

If all voters decided equally on the community interest - preference for one party etc, would be randomly distributed thruth community;

interest - preferences for one party etc. are
s: randomly distributed throughout community

- G. Williams Amer. Soc.

- Same as a - d above, including groups representing combinations of types.

(to be treated principally as a problem in the mobilization of political forces : organization of pressure groups)

II. Hence, this lecture is chiefly concerned with tracing out the lines of unorganized separatist influence as reflected in political behavior and especially voting behavior. Development to be as follows:

A. General principles of social specialization

B. Territorial separatism

C. Separatism arising from the division of labor (economic)

D. Cultural separatism

E. Ideological separatism

F. Traditionalism : the temporal elongation or resistant to separatism.

5 III. General principles of unorganized social specialization

1. Presumably there are as many motives to be traced through the political process as there are general and typical values possessed by man that can be furthered by achieving political power:

Following Lasswell's classification, these would be:

Power itself
Respect
Rectitude
Affection
Well-being
Wealth
Skill
Enlightenment

Of these, political power, respect, affection, and wealth seem a priori to be the values primarily sought in democratic politics.

— political power: the right to be taken into account in the making of decisions runs through the whole political process as a partial or whole motive.

— Respect, the establishment of one's standing in the eyes of others is also a common motive. So also is affection, the establishment of a relationship of identification, and so is wealth, the establishment of a high intake of economic benefits.

- 8
S. Williams -
Interp. Tensions
2. A separatist element in the political process is formed from a continuing contradiction of demand and receipt of one or a combination of the values cited. These demand-receipt contradictions are by definition outside of the community relationships (which are popular customs & habits in a goal or functional relationship to a mixture of base values.)

— Thus locality A is separatist in the political process with respect to locality B in that members of A accord the right to the values listed primarily to other members of A, and wage political warfare with that aim in mind.

— Thus a division of labor separatism occurs as members of a diffuse grouping A accord the right to the demand and receive the economic value x to themselves or to those they deem will accomplish the transfer of the economic value to themselves (e.g. the socialist party; the conservative party)

— Thus a culture group A (racial or national - divorced from its territorial base for purposes of analysis) is separatist in that it demands for themselves power, respect, affection (not commonly) and or wealth, "themselves" being defined in terms of an affective, power, respect, or other identifications.

— Thus an ideological group A is separatist in the political process when its members accord the right to the listed values primarily to other members of A.

3. The separatist group itself is the resultant of a number of people juncturing at the same point with respect to one or more of the values listed, with its particular name resulting from a particular disposition or combination of its own value position.

Legal and Behavioral Study: A problem in Methodology

1950

Law and Behavior: A

Elections

Relationships in Approaches to

Legal and Behavioral Political Science, with special reference to comparative the study of Elections

(No necessary barrier to either. Each has own use. Law is more "vocational" in some cases than

1. The baffling prob. of how to treat legal data in pol. sci. What is behavioral data in pol. sci?

" " law in pol. sci. What are reasons for legal study

~~Reasons for~~

- Why should law be translated into behavior?
- to communalize data
 - to universalize generalizations
 - to solve problems involving both law & behavior.

(behavioral rather hypotheses, in large part)

2. Case Study The ~~case of~~ theory of elections

The western election system

The case of Minnesota

The case of China

Deficiencies of the legal study for compar. areas
Deficiencies of the legal study for internal case analysis.

(great no. of variables)

(changing character of pol. behavior (opini., i. del., opposition etc. - cf. study of German. Soc. Dem. methods.)

3. Conclusions

~~Conclusion~~

Law should be strictly defined as instit. of behavior
Law is a source of hypothesis about behavior
Legal history has only hypothetical value to behavioral study
(original intent, i.e.)
Law should be translated as strictly defined. meanings then must be obtained by behavioral study, in which court decisions, briefs, etc. find their place.

Legal variables are likely to be too numerous,
even if one can employ them behaviorally.

Hence one must group them around concepts
of a non-legal sort in order to work with
pol. sci. materials on a more general level.

The ^{construction} of variables in pol. sci., as in other
sciences is so difficult in itself that it shld
not be encumbered by the choices & usage
of another field.

If a phenomenon exists in several cultures,
a term must be coined to embrace its
manifestations. A term unique to a given
culture is not satisfactory for this purpose.

(sometimes a ^{coined} behavioral concept will
coincide roughly w/ a cluster of legal
variables (rules). This is an effect of a political
movement, ideology and/or interdependence of variables,
~~One shld~~

Warner

Social Class in America (C)

On Reconciling Class Designation to EP & ISC (pp. 209 K) ^{led}
33 errors in social-class prediction among 200 Americans.
(more among Ethnic - Scand., Pole, ~~that Polish~~ Mountain White)

16 errors showed that other correctly-designated indivs. had same ratings.
- Thus change in scale would have thrown off latter.

17 others showed no consistent pattern of deviation

∴ ISC held to.

Explanations of error

1. Indiv. idiosyncrasies of behavior
2. Possibility of some general characteristic not included in ISC
e.g. neat appearance
3. Social mobility This reflected in EP, not immediately reflected in ISC
4. Possible error in placement under EP
owing to clinical method used.
- A check showed (3) above acts for some discrepancies.

p. 85 "Political and governmental institutions, not including associations engaged in political activities, are largely useless for Evaluated Participation because they spread through the whole status structure. Furthermore, official positions in the governmental structures are occupational & become part of the occupational characteristic of the I.S.C."

On types of mobility (p. 23 - money, edu, occupation, talent, skill, philanthropy, sex, marriage
In all cases there must be social acceptance.

9

Intro: to Separatism

The variety of affil.
most quite weak
many non-political

The politically relevant ones are reflective
of relatively few elementary or basic
interests -

There are: traditionalism

localism (regionalism, local
community-bias,
neighborhood)

economic

religion

race & nationality

(Social class hardly in U.S.) *

3 B.

From these interests come gp. or fr. But
these gps. never represent the whole interest
bec.: a) no whole separated interest by
definition

b) lack of partic. in such vol. gps.

c) " " perception of objective
positions

d) lack of dignity, leadership, etc.
limit action & actions of the gps. Still

gps. rep. spec. interests more than community
interests

From social separatism as well as differing
particip. in community structure, come
different perceptions of politics (Baroness)

Separatism exists within &
among indivs. w/ respect
to pol. community, i.e.
not all same view in
same intensity. Are there
universal community
orgs - scarcely. Most
orgs. are primarily
based on special or
separated interests

-- For example, the Marxist concept of the proletariat is of a group occupying a distinctive position in respect to the means of production and a particular ideological position with respect to correcting ~~of~~ that condition.

2 4. Separatism does not imply cohesiveness or solidarity within the separatist element.

-- e.g. the presence in many men of a motive of economic self-betterment via politics does not mean that the men are inevitably joined in political action at all.

in two senses: their positions may be contradictory
their positions, if alike, are not
necessarily coordinated or ~~rational~~
operationally rational

-- indeed, a separatist element in itself is less cohesive by far than the community which is founded on a heavy interdependence. often with subjective realization of the interdependence and pressures for conformity. In fact, there may exist a community demand that each individual should seek his economic self-interest without attempting to combine for any group effort.

5 5. Separatism of the same type (e.g. working class demands for wage betterment) may be organized or unorganized (e.g. union bargaining and strike and at the same time electoral behavior of certain kind among individual workmen) Thus different results accrue: as when the unions, backed by their workers fought Taft in organized politics but were deserted by many workers under the individualistic, unorganized conditions of the polling booth on election day (1950). On the other hand, some kinds of separatism may be almost impossible to organize (e.g. mild ideological convictions; anti-organizing economic competitive separatism of old liberal type, personal religion or ~~religion~~ religious scepticism) These separatist influences operate in politics with only individuals as carriers (and typically through issues) ergo, the individualist's demand for a politics of issues: i.e. he wants politics patterned according to unorganizable elements.

