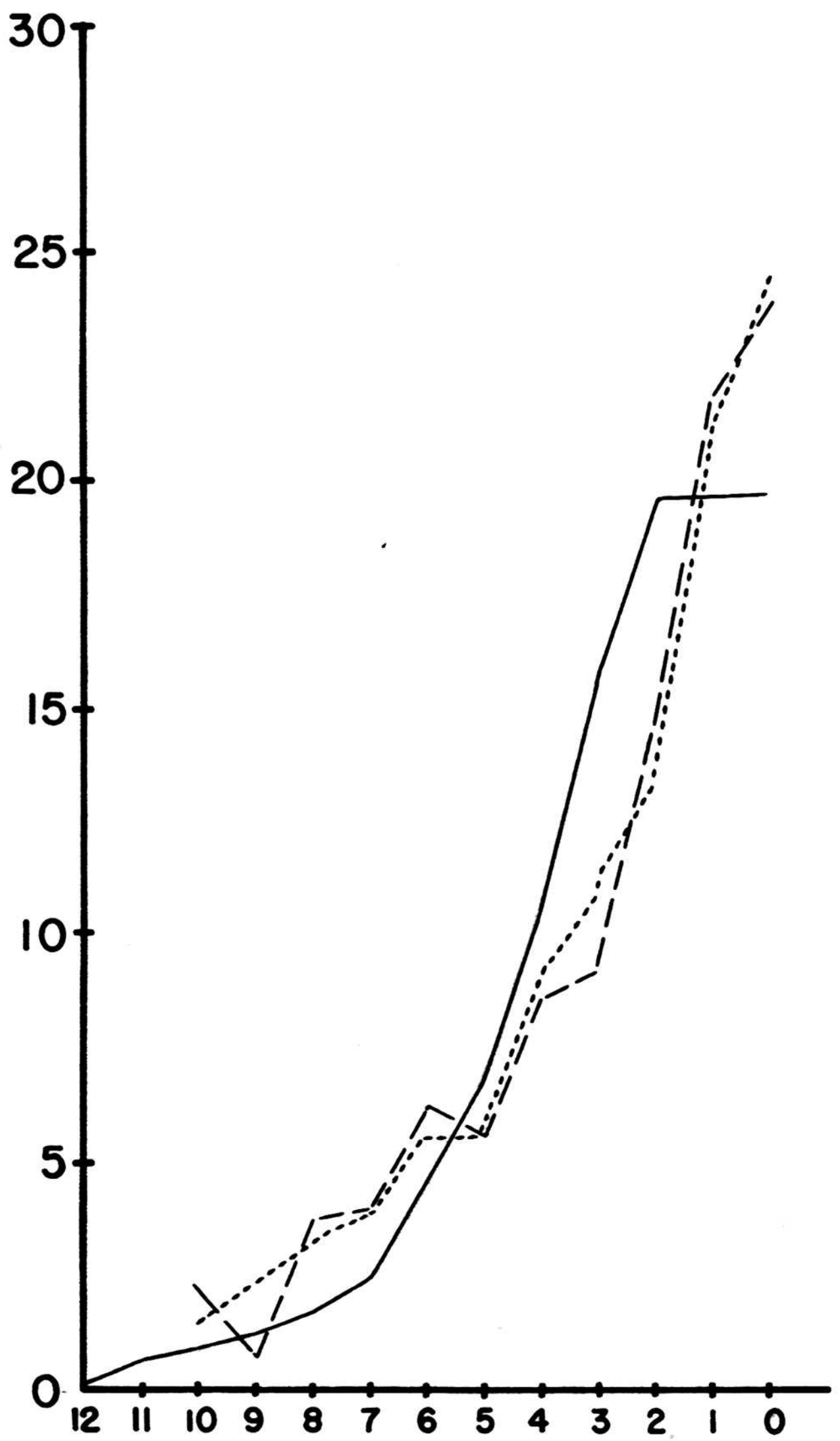
0 - 19.2%	7 - 2.4%
1 - 19.1%	8 - 1.6%
2 - 19.0%	9 - 1.2%
3 - 15.6%	10 - .7%
4 - 10.3%	11 - .3%
5 - 6.5%	12 - .1%
6 - 4.0%	

N - 8,000

% of sample
qualifying

Score

-27a-



27

Figure 4. Political Activity of Americans (after Woodward-Roper) and of Residents of an Oregon town (after Agger-Fos~~ett~~^{ke}-Ostrom)

_____ = National sample scores
 ----- = Junction City scores
 = Oregon countryside scores

A second study that may be used involves two separate area samples of a small town (1700 pop.) and the nearby countryside (1300 pop) in Oregon (see p.00 above). Asking questions similar to those of the Woodward-Roper study, but biased in the direction of participating in school affairs, they achieved results that were remarkably similar. They are plotted on Figure 4 as a curve of dotted lines. The possible score is 10, and the samples numbered 130 each for town and country.

A third study concerns the American public in the heat of the presidential campaign of 1952. Just after the election, the Survey Research Center reinterviewed a national probability sample of American adults and asked questions about their activity during the campaign. I weighted various items on activity in the following manner and computed the activity scores of the sample. The results were as follows, and are plotted on Figure 5.

Michigan National Survey Data

(Test used in constructing Figure 2a)

8 Point Scale
N=515

<u>Scores</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
0	80
1	189
2	153
3	61
4	15
5	5
6	0
7	0
8	<u>2</u>
	515

List of Items and Scoring RulesA. Voting
(1 point)

Each respondent who voted in 1952 scores one point. Respondents who did not vote in 1952 can also score one point by stating that they have voted in most of the elections since they have been old enough to vote. (This last possibility is not open to those who voted in 1952).

B. Influencing others
(1 point)

A person scores one point if he answered yes to the question: Did you talk to any people and try to shown them why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates?

C. Contributing financially to party or candidates
(1 point)

A person scores one point by answering yes to the question: Did you give any money or buy tickets or anything to help the campaign for one of the parties or candidates?

D. Attendance at
political gatherings
(1 point)

A person scores one point for answering yes to the question: Did you go to any political gatherings, meetings, dinner, or things like that?

E. Working for party
or candidate

A person scores one point for answering yes to the following question: Did you do any other work for one of the parties or candidates?

F. Membership in
political club or
organization (1
point)

A person scores one point for answering yes to the following question: Do you belong to any political club or organization?

G. Activity in
formal organizations
(2 points)

A person scores 2 points for being active in 3 or more formal organizations, scores 1 point for being active in one or two formal organizations.

% of sample
qualifying

Score

Figure 5. Political Activity of Americans,
1952 Presidential Campaign

I have also constructed a primitive activity score from a study made by one of my classes at the University of Minnesota in 1949. The sample was selected at random from voting registration cards (over 90% of the eligible adults were reported registered for the city as a whole) of one state legislative district of Minneapolis and numbered 153 persons. Points were accorded individuals as follows:

-30a-

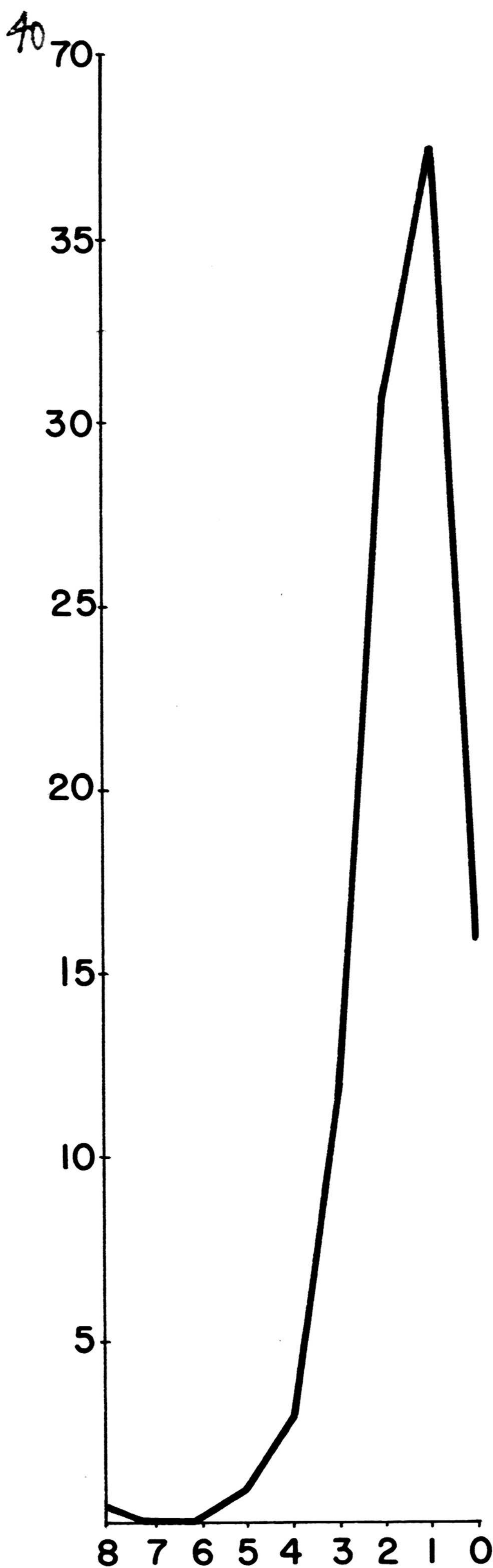


Fig 5

Minneapolis Activity Test

(1 point given for each of the following)