6-n (1) marked passages in *Wms. Interp. Tension* 51-61,
on conditions under which
social conflict exist,

IV. Territorial Specialization and Separatism

1. More pervasive and ancient than the economic division of labor type of specialism. Came soon after the family or probably grew out of the settlement of families.
2. Never eliminated by centralism and centralization: *for many local contacts (the dominant ones can't wreck lives it can't involve thoroughly people)*
(Census enumerative breakdown usually resulted in past Michels on the local basis of nationalism Fixation on the familiar)
3. Sectionalism in national politics
e.g. antagonisms in Continental army *Common Cause Mass. vs. Virginians (weck. we have lost Presidency today)*
Key's Southern Politics 3rd party movements concentrated in farm areas
4. Ruralism in national politics & in state politics
Jeffersonianism in agrarian - the rootless urban masses
Key Southern Politics
The rural way of life as put forth in debates on apportionment.
5. Home town localism
6. Neighborhood proximity groups *W. W. Hyde - Street Corner Society*
The Glenside study
Base Plunkett
3rd Dist. in Chgo. anti-"foreignism"
cf. "squad cohesion" in war.
cf. "work group" in industry -
7. Anomic localism
 - the die-hard core of locals in mobile communities
 - the pyramiding of interests vs. technological developments and administrative efficiency
 - defensive localism vs. creative localism
 - the rootlessness of new mobile recruits to local centres
 - the split localism (bedroom vs. work communities)
 - the loss of rationalization of localism in the face of the great communities.

C ①

DON'T neglect
WAR PLAGUE
FAMINE Neo-Malthusian
or diff. birth rate

Lecture 8. Political Mobility

possible Redefine social class as appropriate in relation to a specified value.
Political effects of social class influences
To what extent does social class exist in America

With respect to what values does social class exist in America

Mostly wealth and industrial control
cf. Taussig and Joselyn Miller
others Warner
C. Wright Mills Bendix Counts (Bk of Educ)

1900-1930 (40% receive help). Disproportion of Prot., nat. form, etc.

To what extent is this a stable class.

Prestige or respect

Skill or occupation

Conclusion - wealth is most stable value in USA for class - individual - retentiveness
prestige based on address to community is next - Social + - high level.
occupation weaker - High level - low retentiveness (i.e. high access)
power - low level - low retentiveness
enlightenment - " " " "

We conclude that we can make out the outlines of a social class condition in America. It is weak, but present and it relates mostly to a combination of wealth & prestige (using index of address to community). We have accomplished this by combining social eval. and retentiveness. This combination seems to be the best operational definition of class. That is, it will have the most meaningful behavioral correlates, such as political attitudes, mode of life, etc.

Retentiveness, however, is merely the reverse of social mobility, and the whole class problem may be studied as a problem in social mobility. Then the task is to define social mobility, search for its indices, and apply those indices to political affairs to determine the effects of social mobility.

The same values exist in soc. class & non-class society, but they are, for a variety of reasons transiently possessed. We shall show why this is so later. Meanwhile any student situation is likely to stir up the same value mixture that, if concealed, makes for class. e.g. army NEWSWK

Social Mobility = to which person participate in new groups.
- Horizontal (shifts on same status level (often moving in space)
- Vertical (change in status rankings)
(both interact = viz. Frontier's effect of High mobility of restless effect
Cause bumping effect & nat. mobility

Big defect of class studies (inability to cope w/ concepts or indices of mobility) War effect.

Circulation of elites

[circulation = change in gp membership, not including change in size.]

∴ Circ. of elites = circ. of the power gp. in any given society or group.

I. The General Theory of Community Psychology

Childhood Experiences

Adult Experiences

A. parallel yet B. same

Separation Anxiety = underlying dynamic

Why is SA a necessary concept?

You have to explain how it is that such a thing as anomie exists. You have a continuous stream of ~~childhood~~ childhood & adult experiences that show the subtle bonds of community, only a portion of them being explainable as logical and rational common interests on the superficial level.

II. The theory of Social separationism

a) Just as in childhood, the attachments may be multiple, so in adulthood may they be several.

b) e.g. dual nationalities
internationism (cf. Bayhoun)
racial loyalty
religious loyalty

occupational "
neighborhood "

group loyalty

← can cut across several groups: e.g. a political party comprising several experiences of also groups (Demo of Georgia)

c) Conflict of loyalties.

III. Utility of ~~Study~~ Three Theories of the Community

A. The understanding of non-logical forces behind institutions

Court

Constitution

Presidency

Country (Home Sweet Home)

B. The interpretation of current events

Unemployment & cotton prices

Prosperity (Recovery from recession) & advantage of party in power (latest e.g. Kennedy & ~~Johnson~~ Economic Advisors)

Holding those in power, non-logically, responsible

C. Analysis & Review of Propaganda

Symbols

Slapans

Political campaigns

(world international crisis campaigns)

D. Public Policy - Legislation

1. Organization

handling personnel & human relations problems

Lecture 3. The Political Community ^{ref. to index}

I. Is the whole greater than the sum of its parts - The ? of fact
 Ought the whole to be greater than any of its parts - The ? of value

A. The constitution of the community

II. What shall a community be called?

Define

Distinguish from state

Is it a culture

III. The physical community (objective)

IV. The psychological community (subjective)

- Relation to ideology

V. The declared ~~and~~ political antecedents to a community

Hobbes
 1. Herrmann's list

VI. Classification of communities
 by degree of ~~integration~~ cooperation
 integration and cohesion
 " " " presence or absence of consensus

Tönnies
 Gross

B. The actual fabrication of the community

VII. Belief-systems
 S. D. G.
 Herrmann

Demer, 126 "The problem of a democratically organized public is primarily, and essentially, an intellectual problem, in a degree to which the political affairs of prior ages offer no parallel."

1. Community:

The Sum of the Relationships existing among a group of people who have connections a, b, c, d^n in common.

a, b, c, d^n = ideological
institutional
accidental (i.e. from social mobility)

By political community we mean really the fact that the community is in essence political, ~~is~~, it has political significance.

2. The Majority: A ^{conscious} consensus of belief or activities on any ~~issue of opinion~~ ^{issue} concerning a, b, c, d^n

3. The Crowd: Probably an unusable term: May be considered as those manifestations of majority which occur under circumstances $b, 2, 3$, etc. having to do with an item (a, b, c, d^n) . (e.g. The "Crowd effect" - reinforcement, repetition, suggestion, imitation are environmentally-conditional responses.)

4. Consensus: Unconscious or conscious acceptances of patterns or individual relationships. (Note: not only the existence of an activity, but the expressed or latent preference for it.)

5. Public Opinion: The continuum of ~~beliefs~~ ^{beliefs} regarding any ~~issue~~ ^{issue} concerning a, b, c, d^n .

III. Other common types in politics

The apathetic

The bureaucratic (militaristic) = Rigid, meticulous

The materialistic

The power man

≠

P = Private motives are displaced upon public objects & rationalized in terms of the public advantage.

Regicide of the anti-father = extreme case

[Zangara who tried to kill Roosevelt]

[Abraham as the original Oedipus]

But = all the types are the same,

cf. materialist

bureaucrat

etc.

integration of private & public motives 'so' common?
? The attempt to deny all politics of private motives: conflict of interest & questions.

Social and Political Class: Circulation of elites

The political class, ruling group or elite (the term we shall use) is defined by Mosca and Pareto as the social group with the maximum chances of getting what political methods can get because already possessed of a monopoly or quasi-monopoly of power positions.

Two chief elements of theory of elite:

1. The presence under all forms of government of a group which makes the most important decisions of the society and gives a moral and legal basis to its power by deriving elements of doctrines and beliefs generally acknowledged in the population. This last part is called by Mosca the political formula.

~~2. The continuous interchange of personnel between elite and mass~~

This is an empirical generalization and therefore depends upon the facts of society. It denies that

* any system of democracy or selection from the mass will produce more than rule by the minority, although the type of ruling class does depend for its character on systems of recruitment.

- thus Mosca believes that universal suffrage causes a deterioration in the kinds of men who achieve power whether or not they come from the old aristocracy. The techniques of achieving power, in other words, influence the character of the elite, but not in the direction of democracy.

* it tends to deny that the results of democratic procedures will tend to either perpetuate the system or bring results superior to alternative systems of selecting or recruiting the elite

* The evidence on which it is based comes mostly from history (Pareto, Weber, Mosca), and organizational studies (Michels). It seems to be a rather solid generalization in the first respect, but in both respects, a great deal of research is necessary. It would profit American political scientists who are always writing polemics on behalf of democracy to do the American system some real service by close testing of the "iron law of oligarchy" in administration, group organization and government.