Belongs to 1 or 2 organizations (not including political)

Belongs to 3 or more organizations (not including political)

Belongs to a political organization

Was or is active in politics

Engaged (ever) in prolonged political activity

Knew number of his state legislative district

Named both U.S. Senators correctly

Named his State Senator and both state representatives correctly

Guessed "grade school" educational level as largest single category of Minnesota voters ("correct" answer was from state figures)

Guessed \$2000-5000 as the family income level of the largest group of voters in his district ("correct" answer was the mode of the sample's response to questions about their own income)

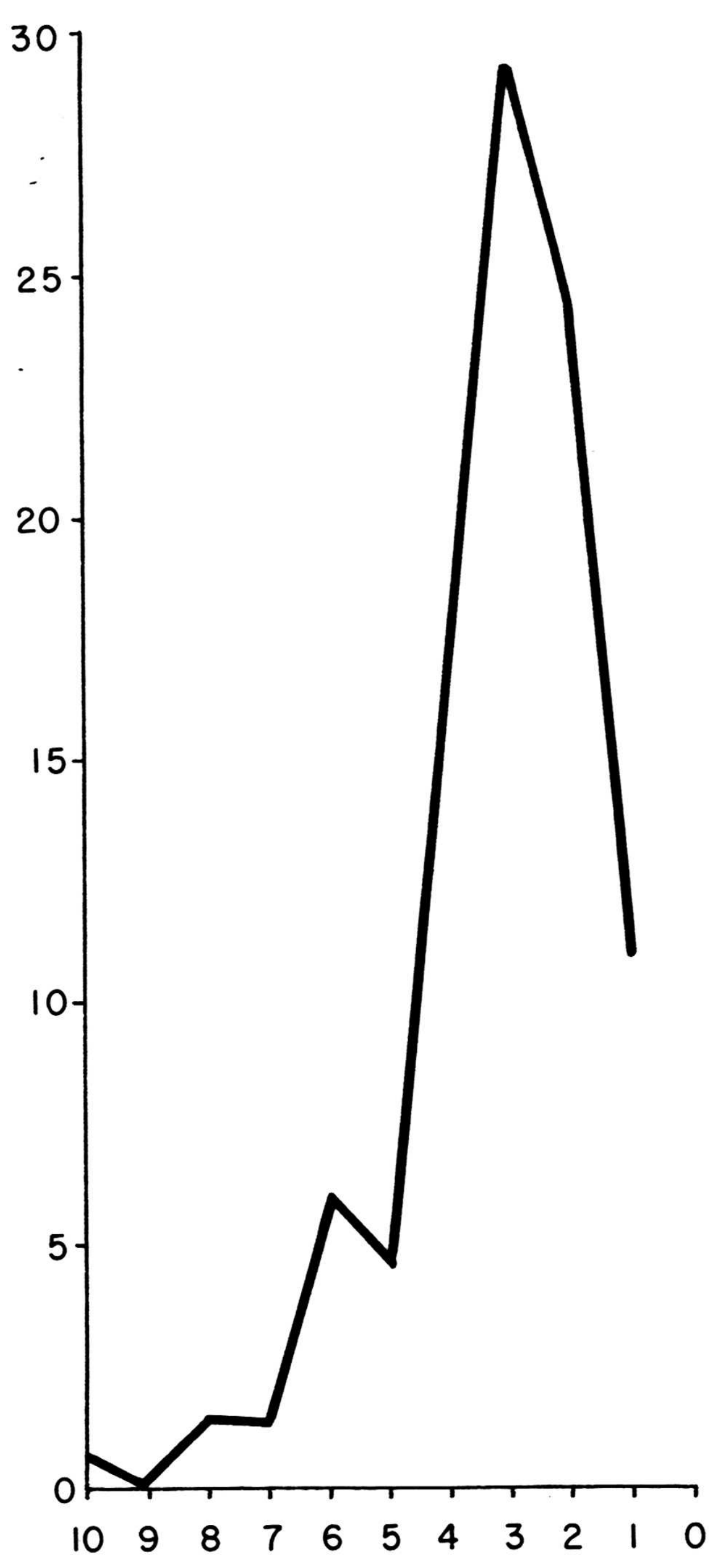
% of sample
qualifying

Score

Figure 6. Popular Activity in a
Minneapolis Legislative District

These results have been shown in Figure 6.

-31a-



31a

Joseph Goldstein, in The Government of British Trade Unions, studied systematically the extent of activity in union affairs among the members of the Transport and General Workers Union and especially one local therein, 1/AAA. From his figures, I have derived the following summary of activity among TGWU members in Local 1/AAA.

Percent of TGWU members affiliated with the British Labour Party, 1946....	35
Percent of eligibles voting for the election of the General Secretary, 1945.	38
Activity in meetings - persons proposing or seconding resolutions, making reports, initiating discussions on 1 or more of 114 occasions or cases --as percentage of membership of 1/AAA	4.1
Average percent 1/AAA membership attending meetings in 1946	3
Percent of membership responsible for 60% of the activity on the aforesaid 114 occasions	1.2

Doubtlessly, then, if the data on the TGWU were of a character to mold to Figure 1, we should have a curve of union activity similar to the curves already drawn, i.e. another "J" curve.

When one moves into the "qualititative" literature, the authorities marshalled on behalf of the J-curve hypothesis are formidable. Gaetano Mosca, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Vilfredo Pareto, Robert Michels, and James Bryce have advanced evidence for the thesis.

This writer surveyed these and other accounts in his Elements of Political Science, attempted a rough calculation of office-holders and formal and informal activists, and concluded that politists were a small fraction of the population; perhaps about one in fifty adults may be judged to engage in a modest amount of political activity.

David Riesman and Nathan Glazer, in an article on political apathy, report from intensive interviews that political participation is uncommon. They consider no man participant in politics unless he is both concerned and interested in politics and competent to act in politics. To quote them: "We defined as (1) 'involved' the person who combined high and genuine affect with competence; all others we classified as 'apathetic'. Thus we grouped in the apathetic category those (2) whose high affect and low competence indicated an 'indignant' relationship to politics (it might also be an 'enthusiastic' one); those (3) who were high in competence and affectless, and whom we termed 'inside - dopesters'; and those low in both affect and competence, whom we called (4) the 'indifferent'".*

Some four or five persons out of about 150 subjects whom they interviewed at length, were judged by the authors to be actually or potentially involved.

* "Criteria for Political Apathy," in A.W. Gouldner, ed., Studies in Leadership (1950), 537.

Some four or five persons, out of about 150 subjects whom they interviewed at length, were judged by the authors to be actually or potentially involved. Needless to say, the authors never achieve full clarity in distinguishing these magnificent specimens from the rest, but they do not conceal their admiration for the type. Apparently the way to increase this number is to teach people to love politics for its gift of the "exercise of enjoyable skills of human understanding, companionship, and management." Political involvement, they say, may become a "basic" human need, "akin to the need for sex and companionship."* To this it might be rejoined

* Ibid., 525, 528

that life would seem drab if only one out of thirty felt a basic need for sex and we had to write books to convince the others.

Patterns of Political Information

Studies of political information at the disposal of individuals (a first indication of political activity) have revealed J-curves as well, with a slowly rising curve of information. The rise is so slow that an interviewer is hard put to estimate it save in cases of complete ignorance of a matter. The curve rises abruptly at the very end to reflect the handful of people who know in a serious sense of the matter at

hand. In fact, in large sample surveys, it does not pay to try to find such individuals, and the curves of survey records, if one were to draw them, would be cut off long before the point at which the curve would begin its steep rise. Thus one may interpret studies of the level of information made by the Survey Research Center,* the National Opinion Research Center,** and

* SRC, "The People Elect a President," A. Campbell and R. L. Kahn (1952), p.59. An October 1948 national sample was asked three questions in different areas of apparently great public concern. The interviewers judged the responses in the following manner:

	<u>No information</u>	<u>Low Level</u>	<u>Medium Level</u>	<u>High Level</u>
<u>All</u>	27%	23%	18%	19%
<u>Non-Voters</u>	49%	35%	27%	23%

See also Interest, Information and Attitudes in the Field of World Affairs (1949), Publ.C 2-16, SRC.