We may take as our position only this proposition: that in all complex organizations and societies, a high or very high degree of autonomy and privilege are possessed by men who occupy the policy-making offices, so-called. And, in addition,

This political class is always characterized by a ~~strong~~ significant cohesion with the upper and upper middle class. History does not record a society in which the possession of ruling power was dissociated with control over other social values and in which the political equilibrium was stable.

--- In the USA, just as we have the concept of freedom of opportunity to correspond to the class societies which other cultures are alleged to possess, we have also the concept of monopoly busting to bring to the economic order a condition of that is supposed to exist in the political sphere- the equalization of economic and political power.

-- In unstable or transitional periods (i.e. periods of rapid social change) the difference between the elite composition and the upper class composition is likely to be quite large.

Thus Augustus packed the Roman Senate, Cromwell the Commons, Northerners the Southern reconstruction legislatures, the Liberals threatened to pack the Lords over Ireland's HR, etc.

How amalgamation and assimilation of new elements occurs:

1. Intermarriage of upper classes into ruling class
2. Business deals between old and new elites (Tories and capitalists)
3. Growth of new governmental functions with new highly skilled bureaucrats.
4. Shifts in the sources of economic chances (e.g. from rents to banking)
5. Parental sacrifices for education, etc. of young
6. Leadership of new organizational types (e.g. trades unions)
7. Acquisition of demagogic skills or other skills pertinent to the politics of the changing political order (e.g. advent of universal suffrage) (managerial revolution- St. Simon and beyond) (military skills in wartime)
8. Neo-Malthusianism of the old elite
9. Cultural aspirations of all elites (need for political formulas) and the admission of intellectuals,

Note: the American major parties are not elite parties. Their leaders are generally of the same political class conditions and have roughly equal economic and political and status chances. This true also to a certain extent of Whigs and Tories in old England. But not so of Laborites and Conservatives, nor Communists and Demo-Christians of Italy. Involved in these latter are potentially basic shifts in the ruling group and correspondin basic shifts in the elites with reference to other social values.

Test 17 (cont.)

We combine class & status & caste in one general mode of discourse and separate party into what Mosca calls "The political class" and what Pareto calls "The elite"

calls the active

The most active or pure class

There would be —

combination, commercial

- 1 same economic chances
- 2 same status or honor : ^{communion, commensalism,}
^{commercialism}
- 3 consciousness of these chances and honor
- 4 demands and expectations with respect to both
- 5 " " are believed to be "frustrated" in a current situation

- This means that periods of rapid change in economic changes are associated w/ rapid change in status & honor position with enlarged probability that (5) will result

What would be a logical class (graph 1)
meaningful class. (" ")
measures indiv. to class

what ~~is~~ probably Stampin' Studio's class with M w/o class

1. Can you have high M w/o class
Yes - Obviously
2. Can you have low M w/o class
Yes - Tho probably not in complex societies
Exist in clans, patriarchate
3. Can you have both low & high verb. w/class.
Obviously yes.

Can you have some Christians yes.
Our most important political studies concern this area.

- 2
8. Localism as a reflection of other separatist influences -- economic, religious, cultural

15 V. Separatist groupings emerging from the division of labor

1. Recapitulation of Durkheim's theory of the collective community (mechanical solidarity) and the division of labor solidairy (organic solidarity).
2. Durkheim's theory of the division of labor, ~~while~~ altho it contains much truth, understates the case against the division of labor as highly separatist.
 - a. The div. of labor as solidarist (cooperatively separatistic)
Durkheim
Williams, etc.
 - b. The div of labor as non-solidary (conflict-causing separatistic)

What Durkheim admits: the anomic division of labor
(impossible when solidarity is sufficiently in control or sufficiently prolonged)

2. Freedom & spontaneity must be present in Durkheim's
1. Lack of rules
3. Abnormal extension of div. of labor

The div. of labor

Beyond his admission: the incredibly difficult problem of organization; the inflexibility of the div of labor; the effects of technological change in perpetuating anomic division of labor, etc.

3. The economic interest (unorganized) as reflected in ^{political} ~~the~~ behavior. (Madison et al's society of the few and the many struggling)

3 a. Marxist theory and Paretian criticism

5 b. Beard: Econ. Inter. of Const.
Econ. Origins of Jeff. Democ
The Econ. Basis of Politics

10 c. The economic factor in voting behavior:
almost as vague a meaning as the answers to pollsters' questions. Because voter doesn't explain his vote and the candidate (object of the vote) doesn't stand for a specific things exclusively or even at all often.

2 d. The social class factor ??(briefly)

5 e. self-interest(the Berelson mss.)

VI. Cultural Separation

5 a. Racial voting in USA
Gesnell Cincinnati election
Cayton and Drake

5 b. Nationalistic voting
Willkie election

Social Specialization and Political Interests

I. Durkheim's Theory of the div. of labor
- Organic solidarity further described
- Anomic Division of Labor

Ia. The div. of labor as reflected in voting behavior

II. Territorial localism

- More pervasive than econ. div. of labor

- McOver "Interests" in ESA

- Centralization does not solve problems of localism

- Robert Michels' local basis of nationalism

- Granville Hicks, West's Plainville

- Neighborhoods of cities

- Localism quotes from article on continental army from Common Cause

- Anomic? divisions of localities

~~III~~

IIa. Localism as reflected in voting behavior

- Various maps

- V. O. Key's Southern Politics

- sectional voting behavior sums up localism, economic, and religious factors.

~~IV~~

VII. Ideological Exponentism

10 ~~A~~ Religious divisions & motives
- Survey of Fed Council of C of C.

- Elmhurst studies

- Jewell in Chicago

10

B. Perception of differences

vis. The farmer who hates socialism & ~~is~~ ^{gets} great aid.
His political attitudes and behavior are determined (see attached pp.)
by economic role, local role, religious role.

- Elmiria materials on perception
- Generalization from Elmiria materials
(e.g. Southern Democrat votes Democrat because he does not fully perceive the motives of others in the North e.g. who vote Democratic).

2

C. Ideology of usual political meaning (3rd parties social class consciousness)

5

III. Persistence of voting habits often ^{objective} separation variables & traditional voting extent

Explanation psychologically
political effects

2

IX.

A. Political elements because of separation are only loosely cohesive. Separated elements, already diffused by personality - community interpersonal difference, are further diffused. Mechanical solidarity relatively weak under most conditions - important only in crisis and in particular cases (e.g. contra-mores behavior such as crime, communism).

Lasswell

A class is a major aggregate of persons engaging in practices giving them a similar relation to the shaping and distribution (and enjoyment) of one or more specified values.

- % as many classes as there are values in a society. e.g. wealth class

power class

~~poor~~

respect class

skill class

enlightenment class

rarely - rectitude

affection

well-being

~~well-being~~

Marxist usage of "social class"

means: 1) relationship of an aggregate to means of prod.
2) this "determines" relation of aggreg. to all other values.

Lasswell uses a different meaning of "social class"
- social class = a class defined w/ respect to all the values important in the society.

Value of Objective view of social class ↑
" " Subjective view of social class -- Personal identification when asked
" " selecting different combinations of values to define class
" " misc. classifications w/o great generalization intent.
A Proto-social class is a social class that is class-conscious.

Lecture 6 PUBLIC OPINION

1) Wm. James

Demo. is ^{type} ~~form~~ of govt in which you do
something, then wait to see who hollers, and
then refine the hollering as best you can to see
who else hollers.

From myth to science ???



H. J. Jacki

Personnel of The English Cabinet 1801-1924
APSR Feb. 1928

p 23

1801-1924

306 Cabinet ministers
182 were aristocrats (60%)
93 earned their living (30%)
293 were rentiers (70%)

No scientist, doctor, engineer, or academician
Before 1924 the Donald Cabinet only 2 ministers were sons of workingmen
Aristocrat's son receives a tremendous time advantage by birth
- Enter Commons & Cabinet about 10 yrs. younger than
Commoners' sons. *(cf. David Rockefeller at Chase Manhattan etc.)*

Root of the Aristocratic hold on Cabinet office is economic.
Universities are a road to Cabinet thru "connections" formed there.