** UNESCO and Public Opinion Today (1947), Part VI.

other opinion survey organizations.***

*** Cf., e.g. Lindsay Rogers, The Pollsters (1949), 141-3, from which may be quoted the following:

"After the Atlantic Charter had been discussed for some little while, 60 percent of the population had never heard of it and 95 percent could not name a single one of its provisions. A later poll disclosed eight in ten admitting that they had not read or heard about the Charter. Only one citizen in ten could name the Four Freedoms. Slightly more than one half of the people thought that Lease=Lend operated in reverse, but a majority of these believed that the return was "goodwill and co-operation" rather than substantial amounts of goods. At the time, polling organizations were telling us what "public opinion" was on the kind of peace settlement that was desirable (1944); and when there was a good deal of discussion of schemes for

a new world organization, more than one half of the population thought we had joined the old League of Nations. The same year, seven out of ten did not know that the Senate must approve treaties by a two-thirds vote. In September, 1947, less than one in a hundred voters could name the French representative at the United Nations (Alexandre Paradi), and only eleven knew that the American representative was Warren Austin. Only ten per cent were reported as being familiar with the veto, and one third of the people did not know where the United Nations Organization is located; but there have been many reports on "public opinion" in respect to revising the Charter of the United Nations. Six per cent know what UNESCO is supposed to do, but only one in a hundred knows what the letters stand for."

A study by Hyman and Sheatsley of the National Opinion Research Center in 1946* revealed a regularly

* "Some Reasons Why Information Campaigns Fail," 11 Public Opinion Quarterly (1947), 412-23. Cf. G. Knupfer, "Portrait of the Underdog," Ibid., 103-14

decreasing amount of public awareness (a primitive form of knowledge) of five important public issues of the times: The Report of the Anglo-American Committee on Palestine; the Acheson-Lilienthal Report on Atomic Energy; the Paris meeting of the Big Four Foreign Ministers; the proposed loan to England being debated in Congress; and the fact that Palestine was ruled by England. The distribution of public awareness of these issue-events was as follows:

<u>Aware of:</u>	<u>% National Sample (N=1292)</u>
No items	14
One item	18
Two items	20
Three items	17
Four items	19
Five items	12

Thus, only 12 percent of the public seem to have accomplished the fundamental citizen function of awareness on several issues that were well-displayed in the mass media and in political channels. If the respondents had been pressed for detailed information, the number of informed would again have sharply decreased. Information items, as indicators of participation in the great society's communication network and as indicators of intrapersonal political activity, would seem to possess the same general distributive characteristics as do "behavioral" items such as voting, joining, and agitating.

Studies of "Joining"

In a useful study entitled "Participation and Mass Apathy in Associations," Dr. Bernard Barber summarized how many Americans did or did not belong to associations and also how active they were in their organizations."

* In A. W. Gouldner, ed., Studies in Leadership (1950), 477-504. See also Philip Taft, "Opposition to Union Officials in Election," 58 Quar. Jrnl. Ec. (1944), 253-258.

The United States has probably the highest number of associations of any country in the world. Many thousands are to be found even in a medium sized American city. Yet, Goldhamer found in Chicago that of 5500 sampled residents,

30 percent of the men and 40 percent of the women, belonged to no association. Mirra Kamarovsky relates to us that most New Yorkers belong to no association. Lazarsfeld's group discovered that almost 50 percent of the people of Erie County, Ohio, belonged to no association. Warner's research team found in Yankee City that, although 357 associations existed in that town of 17,000, only 41 percent of the population belonged to one or more of them. Of those who did belong, only a small number participated. A former President of the Cooperative League of America declared once that "in the most powerful and deeply rooted People's Organizations known in this country the degree of popular participation reached a point varying between five and seven percent." Veterans organizations, church groups, fraternal orders, and discussion circles experience the same attrition of participation as politics.

Ronald Freedman and Morris Axelrod* estimate from

* "Who Belongs to What in a Great Metropolis," I Adult Leadership (November, 1952), 6-10,

a probability sample (N=749) that 80 percent of the people over twenty in Detroit belong either to a church or other formal organization or both. About 17 percent belong only to a church.

About 27 per cent belong only to non-church organizations. About 8 percent belong to four or more organizations, and only 2 percent belong to political clubs. Among those who belong to non-church organizations, the degree of participation ranges widely. Some 24 percent had not attended a meeting in three months; 20 percent had attended one meeting; 13 percent, two; 14 percent, three to five; 15 percent, six to eleven, and 14 percent, twelve or more.

Scoring in the Context of Roles

The query arises, however, as to how activity scores should be computed in a reference group context. A low scorer in a totalitarian group is likely to be most active in comparison to a low scorer in a specialized reference group.* If the individual's score is relative

* Cf. Maurice Duverger's excellent chapter on party members in Les Partis Politiques (Paris: Lib. A. Colin, 1951), Chapter II, where astute statistical and individual comparisons are made.

to other members of the group, this difference in activity will not be revealed. Consequently, the best results will be obtained by rating the individual's activity as pertaining to reference group 1, 2, etc., but scoring the extent of his activity in each group in terms of the proportion of his energies or time he allots to the given group.

This kind of scoring would result in active persons in highly active groups (as determined by average behaviors of members) obtaining the same score as active persons in inactive groups. Thus the general utility of the personal activity score (AS) would be retained, since individuals may be compared without regard to their groups. And yet the references or orientations should be maintained in the computations in order to facilitate different comparative analyses and to allow comparisons of activity and leadership scores.

The solution of this problem, however, invites consideration of another one that has undoubtedly occurred to the reader before this point. Is the J-curve hypothesis of activity scores vitiated by the experience of participation in totalitarian groups? Let us define totalitarian groups as those whose guiding themes are sanctioned to cover a high degree of a person's social life: examples would be a family, a sect, a communist or other totalitarian party, some occupations, and small groups such as special committees, of an executive, steering, programmatic kind. It will be noted that an initial selection process has occurred in practically all such groups to embrace as members only persons who may be presumed to have or have shown their willingness to have an overriding participant interest in the group. The J-curve

hypothesis, so to speak, is ruled out by the premises of the group.

It does seem that in some of these groups - - many families, totalitarian parties, committees, and occupations - - the J-curve hypothesis is not so easily evaded. For example, the totalitarian party purge is to be understood as a purging of the J-curve effect within the party.

Yet many other groups are successful in defying the effect. Their members have high activity scores forming a normal curve or even a curve extremely symmetrical in the opposite direction. Such groups have:

- 1) a high stimulation of myth among all members (accompanied by the manipulative equivalent of this, in some cases: the selection of special, deviant personality types);
- 2) a command of sanctions objectively available; and
- 3) an organization to enmesh thoroughly the membership.

In brief, then, the J-curve hypothesis applies to low-cohesive formal or informal groups, but not to compulsory or compulsive groups.

V. Political Leadership

Without knowledge of the effects of a man's activity, we are far from realizing and understanding political behavior. Apropos of political action in relation to political power, many are called but few are chosen. When one considers, on the basis of every study made thus far of political activity, that the

politists are few, perhaps one out of fifty adults when a modest activity is required to define the term politist, and that only a very few of these activities breed power in more than a negligible sense, one wonders who makes all the important political decisions. The answers may be several:

1. There are few political decisions (as against political events) of importance
2. Groups (many interacting individuals), not individuals, make decisions.*

* Another important theory and/or myth of democracy is involved here. That is the idea that, although the few may be active, the many decide - by vote, by applause, by psychological osmosis to the active. I cannot develop this problem here, but believe its solution is in any event helped, not hindered, by separating the concept of activity from that of leadership.

3. A very few men determine political events.

It will be noticed that 2 and 3 are contradictory in at least one important sense: if it is discovered that many political decisions are contributed to by many men who have low activity scores then it is unlikely that a few men determine political events. Furthermore, if most political events are determined at random, i.e. by indecipherable and atomistic social forces, then it is fruitless to go beyond activity scores to questions of group and individual leadership. I cannot address myself to this latter problem now; it may be that

political behavior is acting out a great show, or that actions determine events effectively. Rather let me assume that actions have direction and the direction achieves ends or fails to do so. Then we may still undertake an investigation of a) the leadership qualities of various kinds of politists and non-politists (activity scorers), and b) the role of the group in lending power to the action performed within the reference of the group.