This is The General Condition That
Studies of status origins of
leadership provide.

~~These~~

Lloyd Warner studies

Floyd Hunter

Peter Rossi

Matthews

etc

note enclaves of self-made
- labor unions (internally)
- old-time local govt. in U.S.

But often not left parties

But these are self-perpetuating &
pass on hereditary advantages.

~~Function of general mobility~~

Public Opinion

Definitions:

Oxford Eng. Dictionary : "^aSuch judgment or belief on the part of a number, or the majority of persons: what is generally thought about something."

A. Lawrence Lowell, Public Opinion in War and Peace:

"The acceptance of one among two or more inconsistent views which are capable of being accepted by a rational mind as true. If only one view can be logically accepted, it is not an opinion, but the result of a demonstration....All opinion, therefore, involves a choice, conscious or not, between different views which may be rationally held."

Kimball Young, Social Psychology: "It is sometimes thought that p.o. refers only to the final ^{general} consensus of ~~the~~ entire group. This, however, is rather the end-product" of ~~various~~ the ~~various~~ opinions of the large number of publics, the interest groups, the secondary groups, which make up society.

Others in Rogers, Doob books

John Dewey "PO is judgement which is formed & entertained by those who constitute the public and is about public affairs."

~~Others~~

Public OpinionRelation of opinion to consensus

In relating "public opinion" to consensus, important problems are exposed. Sometimes writers on public opinion assume that basic consensus is public opinion and fail to discriminate between the two. Also, some regard the absence of opinion as public opinion. That is, they stretch the notion of public opinion to cover both the foundations of opinion (consensus) and the morass of apathy. However, one ought to delimit the concept of opinion. Otherwise, consensus may be confused with apathy.

For example, some people seem to believe that unless "hot" issues characterize political campaigns, the public is apathetic and politics meaningless—they think that political issues should succeed one another regularly, just as last year's car is traded in for a new model. But a reliable indication that consensus exists in a community is the absence of "hot" issues such as a proposal to eliminate some group and the presence of moderately-toned issues couched in general terms.

It is best to conceive of consensus as unquestioned moral principles about politics and government, and of public opinion as arising over any controversy occurring within the framework of those moral principles.

Definition of public opinion

Public opinion is a belief held by a number of people regarding a political issue. By a belief is meant a delineated, definable feeling about the rightness or wrongness of a projected course of action. By a "number of people" is meant all those holding to one or more of the projected resolutions of the belief. By a "political issue" is meant any problem for the solution of which people turn to the government.

Other defins. (attached p. 12-7, literature, Control-Gangster
Dool on origin of opinion (12 a)
Katz on what it takes to study an opinion (3 criteria) (12 b)
Dool on origin of opinion (12 a)
Gallup, Tamm, AVS Jan 50
Lasswell in SL9C Billis

Lecture 18 - 19 :

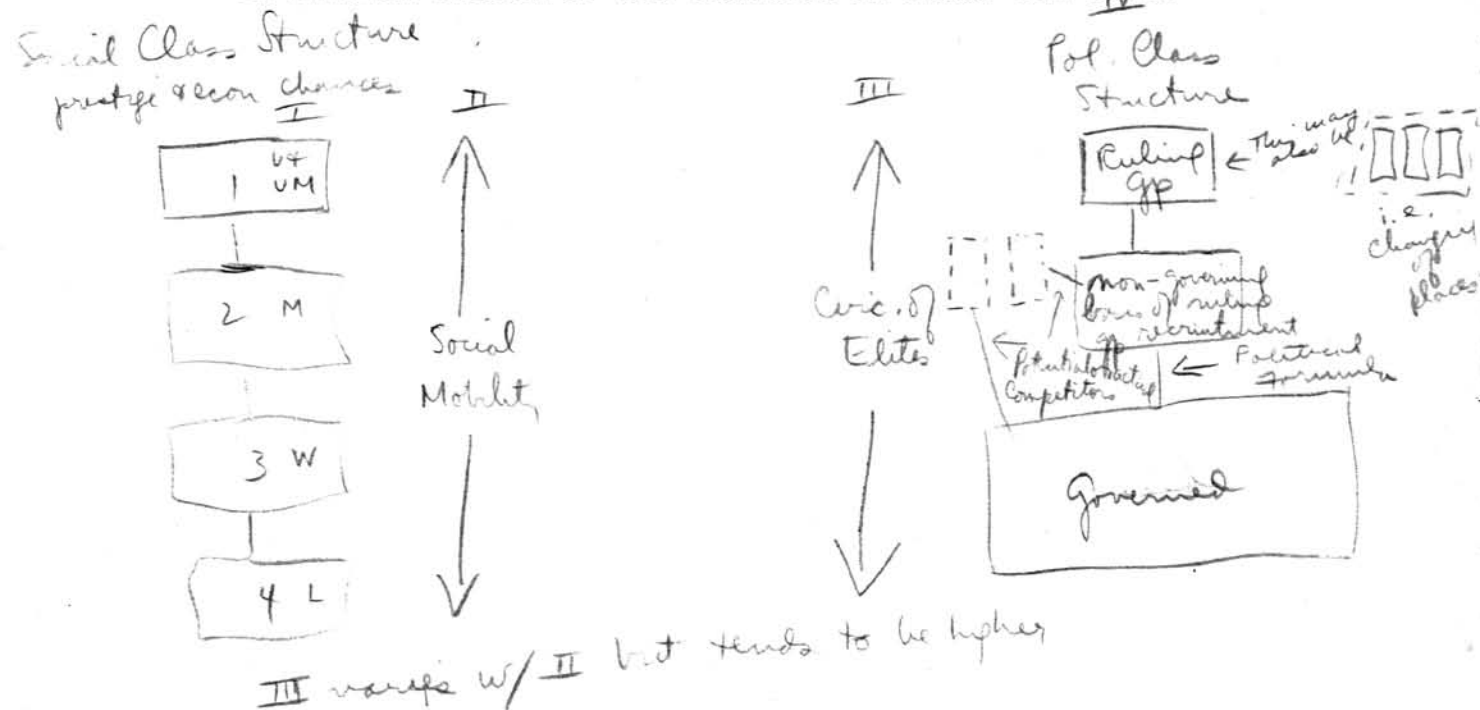
Theory of the Elite & Freedom of Opportunity & Circulation of Elites

From what we have said before, we may state

1. That class differences in terms of economic chances and honor exist.
2. That there are a number of techniques of social mobility
3. That physical mobility is commonly associated with social mobility and moves in the same direction, diminishing and decreasing as is the case.
4. That physical mobility tends to destroy a statistical class picture by increasing the chances of "bumping" into all kinds of people, honors, and ~~social~~ economic chances. That is, high physical mobility allows people to play the limiting margins of each category of social stratification. In turn, of course, this will often break down the margins themselves, thus increasing social mobility. Thus one big effect of warfare, often unplanned by the two ruling groups who began the war.
5. That there are several concepts of social class in use and that one should know the essentials of the ~~Weber~~ Marxian, Weber, Centers, and Warner concepts, and realize that we use the term class to designate 5 different elements, all of them conceivably measurable: econ. chances; status or honor; consciousness of chances and honor; demands and expectations regarding what is proper to the existing levels of these values; and potential or actual frustration w/regards to these demands and expectations.

Now we set across from this framework, the theory of the elite and circulation of the elite. This we derive principally from the work of Gaetano Mosca, Vilfredo Pareto (who is excellent on class in general, too) and Roberto Michels. (Give Mosca suggested readings)

An initial sketch of the relation of class and elite



The theory of the ruling class or elite is supplemented by another theory which explains the progression of society from dominance by one ruling class to another and explains at the same time the recruitment of membership by the ruling class from the large body of citizens.

This is the theory of the circulation of elites.

~~As sketched by Pareto and Michels~~

It has two basic propositions:

1. The dominant class of a community becomes enervated, decays, and succumbs morally and physically to a new dominant class that arises from the people and possesses a new political formula and a vigorous ability.

↑ This is typically a revolutionary elite, or perhaps the ^{German} English labourites.
2. Concurrent with this first proposition or in place of it, a perennial amalgamation of elements occurs between the old elements of the dominant class and the people at large. The old aristocracy does not founder but rather is forced to share the rule with new individuals and groups.

~~Pareto tends to emphasize the historical role of the first proposition; Michels emphasizes the second proposition.~~

~~A summary of Pareto's ideas therefore, on the subject of elites and elite-circulation, will not be out of place here. Cite and quote from note cards:~~

- ~~1. theory of ruling class~~
- ~~2. " " " and circulation~~
- ~~3. Plato's idea of circ. of elites~~
- ~~4. def. of elite, governing and non-governing~~
- ~~5. Types of historical governments~~
- ~~6. How residues vary betwe. pops., classes, within classes~~
- ~~7. Best combination of residues~~
- ~~8. How elite defends itself~~
- ~~9. How elite uses subjects~~
- ~~10. Non-ethics of powerholders~~
- ~~11. Rapid elite circ. brings prosperity, intellectual advancement~~
- ~~12.3 This in turn brings speculators into ruling class~~
- ~~14. This banishes force and energy from politics~~
- ~~15. Humanitarianism comes in and weakens ruling class~~
- ~~16. Residues in 1914 in nationalism, socialists not even this tho they have possible other gp. II residues.~~

~~Pareto predicted Fascism and failure of evolutionary socialism in Europe. Not-so-hidden preferences for violence, faith, frankness in politics and other ideas not uncommon among engineers and evangelists. Weber was sterling liberal, Pareto a rugged reactionary.~~

Now to Michels on proposition 2 of circulation of elites.

"History teaches that an aristocracy whose ranks are hermetically sealed, rather than attaining stability and permanence, is seriously damaged. No enlightened aristocracy has ever set itself against the laws of social metabolism." "It is an advantage of democracy to have built its institutions in a way that expands greatly the opportunities for the selection of members of the elite. Democracy thus facilitates exchange of personnel among the social classes. This advantage is a true one, logically indisputable."

I. The subject of oligarchy permeates thoroughly the subject of organizations of whatsoever type. Robert Michels in his classic work on Political Parties ~~says~~ declares "Who says organization says oligarchy," and many other writers, ancient and modern, have followed that same line of thought. Many of them, especially if they anxious to assure democracy are quite likely to take to task all other theories of oligarchy, other than their own, that is, for grossly exaggerating reality. An example of one theorist who attacks forthrightly the theory of oligarchy is David Spitz, whose work is entitled Patterns of Anti-Democratic Thought and whose ideas presumably derive from Professor MacIver's theory of democracy. I find little to interest us in Dr. Spitz' work on oligarchy. It is worthy of the best arm chair tradition, and is an inquiry conducted more in the style of collegiate debate than in the spirit of scholarship and objective inquiry. His book and more writings besides than we could hope to mention here have the gross defect that they do not take the theory of oligarchy seriously, so frightened are they by it. They neglect the first and essential approach in any problem of theory-- the logical analysis of the meaning of the concept that they propose to work with and the drafting of the variety of precise questions that are required for the empirical investigation of the concept.

In this course, needless to say, we are constantly constrained to match our theories with facts, with whatever the social sciences can give us in the way of empirical studies. We cannot, like so many political theorists, spin webs about words without a sense of being reproached by the abundance of materials that face us from the fields of political parties and pressure groups. Hence we may

assign only those meanings to the term oligarchy that will lead us to realistic conclusions about political behavior, and we should try to admit freely ~~whatever~~ evidence presents itself.

Oligarchy may be defined as a form of rule in which the weight of power is chiefly in the hands of a group of rulers. By the form of rule we mean the pattern of procedures observed by the power-holders ^{political} ~~in their~~ in their operations. By the rulers we mean essentially the elite, that is, those who have ~~the/most~~ very high indices in the exercise of power. They make most of the decisions; they hold the weight of power in their hands; they have the greatest degree of participation in the making of decisions. That is what we mean by the weight of power. The few hold the weight of power in a society or group that is termed an oligarchy.

The weight of power is one dimension of the value of power. A second dimension is the scope of power, that is the number of values whose shaping and enjoyment are controlled. If a few men make most of the decisions regarding political affairs, and they can make such decisions about social, economic, family life as well as about a vast realm of governmental affairs - say those of the local as well as the national government, then these few men have power of great weight and scope. If, to introduce the third dimension of power, the same men exercise their power over all people of a community, or of a group of communities, or of the world at large, then they also have power of wide domain. Therefore, we consider that the power of oligarchs possesses great weight, great scope, and great domain.

Or, to put it more exactly for purposes of thinking, in observing an oligarchy, one examines the proportion of men in a given group who may be called rulers or elite, the weight, the scope, and the

domain of the power they wield. All of these are factual problems, capable of more or less valid answers, and an oligarchy, in a clan or in a club or in a world is never known fully by knowing its relationship to ~~weight~~ numbers, weight, scope, or domain alone. All four variables must be known to assess adequately the extent of oligarchic rule.

B. From this preliminary analysis of the four basic dimensions of the problem of oligarchy, we can move to the questions that may be proposed in an inquiry into oligarchy.

1. The first question may well be: What is the degree of participation in decision making among the various elements of the population? ~~Given a labor union, a trade association, a political party, a legislature, a nation, who/why how is decision making activity dispersed among the group's population?~~

In answering this question we encounter some old friends from previous lectures. *One familiar problem is that of*

~~what~~ is the crude ~~rate~~ of political activity in the population studied.



What are the important decisions made by such groups and by whom are they made? *Knowing the crude participation doesn't give us information we need on weight of power. Who has greatest impact on the shape of decisions made in the name of a labor union, a trade association, a political party, a legislature, or a nation?*

Here many difficult problems flood in: where does the representativeness of a personality come from, certainly a community in part and from the separatist groupings to which a man belongs if he is a leader; and the leader is effective only within a group framework -- his actions are interactions -- who is to be credited with the decision, the leader or at the least his close followers?

And furthermore the stratification of a population, no matter by what index the stratification is drawn, ~~and the rates of mobility in a society or group~~ will have highly important effects on the ~~character of the~~ oligarchic character of a group. The degree of cohesiveness of an organization will also tell us important facts in respect to oligarchic tendencies in a group.

So once again, we find ourselves in the great vortex of social relations. Everything we grab onto is but another side of something we had just let go. This is all to the good. It is not, as we may think in discouragement, caused by redundancy, but really by the highly valuable closed nature of our theories about social behavior. There are few basic variables in the theory, they all interrelate, and if we know factual materials about one variable or aspect of social relations, those facts are helpful in the analysis of other facets of ~~social behavior~~.

Sub-queries

^(A) ~~A~~ ~~fourth~~ ^{related} important question pertains to the structure of the rulers or elite themselves. What degree of homogeneity does the elite possess with respect to the goals of the controlled values?

5.
6

^{is still another}
(B) Related to the ^{fourth} ~~question~~: To what extent are the goals of the political elite those of the mass? This could logically be sub~~t~~ended under the 1st question, because no sooner do you inquire who makes decisions in a society than you are beset with the problem of what to do with actions of leaders that conform implicitly or explicitly with the felt or unfelt desires of the population as a whole of the group being studied. Michels strikes this point when he says that in the parties and unions of Europe that he studied the masses wish often to be led and find in the actions of their leaders satisfactory representation, And Garceau in his study of the American Medical Association could not but conclude that the rank and file of the association, bereft of active power, were content, i.e. felt represented by the professionalized leadership. And we have seen in a previous lecture how satisfied a great many Americans seem to be with the present party system.

So.

yet another

~~And~~ And finally, a ~~15th~~ question ~~that~~ might perhaps also be considered as an aspect of the study of the weight of decision-making power ~~the~~: What is the rate of circulation of the elite? One may question how oligarchic an organization can be that, let us say, allows all members feady access to top posts. Or to put it another way, ^{to the same degree} if two organizations are/oligarchic in all other respects, will not the shifting character of leadership in one group make it different factually and morally from a group in which the leadership is permanently ensconced?

2. Once we have assigned the decisions of a political

population to the various members of their population in the proper weights, we may ask the second major question:

What proportion of the values of the population are within the scope of the power wielded by the rulers? How important to the subjects of such power are the values thus controlled? How strict~~y~~ are the controls; with what sanctions are they enforced?