The Criteria of Leadership

To accomplish the former, that is, to say who is a political leader, one must define political leadership. It must be an independent variable vis a vis activity and vis a vis the power of a group. What would such a definition of leadership be like?

It must incorporate "effects" of activity and lend something to activity. Sheer activity is not enough. What are some of the criteria by which leadership may be adjudged, over and above activity?

Probably the best all-around criterion of leadership is the judgment of observers using well-defined criteria. Trait measurement (age, weight, appearance, oral address, etc.) has the intolerable

disadvantage of dissociating a leader from his followers. It is also prey to the limitations of tangibility. That is, only those traits that are quantifiable can be easily compared and they are not necessarily the most important behaviors of leadership. So we believe that some form of competent voting to attribute leadership to people is needed, whether the "competents" be followers, or non-followers who are in a position to observe.

What is it that observers familiar with a leader are competent to observe? This is not only a methodological question. I mean it also to be a definition of leadership. What, in other words, is there to leadership that can be known, beyond activity? (Let us for the moment put aside the question of how closely activity correlates with leadership. It cannot be a perfect correlations, as will be seen from our definition of leadership.)

Leadership, going beyond activity, is an individual's extraordinary success at causing changed behavior or the feeling of changed behavior in or by a group. That is, the leader is one who has a high rating among those who change the behavior of reference or target conditions. One might think immediately of the dimension of force in the activity score, but he should recall that force was defined as energy output,

not energy effect. A leader employs effective force. He goes beyond activity into effective activity, material, psychological, or both, in changing behaviors.

This is what is meant by leadership, and why the activity score will not show leadership.* Unfortunately for the conception of leadership,

* See below, p. 00

effective activity, which under most research conditions has to be judged by observers, is associated with a psychological phenomenon that renders many observers unreliable judges. This is the event involved in charisma, or in the "halo effect" of leadership, or in the authority of office. Leaders' abilities and respect-inspiring roles are almost inseparable. It is of little avail to list abilities and, by so limiting them, to say that leader "A" has little or much ability, and little or much charisma or fame to make up the balance of the role allowed him by his followers. As with the analysis of comparative traits of leaders, it is obvious that the listing of traits begs the question of success. If followers of a charismatic leader are told, for example, that he lacks almost all tangible abilities of leadership, they are likely to reply "so much the worse for ability".

Perhaps someone will be able eventually so to disentangle a follower's mind as to dissociate "real" leadership from the "halo effect" of leadership. I do not intend to attack that problem here.

Rather, I hope to show how far we may go and how much we may learn about leadership, as against activity, by resting content with the nominations of leaders by competent men, judging leaders as a whole, in reply to questions seeking to separate leaders from followers. This may not seem just to some readers, but ^{its} ~~the~~ small successes will, I trust, prove interesting at any rate.

Leadership, by my terms of reference, is then defined by nominations of observers according to questions, or by indicators that may logically be allowed to stand for such questions. Among such questions are: "To whom do (or would) you go for advice on any problem (or a family problem or to get a building permit, or to intervene in a court case, etc.)?" "Who is the most important man in this town (or group, or club, or county, etc.)?" "Who is the greatest American that ever lived?" "Which politician do you admire most?" "How influential are your opinions in the circles in which you move?"

And as indicators: "Who is most strongly liked (or attacked) by the newspaper editorials?" "How many

persons visit X, and with what end in mind?"

The exacting requirements that might be postulated here are not, unfortunately, characteristic of existing studies. Studies of the distribution of political leaders are, like those of activity, still in a primitive stage.

The work of Floyd Hunter entitled Community Power Structure is a bold and highly commendable exception. The Center for Field Studies, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University is also conducting highly promising researches into leadership in "Bay City". Other titles will be referred to below. This is an appropriate field for the blending of several methodological currents: the situational theory of leadership, sociometry, community social class studies such as Warner's Yankee City Series, sample surveys, and group dynamics. I scarcely need add that skilful, operational political theory is imperative to the successful development of this field. Yet again, despite the many difficulties, the beginnings of an empirical theory may be offered.

VI.

The Profile of Political Leadership

The profile of political leadership in any voluntary grouping, like that of political activity, is extremely asymmetrical. If leadership scores are

plotted on a graph, they will reflect a J-curve also.

In a sociometric study of influence in Southtown (6,000 pop.) among a sample of 25 percent of the white permanent resident families in all neighborhoods of the city, Frank Stewart made several discoveries.* He asked his respondents

* "A Sociometric Study of Influence in Southtown,"
X Sociometry (1947), 11-31, 273-86.

to name persons whose advice they would seek on problems of education, politics, civic affairs, aesthetics, and on personal problems. They were also asked to name the most important people in town. The replies, therefore, were biased towards general prestige and political leadership. His 163 respondents named 500 persons in all, and the distribution of nominations was as follows:

<u>Mentioned by</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percent</u>
25 respondents	19	4
10-24 "	36	7
5-9 "	50	10
2-4 "	141	28
1 "	<u>254</u>	<u>51</u>
	500	100

In all, fifty-five persons received ten or more nominations each. Mr. Stewart plotted them on a graph which, in revised form, is reproduced below. Again the J-curve effect is prominently displayed

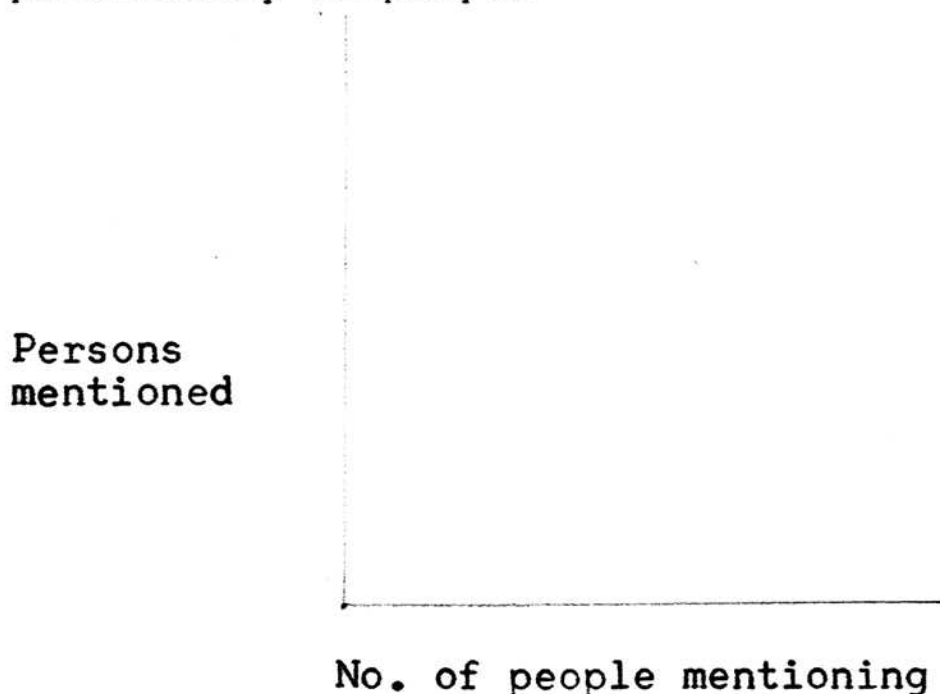


Figure 7. Southtown Top Influentials (op.cit.,p.00)

Harold Orlans' study of national polls in connection with the naming of "greatest" personages shows that relatively few names are advanced by respondents and that there is much agreement in a country on the "greatest" figures. Robert K. Merton's survey of "Rovere," in which respondents were asked to name persons who exerted influence upon them and who were generally sought out for advice regarding personal decisions, produced 1043 "mentions", involving 379