3. A third question that may be asked is "What is the

domain of the oligarchy?" How many people are affected by the decisions made within it? An answer to this question takes us into the realm of direct and indirect effects of decisions, a vast and neverending path of investigation.

The very nature of a political organization and of a political decision is that it is of concern directly and indirectly to the political community. A denial of the right of negroes to join a railroad union that is the sole authorized bargaining agency for railroad workers has consequences that the Supreme Court, for example, as regarded as of nation effect and of constitutional importance.

Oligarchy
A. Dimension
B. Variable affecting

7.

Such are the major dimensions of the problem of oligarchy. What we may do now is to show in what way each dimension of any particular case of oligarchy is affected by the operation of a number of variables common to the experience of political groups. Each of these variables, of which I list some 17, may affect ~~the~~ one or a combination of the dimensions in a given group, making it more or less of an oligarchy. Each may affect the numbers, weight, scope, and domain of an oligarchy.

1. Personality

- Nos. a. ~~Not~~ many men have the personalities requisite for continuous politicking in most cases. Cf. Petullo w/ average musician. Graham Waller on the survival of horrid types. Bilbo.
- Wt. b. Part for power feeds upon power. Quasi-monopoly of decision-making extends to total monopoly bec. few men like continually to make 5% of a decision.

Scope c. When union leadership achieve collective bargaining it goes on to demand Co-Govt. Industry. It must always have a task. Duclaux County.

Domain d. ~~Union doesn't become Pres.~~ in order to become boss of the no. of an oligarchy. Charismatic leadership is a direct threat to the no. of an oligarchy, and hence containment as to scope & domain. NB: Differential motives of elite: local union leadership - Eli Chinoy - the dragon, the coalition, the ideological.

2. Community tradition and custom

- a. In a nation: new voters vote less than old. Will say a people must be prepared to receive requisite gov't in order to do what is necessary for its survival.
- b. Decision on contract & strike reserved to membership of many unions. Emotional counter-reaction of oligarchy. all attached 7A without thinking to country as a whole. Church, State, etc. more to ad. than capital activities.
- c. ~~Government vs.~~ interference of politics in economic, religion, etc. local union matters. Alexander & Berger "Gross Labor Leader" - follow local union matters.
- d. Localism in campaigning - South & North (e.g. Ill. & S. Ca.)
3rd Cong. District
some sections

3. Ideology

ab. Perry Miller, 1939 The New Eng. Mind [over]

The New Eng. strike industry policy (cf. with feudal landed nobility & gentry. Imagine these pulling directly out of a town. See clipping

We shall now move on to examine the oligarchical principle operating within the field of religion. The theocratic regime of New England Puritanism during the seventeenth century affords an excellent example. Of course, the church fathers were in no way concerned about attaining anything resembling democracy, and on the contrary, were desperately afraid of it, yet their technique in maintaining spiritual control of the community, and through that, control of all segments of political and social life, is interesting.

The New England brand of Christianity was not a missionary creed, but sought settled associations. "Its first aim was sorting out the elect from the mass, and its second providing a method whereby both could live in stable concord under the rule of the elect."¹ Perry Miller describes the theory.

"The heart of the church theory was the church covenant. Regenerate men, the theory ran, acquire liberty to observe God's commanding will, and when a company of them are met together and can satisfy each other that they are men of faith, they covenant together, and out of their compact create a church. Therefore each society is an autonomous unit, and no bishops and archbishops, no synods and assemblies, have any power, either from the Bible or from nature, to dictate to a holy and independent congregation. The members, from whom the church originates, perpetuate it by receiving into the fellowship those whom they judge, as far as one man can judge another, to be within the Covenant of Grace, and also protect the society by expelling those in whom they have been deceived and who violate the compact. Participation in the covenant must throughout be limited to those who, appraised by the rule of 'rational charity', appear authentic saints, and these, being the source of church power, elect ministers and officers, appropriate funds and determine all policies by suffrage. It is not enough that men be thrown together as neighbors or by circumstance, that they be driven to the church by law or revere a minister put over them without their consent; there can be no true church until there is a covenant of the saints, submitting to the rule of Christ in public observance out of their free and regenerated wills."²

1 Perry Miller, The New England Mind. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939, p. 433.

2 Ibid. p. 435.

Perry Miller speaks also of the operation of the church.

"The core of each town was a church, composed of those who had given proof that they were visibly sanctified, joined together by a covenant into which they entered of their own will, who elected the minister and voted upon admissions and excommunications. Surrounding these saints were the body of 'inhabitants', persons of whom the best that could be said was that they had not yet shown signs of being regenerated. They were expected to attend church services, to listen to the sermons, and to pay taxes for support of the minister, though they had no voice in his selection or in the conduct of the society. In order to insure the devotion of the colony to holy ends, Massachusetts and New Haven restricted the franchise to church members; the Connecticut settlements did not expressly confine the vote to church members, but provided for a ministerial supervision of the electorate that achieved by less obvious means the same control. Those without the pale, who under the first charter of Massachusetts Bay amounted to some four fifths of the total population, might have a vote only in town meetings, but otherwise were to submit to the rule of the saints and attend submissively upon divine ordinances, in which, unless they were sad only to receive regeneration by the means means, they could not actively participate."¹

Even within the elect there was further centralization of control.

It was assumed that the members of the fraternity would look to one or two persons, the elders, who were properly qualified to direct the course of the church. These men were generally those who had been educated more than their associates, and they, rather than a plurality of votes by the church members, interpreted the will of God. "Samuel Stone hit happily upon a perfect description of the Congregational ideal, 'a speaking Aristocracy in the face of a silent Democracy', nor was he describing only the theoretical goal. For the first decades practice in the main followed theory, and the skillful ministers, backed by firm magistrates, kept the democracy silent while the aristocracy spoke the will of God."²

1 Ibid. p. 439-440

2 Ibid. p. 452

4. **Class structure**

Murdoch (attached) on objective Class Structures.

- a. Class limits access to positions of pow.
 - b. c. " allows respect to increase weight & scope of pow.
 - d. class is restricted by the no. of people paying respect to the class system
- (use motives for apptmt. of Civil Defense Officials - Pikey study)
to show the many social considerations surrounding apptmt. to quasi-public office.

5. Purposive character of the group

Decisions have to be made - a gp. in tota can make only limited no. of general decisions. (Relativism) outside contacts to a few.

- a. C. H. & Senate in effects of size.
- b. Most unions too large for mass decisions.

c. "NAM spokesman prod" Cleveland HBR (1948) 353. NAM also controlled by minority, also must present generalities, & limit its program. It cannot be positive in scope.

6. Communications structure

- a. good communications = less digarchy & more participants.
- b. "Outside member" " can be extended to minor decisions.

- c. " can be extended to new values
- d. " can be used to supervise the actual adherence of greater no. of formal adherents.

8. Bureaucratization :

(attached e.g. of corporation)

Q. Brookham
not same as ideology. Div. of Labor tends to produce specialization in decision-making as in everything else.

8. Professionalization:

Law Schools
Lawyers
Experience
Contacts gained
Intellectualization
Awareness of outside world

~~The~~ The Corporation

Study of the modern corporation yields further evidence of the oligarchical tendencies in our institutions. The corporation, which developed as a device for the organization of property, has completely altered property relationships and now demands a revision in our concept of private property. The corporate form itself has not brought about this change, for we still have many private corporations which are but a legal alter ego of the individual owner, where ownership and control reside in the same persons. Rather economic forces have caused this change and following in its wake is what may be called "the quasi-public corporation: a corporation in which a large measure of separation of ownership and control has taken place through the multiplication of owners."¹

Because of this development we see a corresponding shift in the locus of power. Berle and Means comment: "Physical control over the instruments of production has been surrendered in ever growing ^{to} centralized groups who manage property in bulk, supposedly, but by no means necessarily, for the benefit of the security holders. Power over industrial property has been cut off from the beneficial ownership of this property - or, in less technical language, from the legal right to enjoy its fruits. Control of physical assets has passed from the individual owner to those who direct the quasi-public institutions, while the owner retains an interest in their product and increase. We see, in fact the surrender and regrouping of the incidence of ownership, which formerly bracketed full power of manual disposition with the complete right to enjoy the use, the fruits, and proceeds of physical assets. There has resulted the dissolution of the old atom of ownership into its component parts, control and beneficial ownership."²

1 A.A. Berle and G.C. Means, The Modern Corporation and Private Property. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933. p.4.