-49a-

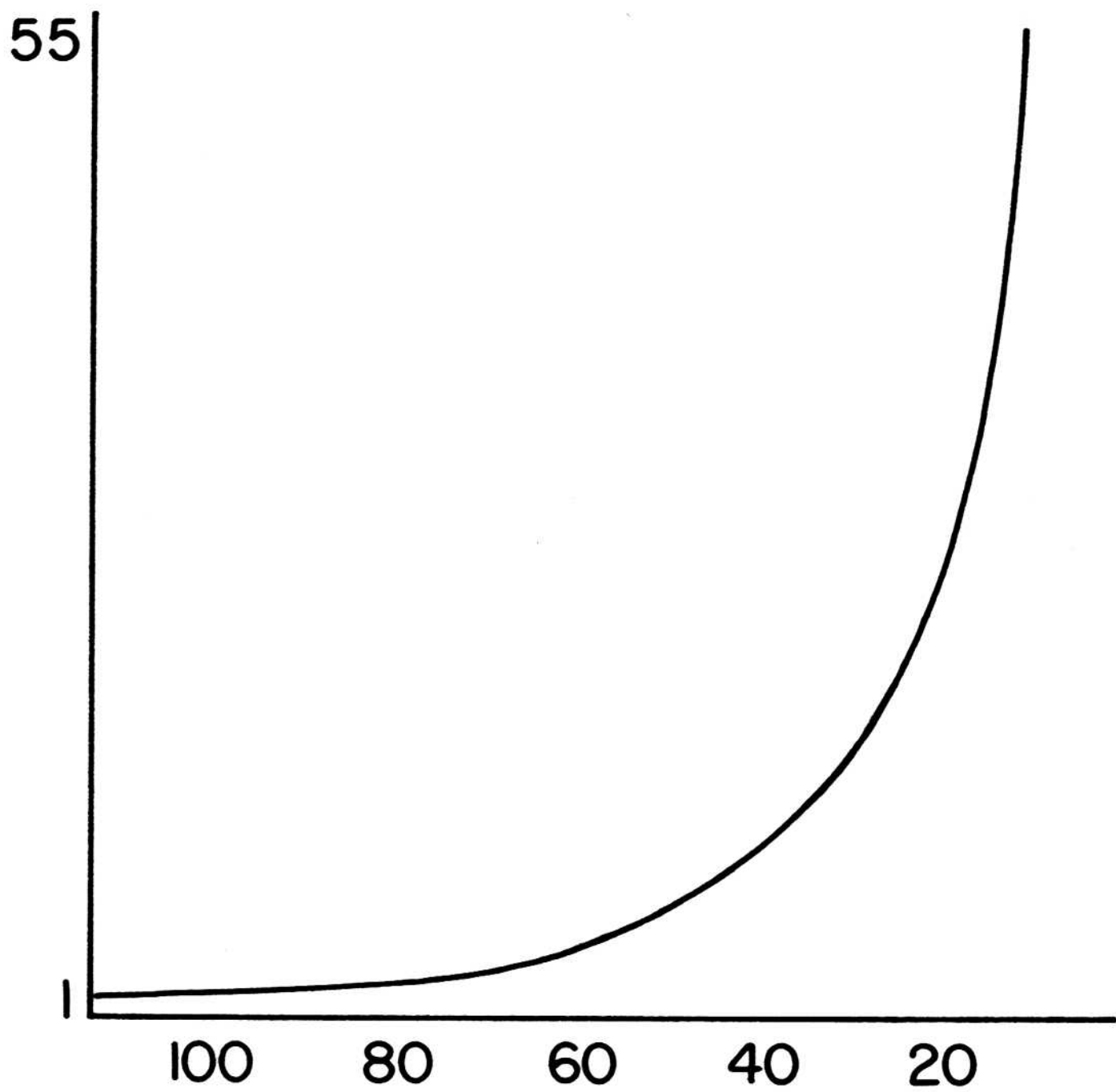


Fig 7

different persons, some of whom were referred to 30 or more times.* Of the 379, 57, or 15 percent

* "Patterns of Influence: A Study of Interpersonal Influence and of Communications Behavior in a Local Community," in P. F. Lazerfeld and F. N. Stanton, eds., Communications Research 1948-1949, 180-219.

were mentioned four or more times. Again, the data is not sufficient for the construction of a curve, but it may not be rash to declare that a J-curve is implied.

Similar results may be induced from the data presented by Ryan in his study of the leadership of four Iowa townships, by F. Loyal Greer on neighborhood leaders in Philadelphia, by Harold F. Kaufman on rural leaders in New York, by Helen H. Jennings in her study of the occupants of a woman's reformatory in New York by Thomas B. Lemann and R. L. Solomon in a study of the occupants of three small girls' dormitories, and by Mark Johns, a student of this writer, in an unpublished survey of Barrington, R.I.

Bryce Ryan, surveying at random 25 percent of all farm operators residing in four townships of Iowa, asked them to name people to whom they would go for 1) advice, 2) organization, and 3) representation on five local problems of rural schools, farm taxes, scarcity of farms, land use, and local roads. The combined nominations present the following picture:

71 persons	(53%)	were named 1 time
20 persons	(15%)	were named 2 times
11 persons	(8%)	were named 3 times
8 persons	(6%)	were named 4 times
5 persons	(4%)	were named 5 times
10 persons	(7%)	were named 6 to 10 times
7 persons	(5%)	were named 11 to 15 times
3 persons	(2%)	were named 16+ times

One individual was suggested by 63 percent of the respondents as an advisor^g, by 43 percent as an organizer, and by 40 percent as a representative. Again we have a J-curve, this time on matters of local government, and in a rural setting.*

* Social and Ecological Patterns in the Farm Leadership of Four Iowa Townships (Agricultural Experiment Station, Iowa State College, Research Bulletin 306, September, 1942), 145-202. The table is from page 153.

% sample
qualifying

No. of times mentioned

Figure 8. Leaders in Rural Iowa. (In plotting the frequencies, it was assumed for the intervals 6-10 and 11-15 that the mentions were spread evenly among the units of measure.)

F. Loyal Greer, using results of a survey administered to a cross-section of 963 residents in twenty-four representative Philadelphia 4-block areas, found that 400 names in all had been advanced in response to a request to name neighborhood leaders. Yet only fifty persons were named three or more times.* Of the respondents, only 41.1 per[#]cent could

* "Neighborhood Leaders," in Institute for Research in Human Relations, op. cit., 68-81.

or would name a leader in their neighborhood.** (I

** I. De. A. Reid and E. L. Ehle, "Leadership Selection in Urban Locality Areas," 14 Public Opinion Quarterly (1950), 262-84.

believe on the basis of this and other studies, that one would also discover a J-curve of nominating ability. This nominating ability is probably related to a person's activity score and might even be used to build an activity test.) Unfortunately, the frequencies of nominations for the neighborhood leaders were not given and the J-curve in this study may only be uncertainly implied.

Harold Kaufman reported, among other matters, a finding concerning the distribution of leadership in a rural New York community of less than 1000 subjects. His formulation is not optimal for our purposes, but a

J-curve is implied in his discoveries about the centers of contact of people when away from business or work. Respondents were asked to name persons they visited with most under such circumstances. "Eighty-three percent of the total population, or 790 individuals, received one or more choices as an associate. The mean number of choices per person was 4.2. Forty-three individuals, or 4.5 percent of the total of 954, received thirteen or more choices."* Kaufman called

* Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community (Ithaca: N.Y. Cornell University Agricultural Experimental Station, 1944), 12.

these last persons "informal leaders" and they also would generally conform to the notions of a leader in this study.

One of the reports of Helen Jennings on her researches at the New York Training School for Girls is more helpful in presenting a profile of leadership distribution.** She presented a table of the number of

** I Sociometry (1937-8).

times an individual, under stated conditions, was "listed by others as an acquaintance" and called this frequency a measure of her sphere of potential influence. The spheres of potential influence of the 467 subjects are graphed below in Figure 9.

- 53 a.

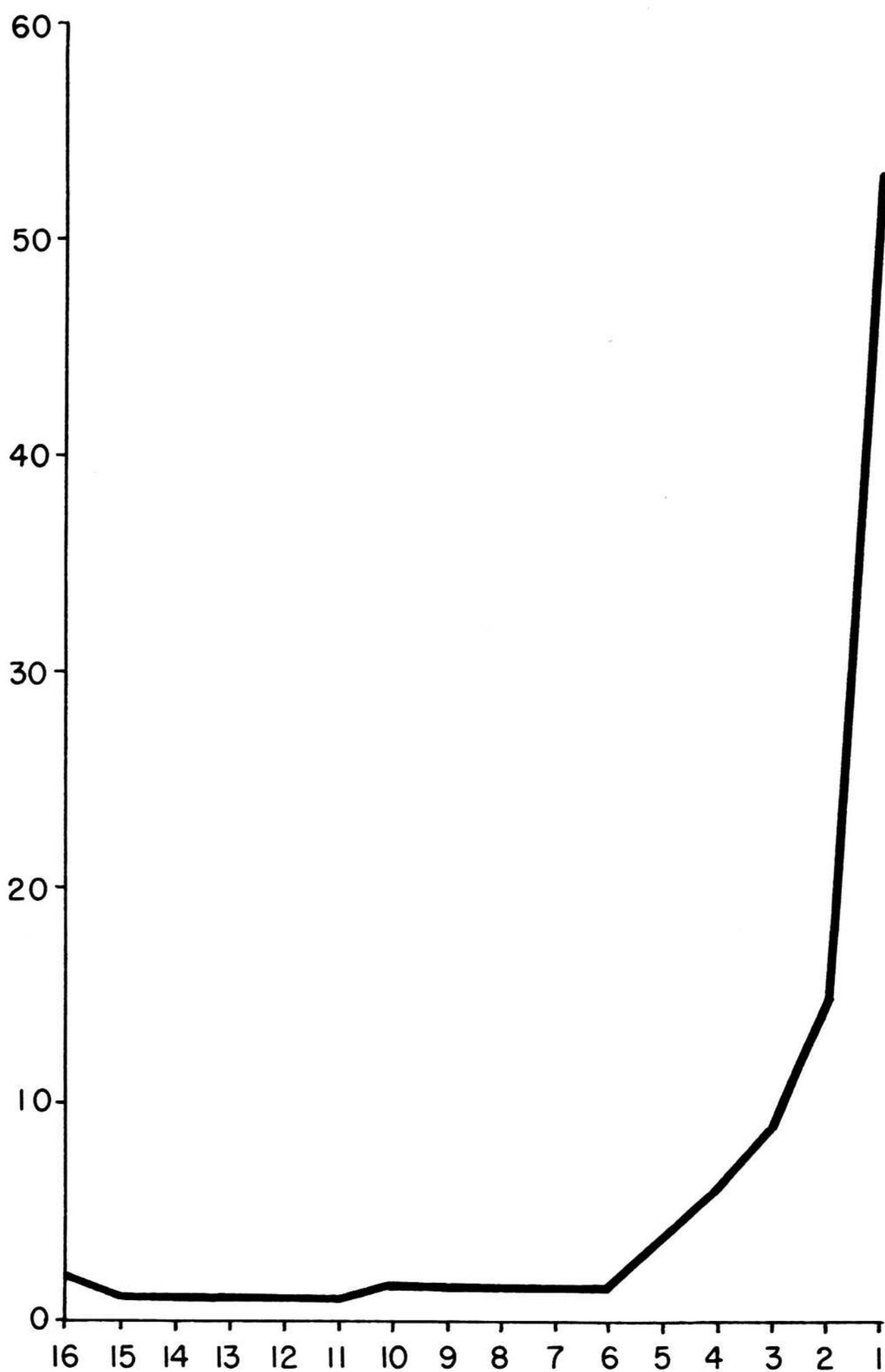


fig 8

No. of girls
qualifying

No. of mentions

Figure 9. Potential Influence in a
Girls' Training School *

* I Sociometry, 131.

Another report of Jennings, describing the attractions among 236 white girls in the same institution, is even more enlightening.* Each girl could name, without limit, the girls residing anywhere

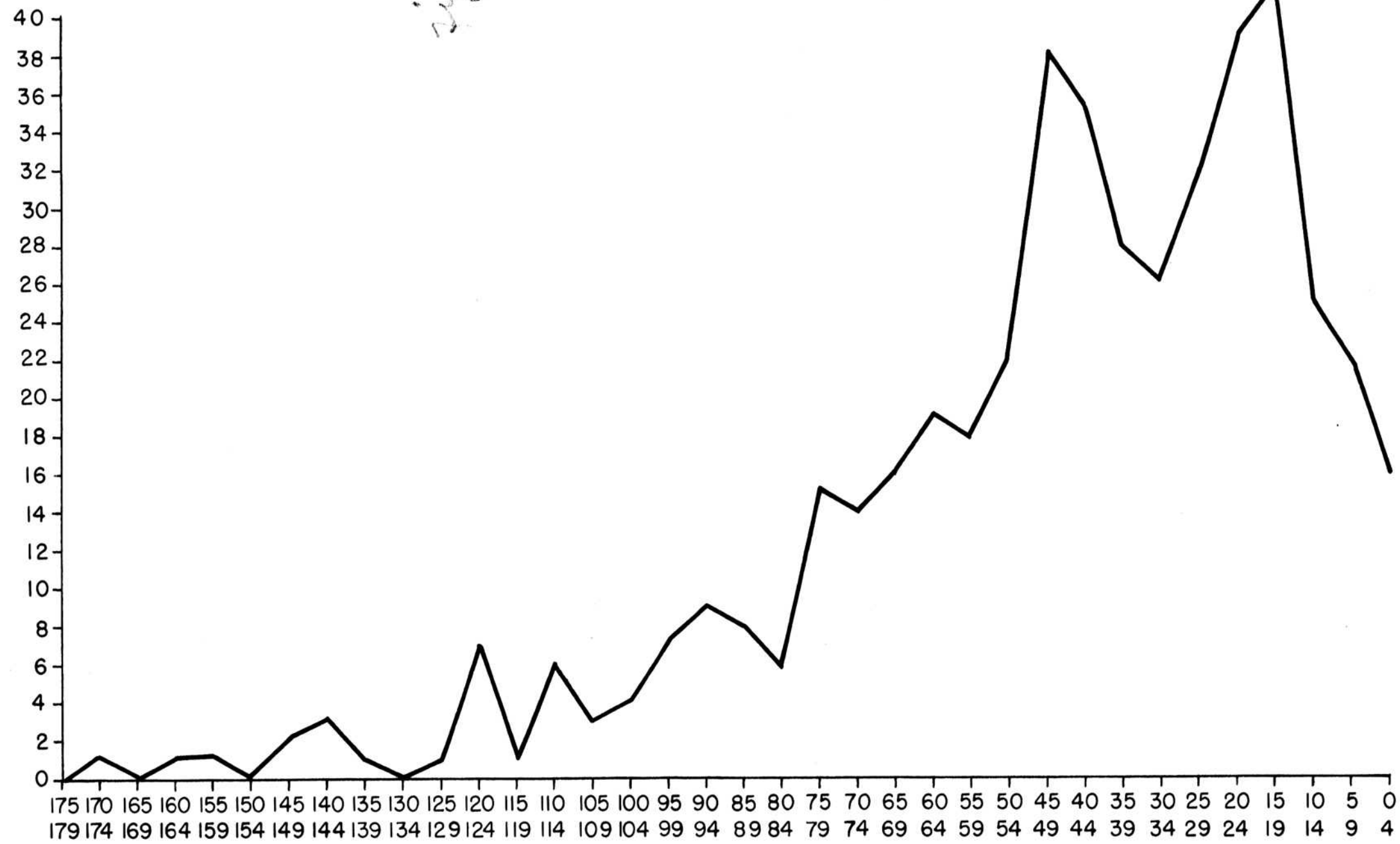
* Incidental assistance is afforded us also from another sociometric analysis. Thomas B. Lemann and R. L. Solomon studied choice and rejection behavior in three small girls' dormitories and found the following distribution of choice frequencies:

<u>No. of choices</u>	<u>No. of individuals</u>
0-5	14
6-10	11
11-15	15
16-20	11
21-25	4
26-30	2
Over 30	1

"Group Characteristics as Revealed in Sociometric Patterns and Personality Ratings," Sociometry Monographs (Beacon House, 1952), No.27, 79.

fig. 9

-542-



in the institution, with whom she would like to live or work. The frequency distribution is plotted in Figure 10 below.