2 Ibid. p.7-8.

Control of the enterprise is usually exerted by the power to select the board of directors. Berle and Means divide the technique of control into five major types: first is control through almost complete ownership; secondly, majority control; thirdly, control through a legal device without majority ownership; fourthly, minority control; and finally, management control. We shall turn our attention toward the last three as being representative of the oligarchical principle operating in most large corporations.

There are several legal devices which are used to maintain control of a corporation without ownership of a majority of the stock. These include pyramiding through the use of holding companies, the issuance of non-voting stock or stock which has excessive voting power, and organizing a voting trust, whereby a group of trustees, often a part of management, have complete power to vote all the stock placed in their trust. Using these means it is possible for an individual or group to control with less than 1% of the outstanding stock.

The other two types, minority control and management control, are different from the other methods since their power is based on extra legal conditions. Minority control rests upon the ability of an individual or group, who have a substantial holding of stock themselves, to serve as a nucleus and attract, through the use of proxies, sufficient votes to capture control. Their holding may be considered as giving them "working control" as long as there is no other strong group capable of acting as a rallying point for opposition.

The fifth type is management control. This usually exists when ownership is so widely distributed that no small group has a large enough holding to dominate the affairs of the company. American Telephone and Telegraph Company and the United States Steel Corporation are examples of this type. The stock-

holder can act in one of three ways: he can refrain from voting; he can personally attend the annual stockholders' meeting and cast his vote; or he can transfer his vote by proxy to the proxy committee appointed by the management. The possibility of a rival group collecting proxies in a struggle with the management is unlikely because of the great expense involved, an expense which the incumbent management can charge to the company. Thus the management becomes a self-perpetuating group.

The trend is well summed up by Berle and Means: "Economic power, in terms of control over physical assets, is apparently responding to a centripetal force, tending more and more to concentrate in the hands of a few corporate managements. At the same time, beneficial ownership is centrifugal, tending to divide and sub-divide, to split into even smaller units and to pass freely from hand to hand. In other words, ownership continually becomes more dispersed; the power formerly joined to it becomes increasingly concentrated; and the corporate system is thereby more securely established."¹

1 Ibid. p.9.

ga

that the "iron law" is not applicable in every instance. Data collected by Murdock suggests such a finding.¹

Class Stratification	Bands	Settled Communities	Totals
Complex structure of social classes	0	31	31
Hereditary aristocracy and commoners	0	38	38
Social classes based directly on wealth	0	14	14
Wealth distinctions without formal classes	7	19	26
Social classes absent	<u>27</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>71</u>
TOTALS	34	146	180

HOWEVER From this data we may also conclude that as the community becomes a settled one, there is a tendency toward the development of social classes and oligarchy. Besides, as the community grows larger, usually by combination with other communities, the face-to-face characteristics of the original group undergo change, specialization and division of labor becomes more feasible, and formal control is established. Murdock says:

"The problem of achieving concerted action and maintaining law and order becomes far more complex in a larger political society than in a single community. Informal modes of consensus, reciprocity, and social control do not operate where face-to-face association is lacking, and must be supplemented by formal mechanisms and procedures. The interpersonal relationships which bind the members of the larger society together are, of necessity, relatively abstract or conventional rather than concrete or face-to-face. To be sure, they are ordinarily patterned after the intimate relationships developed within the community, but these become formalized and stereotyped as they are extended."²

From the information at hand concerning the operations of social control in the community, we can infer that at this level the "iron law" is more of a "plastic law" which gives promise of becoming more rigid as the social structure becomes more complex.

G.P. Murdock, Social Structure NY 1949

1 Ibid. p. 88

2 Ibid. p. 86

9. Size

The greater the size of an org., the greater the disparity.
 Harold (name)

10. Conditions of inter-group strife

Crisis shifts weight, surge, to fewer people, and produces greater intensity of demands upon those within group of org., even the not members. Thus U.S. expended itself to Korea & Greece.

11. Gratitude of population

J. L. Lewis
 Petillo (explain his position)
 Murray

Big Machines
 Middle
 Small

Direct reliance of tech.
 change & orthodox economy

12. Agglutination of other values by elite

Agglutination of other values (within limits, cf. efforts of Southerners to achieve national respect by negro reforms as w/ Arnold of Georgia) enhances the power of the oligarchy & the oligarchy has greater opportunities than others for this.

13. Competing factions within the elite

The condition of factionalism within the Southern Party system. Marked pp in V.O. Key's SP
 No study for North as exhaustive as Key's for South (but probably the contrast is not great as it seems — always more factionalism, deals, localism within states than one thinks from outside. Maybe more statewide machines.

of factionalism
 in institutionalized
 it can exclude
 pol. mobility &
 prevent some secondary
 Negro vote &
 Bel. of Pers.
 (over)

Henry Lee Moon: Balance of Power: The Negro Vote (1948).

- The Negro vote is independent
- About ~~700,000~~ 700,000 Negroes qualified to vote in the 11 So States
- No. increasing
- Already a balance of power in the important No. States
- ∴ When organized & led, constitute the balance -
Their effect on Metropolitan ~~and~~ Natl. ex. behavior is already manifested.

The Non-uniform condition of Southern factionalism
 - The single party state is not really a unitary concept.

It causes generally, however

- Great split betw state & natl. party politics in South.

- Low participation b.c. national stimuli cannot be reacted to.

- Less discipline for national warfare reaching down into local orgn.

- Devitalizes local politics of issues.

The picture of factionalism in the South then is varied & complex.
 - The degree of oligarchy changes from state to state.

- 1 Virginia - "honest", old, "reasonable" oligarchy
 weak anti-orgn party
- 2 North Carolina - again a single organized majority
 faction of industrial & wealthy interests.
 - a fairly consistent opposition based on same to greater extent than elsewhere in South.
- 3 Tennessee - a city machine w/ Eastern
 Tenn. minority dem. backup

NB: In all 3 of these states presence of numerous
 Republicans preserves stability of orgn.

- 4 Georgia has tended to 2 personal factions.
 (e.g. Talmadge - Thompson)

5. Louisiana has had the Long dynasty.
 (N. Orleans mach. helps stabilize party faction).

- 6-11 S. Ca, Ala, Texas (developing econ. basis of fact.), Miss., Arkansas,
Texas, Florida all have multi-factionalism.
 (Planters vs. hillbilly)

Practically everywhere: The Negro vs. the poor vs. rich farmer; local favorite sons.

14. Constitutional structure

balance of power and separation of powers

prescribed limits to weight, scope and domain

decentralization

integration

Cf. NMU & UAW structures & effects

Phil Taft's study of union elections. all kinds of consts. Long tenure everywhere (exception Intl. Typo Union w/ a const. similar to others but a 2 party system).

15. Rapid technological change

Foreman & coming of unions
Decreases scope of pur. of outmoded skills (e.g. typographers in media of comm.)
Also response level. changes ~~scope of domain~~ domain of elites and even brings downfall.

16. Social mobility

Deterioration of limited personal property suffrage.
Effect of voting on access to pur. (Cf. among others, Cranston).
Membership turnover & disparity (e.g. Intl. Typo Union's stereodora union, length of residence of many political gps. greater than average of mass)

17. Shifts in attention

Resignation of issues to spec. Seays. once struggle is over
Leadership is time-consuming & requires clarity of purpose.
Does perceived significance of the orgn. reduce or increase tendency to ship?
e.g. (Cf. union w/ PTA
pol. party w/ APSA)

Lecture 2. Ecology of Political Activity

Among the conditions that make pol. sci. an improbable discipline is absence of support & principles about the people who politic.

Topics

The motives driving people into political activity.

- reinforcement by events and adult experience of facets of character & attitudinal structure developed early
- a pattern of displacements established early (Merriman's Circ. training)
- a " " aggressiveness
- a " " super-ego compulsiveness
- a " " ego-expedient motives (the interest influenced by politics)
- a pattern of identifications (Circ. training)

What do voters regard as their functions?
What do they seek to affect?