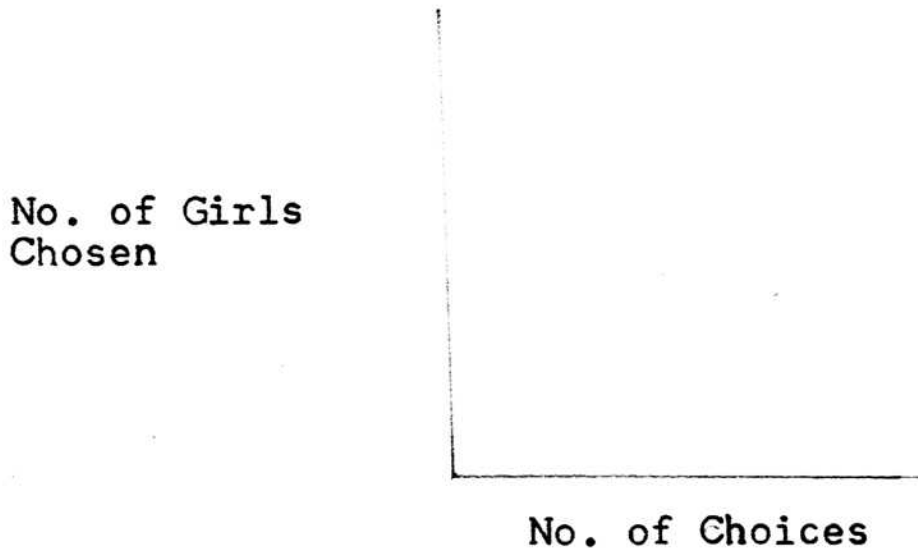


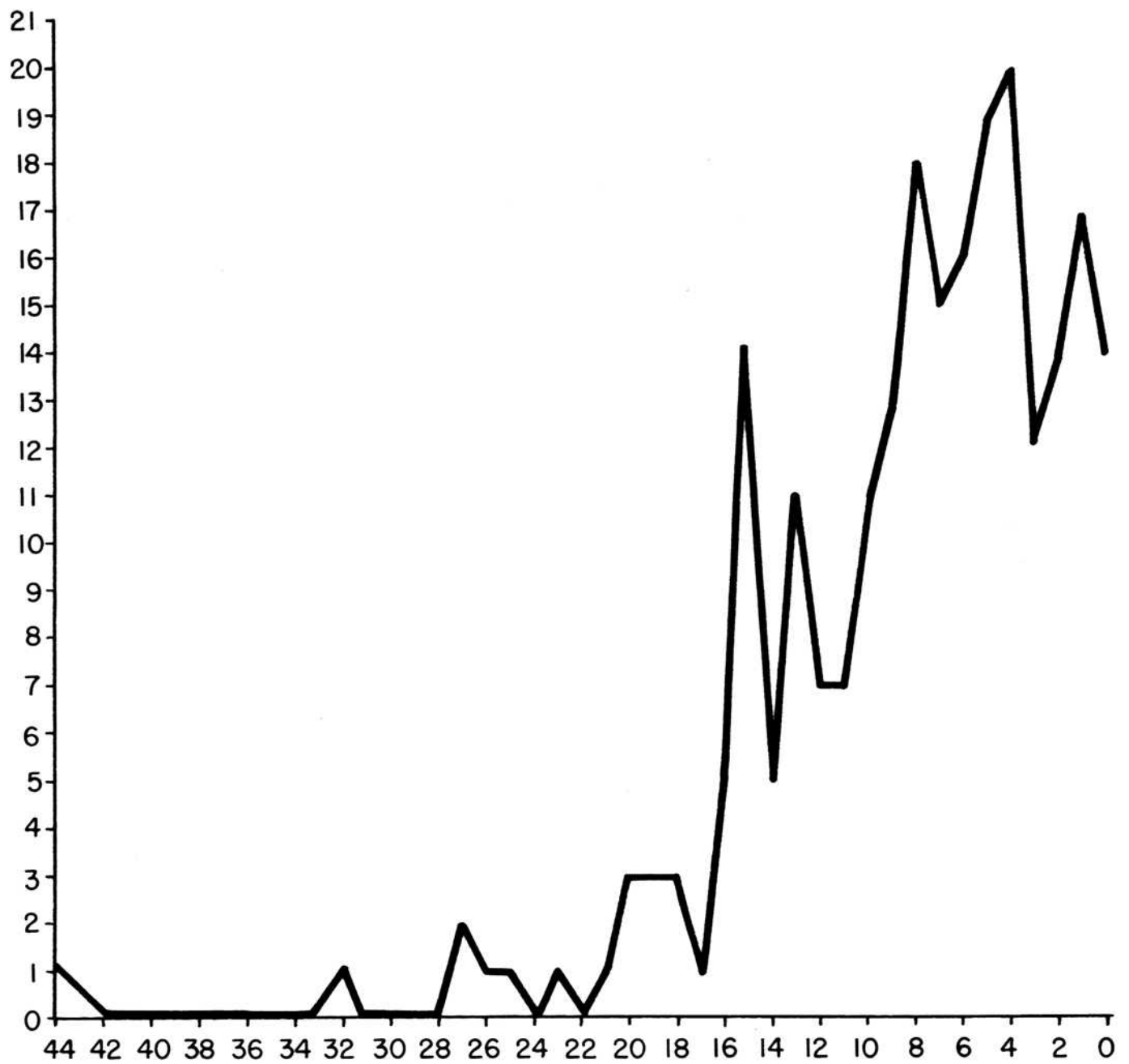
Figure 10. Choices Among Institutionalized Girls.*

* II Sociometry, 94.

The study of the elite of Barrington, R.I., by Mark Johns, proceeded by interviews of formal office-holders, governmental and party. More were Republican (27) than Democratic (13), as the town was Republican. These top influentials, when asked to "List the people who are, in your opinion, the most important in civic affairs in Barrington," gave varying numbers of names. Sixteen persons in all are mentioned and it can be seen in the bar chart below (Figure 11) that they fell into the expected J-curve pattern. The Republican and

-55a-

Fig 10



Democratic choices are distinguished in order that the reader may decide whether the imbalance of subjects from the two parties was creating the J-effect. I think not, since the most prominent Democrat received no more choices from the Democrats than did the top Republicans.

No. of
Choices

Figure 11. Individual Leaders Chosen by Other Leaders in a Rhode Island Town (N=40)

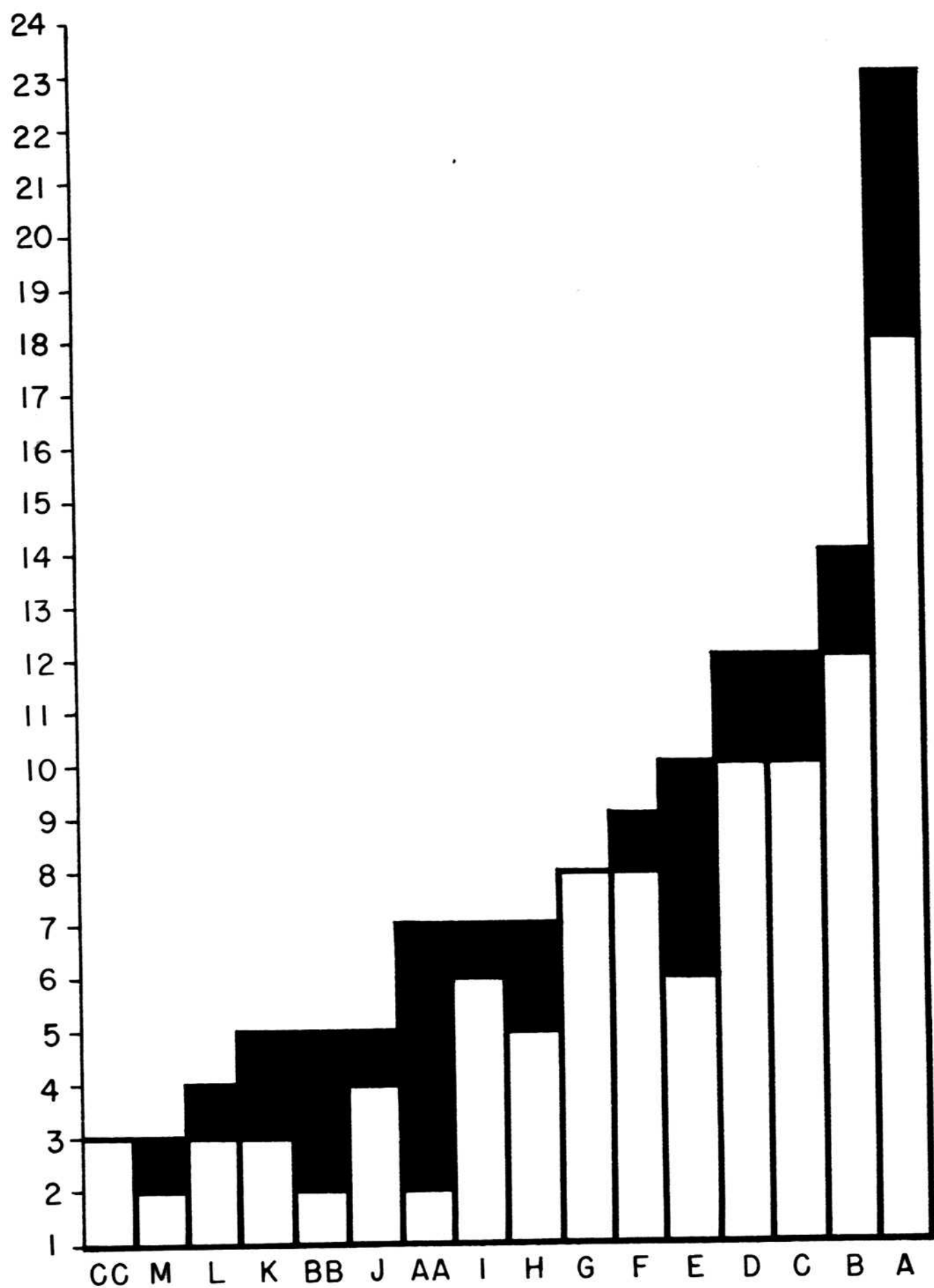
Democratic choices
Republican choices

Free Choice and Restricted Elections Compared

Perhaps this may be the point to make certain distinctions with regard to political parties and systems of voting. The J-curve hypothesis of leadership covers cases in which either one person or more than one person attains the top scoring or a score close to the top. It would thus include cases in which the institutional rules governing leadership possibility require that no single

- 56a -

28



person be allowed a monopoly or near-monopoly of choices. In free election systems, ordinarily two or several persons share the great majority of choices. In a dictatorship, the coerced choices for one man approach one hundred percent. Less structured situations such as occupy most of our attention in this paper vary widely in the number of top-scorers that may occur in leadership tests.

Comparisons of Activity and Leadership Scores

If the scores of individuals in political leadership tests are compared with their political activity scores, considerable similarity would be evidenced. Several studies of leaders show a high incidence of office-holders, avid readers, people who are said to "do things" for people, and other indicators of high political activity among the well-chosen. But only one study has precisely attacked the relationship of activity to leadership. Ronald Lippitt, Norman Polansky, and Sidney Rosen studied sixteen summer camp cabin groups in 1950*. They made exacting samples of

* "The Dynamics of Power," V Human Relations (1952), 37-64, especially 46-7.

the volume of individual activity, and compared the resulting scores with scores of the power attributed the same individuals by other members of their cabins. An additional measure of "frequency of successful influence

attempts was taken. It was discovered that leaders (attributed power-holders) were indeed more active than non-leaders, especially in social affairs. But even when corrections were made for total activity of each child, there was little change in the strong association (Ave. group RHo .60 and .45 for 8 groups of one camp and 8 groups of another) between leadership and frequency of successful influence attempts. In addition, the higher a member's attributed power (leadership) the more likely that each of his attempts would be successful. (Ave. Rho for 16 groups = .42). Obviously, despite the definite association of activity with leadership, a great amount of activity had no influence on the behavior of others.

The relationship is not one of identity nor fully one of cause and effect. I would surmise that, in general, the resemblance of activity and leadership scores is owing to such factors as these:

1. In open competitive enterprises, an increase in activity is followed by an increase in achievement where achievement has to be loosely defined, as, e.g., money, influence, love.

2. Where few are active, leadership is more easily achieved.

3. The distinctions between activity and leadership among high and low scorers are blurred by inadequate data on all levels of investigation.

4. Among very high scorers, competition is somewhat more rigorous, but ordinary survey data will not distinguish between very high activity and top leadership. Studies have to be designed with this special purpose in mind. It is not difficult to imagine that, at a level of high activity in any group, there will be found men of equal devotion to their work who receive markedly different leadership scores.

However, if careful comparisons would be made among high AS (Activity Score) and high LS (Leadership Score) people, in a given reference context, I would predict a sharper monopoly by top leaders than by top activity scorers. At a certain point in the leadership process, the choices of top leaders become self-accelerating. They seem to lose the gravity of the mass and produce the phenomenon of the Duce in mass societies or the halo effect of leadership, as Knickerbocker calls it. Fame loses its dependence upon activity and even upon effects and becomes self-generative. The actions of such a leader, in fact, may even define activity and effects, so that it becomes useless to try to measure him among his followers by a rating in their terms. He is "a law unto himself"; "if he does it, it must be right"; and so forth. If for no

other reason than a methodological one, it is advisable to separate activity from leadership in order to watch for the beginnings of this phenomenon. I see no reason why it will not ultimately be understandable in the same logic and language in any group; if so, we will have discovered a way out of the conceptual confusion that has beset studies of great and minor leaders and led to foreclosing certain problems unassimilable to either microscopic or macroscopic study of leadership.

Problems of the Shape of the J-curve

It has been shown that the J-curve generally describes heterogeneous individual scores of the political activity and leadership in non-totalitarian social aggregates. Several issues arise in judging the meaning of these discoveries. One question, which we had mentioned earlier as being put off until this time, is the fixation of the curve's extremes. This is really two problems: 1. What can be said about the behavior of the curve at the high-scoring end? 2. What can be said about the behavior of the curve at the low-scoring end? In addition, one may ask: 3. Is a normal distribution of scores on activity and leadership possible, and, if so, under what conditions? And also, finally: 4. How may the J-curve theories be used for developing farther the theory of activity and leadership? Let us consider these questions in their stated order.

The High-Scoring Extreme

Extremely skewed curves, such as those of political activity and leadership may, on the high-scoring end, be infinitely prolonged or may ultimately close with the x-axes as I have drawn them. Infinity may be avoided simply by imposing impossible items upon the scored individuals. No man is politically active twenty-four hours a day. Therefore, there is no point to worry about the high-scoring extreme of the curve. When all "significant" distinctions in activity have been incorporated into the scoring, there will invariably be a tiny group of qualified persons. The thing being measured, activity, is not a ^a natural or uncontrollable datum and it is sufficient for all conceivable theoretical and empirical purposes if its significant presence is exhausted. Naturally, it is of great concern that the study of activity be pursued up to this point where all relevant individuals have been placed. But there is little likelihood that the curve will change its shape at this end. One of my students, Mr. Glenn West, recently reported the results of his survey of Democratic workers of Santa Clara County, California. His basic population was

already composed almost entirely of politists; yet the politists among themselves displayed a J-curve pattern of activity in the 1954 general election campaign. The same is probably true of leadership curves where it is unlikely that a sudden bunching of highly chosen persons will occur at the curves' extremes. With leadership, of course, the problem is simplified by the exhaustion of candidates, so there need be little conjecture on this point but only more studies.

The Low-scoring Extreme

The low-scoring extreme of the curve presents more difficulties. Some data, in the Woodward-Roper study as described above, indicates a tendency towards a continuous acceleration of non-activity, from high to low, with the greatest frequency of subjects quite inactive. Yet other scores do not follow this pattern; the greatest frequency occurs near but not at the zero score (e.g. the Minneapolis and Michigan studies). Similarly, in the Jennings study of leadership, the greatest frequency occurs before the lowest point of the scale is reached. In the Minnesota case, three items contributed to a minimum level of activity: knowing the most frequent income level in the district (which was an obvious answer); knowing the two United

States Senators (one had just been elected; the other - - less known, incidentally - - was an old campaigner); and belonging to one or two organizations of any kind. In the Jennings study, a girl had to be quite isolated before falling at the bottom end of the scale. Nevertheless, it is apparent that interesting deviations from the pure J-curve form may occur at the low-scoring extreme. Items can be devised that would produce these deviations in practically any activity and leadership scale.

Producing Normal Curves

The questions may then be asked: Do not such deviations indicate the artificiality of the J-curve hypothesis? Cannot any population be shown

* Some discussion of this and the preceding problems may be found in George J. Dudyca, "An Examination of the J-Curve Hypothesis Based on Punctuality Distributions," I Sociometry (1937), 144-54.

to follow whatever distribution one prefers? Cannot, for example, a normal curve picture activity and leadership as "naturally " as any other type of curve? Taking up these questions in turn, I think we may dispose of the first one easily. If the aforesaid myth of democracy is important, or if a multitude of observers and citizens regard as politically

significant those types of actions and choices that invariably produce a J-curve when plotted for a population, then there is no use arguing the "artificiality" of the process.

With reference to the point that any population can be shown to follow whatever distribution one prefers, a categorical denial is impossible. The assertion is "true", but major questions of significance make it unsubstantial. To create a curve corresponding, for example, to the myth, one would have to ask trivial and politically minor questions of the population. Voting, especially under compulsory systems, if taken as the sole measure of activity, would produce something like the myth curve, since perhaps 70-98 percent of qualified people may vote in many jurisdictions. Or one could ask questions such as "What is the name of the President?" and "Have you ever talked politics with anybody?" to bolster the same kind of distribution.

To show what effects may be obtained by the addition of new items and weights to a test of political activity, I have reconstructed the data from the Survey Research Center's study of the national electorate in the campaign of 1952. Earlier,