The Extent of political activity
my early partic. figure
de Tocqueville (how true?)

Bryce (how true?)

Lynch's Middletown + M in T

Woodward & Ross

de J.

cf. Russian condition

(What is political activity (Appleby quote) p. 71, 72, 73, 74)
(cf. Pericle's speech in Thucydides)

Who are the non-actors

M & G

latest APSR

- can they act politically, but not in deves. politics.

Riesman's - inside - lookers, morally indifferent, and indifferent. Few people (5 of 150?) seemed both interested & competent depth with.

Eagleton's defense of non-voters

Lecture 12 Motives for Voting and Traditional Voting

Bring to class: Merriam and Gosnell: Non-Voting
Elements mss. on motives for voting

Def. of field of voting behavior: that part of the field of political behavior which deals with the electoral process - why people vote, why they vote the way they do, and what is the effect of voting as a decision-making procedure, as a general directive and as a cathartic.

Condition of the data in the field -

Census sociological and economic data is by census tracts
conforms badly to political districts.

voting figures are often lacking in many areas and elections

- especially in south - V.O. Key and Alec Heard experience

- also town elections generally, even county elections often

Public Opinion Polls

Effect of political machines on voting participation
and voting results.

Effect of straight ticket voting

Effect of combined ballot for many elections - national state, county,
local all at once with special issues thrown in.

Why people vote

To say "habit" unfortunately explains nothing.

Pressures to vote: Lazarsfeld-People's Choice (asked to vote)

Doubtful whether any "objective" proof of efficacy of

vote maintains participation - except obvious fact

that officials are removed from office because of adverse
election results.

Why people don't vote - M and G. on Non-Voting

List reasons given - obviously not all time reasons

Why they vote the way they do: the factors in voting

Personalities vs. Issues - Is this a fruitful dicotomy?

(Dangerfield and Flynn on Oklahoma primary)

Would be better if we could reduce personality to a series of
voter motivations such as ~~deeper~~ identification

Types of Power and Status: following Goldhamer and Shils

Power is possessed to the extent a person influences the behavior of others.

Power is force
domination
manipulation

If legitimacy of power is acknowledged by the subjects of power, the legitimacy comes from three pure forms

legal
traditional
charismatic

Manipulation cannot be legitimate power, since the subject is deprived of the opportunity to be aware of it: e.g.

cf. democratic theory and great role of propaganda and manipulation of techniques in democracies.

Force, unless a sanction, is usually not legitimate.

Domination

results in obedience

- instrumental obedience: calculation of gains and losses
- non-instrumental: based on ethical directives
 - the general power is legitimate
 - the particular acts demanded are legitimate

or in disobedience

- instrumental: too much to lose from obeying legitimate commands or illegitimate commands
- non-instrumental:
 - disbelief in general directive
 - disbelief in particular directives

Power relationships

unilateral: as in much of army

bilateral: as in constituent-representative relations

as in economic bargaining

as in manipulation, e.g., by propaganda, when each party has unconscious influence over the other.

Power is exercised: directly (by wielder on subject)
indirectly (through intermediaries, as in large organizations)

Measurement of the amount of power exercised by an individual ratio of his successful power acts to all of his attempted power acts

Criteria may be: select types of relevant behavior (e.g. economic decisions, religious decisions, etc.) and measure the number of actions of a person within the area (s) that are potentially or actually controlled.

Or the number of persons so controlled (e.g. dictatorship has been defined as "a form of government where everything that is not forbidden is obligatory"

(5) Ideology

We do not enter this topic entirely poor :

- a) Mechanisms of ego-involvement & identification
 - b) Integrating tendencies of culture - anti-auth. personality
 - c) Belief systems of community
 - d) Distortions of perception according to types of political man (Plato, Tasswell)
- separatist affiliations.

Lecture 5

Ideologies

I. Introduction

The term "ideology", like the word "food" has sometimes a most attractive aspect and at other times repels one. Sometimes I feel convinced that in the analysis of problems of ideology we shall be able to make great advances in political science. At other times, I feel that the term refers to nothing in particular and in general is merely a catchall term for every kind of thinking ranging from the mere iteration of general political slogans like "all power to the worker" or intricate systems of philosophy. It may be that after our discussion tonight we shall feel that the term is indeed a symbol ~~of~~ for trite slogans or systematic philosophies, in which event we had all better be done with it. Or again we may feel some encouragement to carry it a little while longer in our ~~old~~ already overburdened vocabulary of political science.

Perhaps if we try to make the concept do some work for us tonight, put it through the paces, so to speak, we may be more enlightened.

Hence, we shall --1. Give some of the meanings of the word in the literature.

2. Define it for our own purposes.

3. Examine the importance of some of the propositions that emerge from the use of the concept in connection with the several elements of political behavior, including those with which we are already familiar and some of those to come.

II. Frequent usages of the concept of ideology

A. In political science, ideology is commonly used to refer to some popularly recognized political movement in its philosophical implications. Thus we have the Fascist, Nazi, and Communist ideologies, not to mention the democratic, socialist, or conservative ideology. For some time it seemed as if certain political movements were not to have an ideology. Thus Fascism in its earlier days, and Nazism for years, denied being concerned with rational thought, and it took some time before political philosophers supporting or opposing the movements could convince them that they could not do without one. Hence were invented various, paradoxical anti-intellectualist or anti-ideological ideologies. Marx too, ~~though~~ called the beliefs of other people ideologies, his own views scientific, i.e. not founded on metaphysical or religious abstractions. But the opposition caught up with him too before long, and it is generally recognized by anyone worthy of the name of scientist or philosopher that Marxism has all the accoutrements of any other ideology, no matter in what general way the term is defined.

This common usage of the term ideology will undoubtedly persist for some time in the popular and professional vocabulary. It does so for several reasons. In the first place, the name has an opprobrious quality: it popularly means an unthinking affiliation of an individual to some mystical, unproven, and probably degenerate and certainly anti-individualist doctrine. It is several cuts beneath a philosophy: disreputable philosophers, especially if they pertain to some politically contested doctrine are called ideologues. In the second place, the term means that those holding to it, that is, the proponents of an ideology, hold or profess a uniform set of responses to a series of value statements. Thus, a Fascist will answer yes to a question concerning the desirability of a strong government, yes to the suggestion to suppress communists, yes to a question asking whether his patriotism is at least 150%, and yes to a number of other questions, where astute observers have detected such responses among leaders who call themselves Fascist.

Where the followers of a group of leaders or of a movement have mixed yes and no responses to such questions, the observers must throw up their hands in despair and conclude that an ideology does not characterize the movement or group. Thus, the American major parties, the Democrats and Republicans are widely regarded as being non-ideological political parties, inasmuch as no single question will effectively discriminate all the members of one party from all the members of the other.

Thus the polls showed many Democrats to believe in the Taft-Hartley Act and many Republicans to dislike the Act, although that Act was supposed to be a clear cutting line between Democratic and Republican ideologies if any such thing existed. And numbers of Republicans and Democrats agree that we have been too soft or conversely too harsh towards Russia. Furthermore, many voters, like college professors, do not know what the parties stand for, and when asked will give opposite responses in many cases.

~~Therefore, in America, at least the political parties are not~~ If one wanted to waste completely his time, he might try

to find ideological consistency in the major party platforms. Both state and national parties in the United States publish such formal proclamations of intentions in each major election campaign. An examination of state and national platforms shows readily that there is a great lack of definite and concise principles dividing the parties. State platforms receive almost no publicity, national platforms a little more. Merriam and Gosnell indeed charge that Democrats and Republicans cannot pass the blindfold test. If specific epithets are removed, the fumes of both are equally irritating.

The reasons for this ideological confusion are many: the checks and balances of the constitutions prevent rash promises; many local issues overlap national ones and divide affiliations of voters; many issues are bipartisan or non-partisan, part of which is due to the necessity of a major party's obtaining the maximum plurality of votes in the American election system.

So we conclude that the American party system is hardly ideological in character, even if the term ideology is defined to include the hodge-podge of specific policies which such groupings as Fascists, communists and the like are supposed to possess.

In fact, however, we cannot accept the definition of ideology as used commonly as being helpful to political scientists. No philosopher, much less a politician, has been able to define the democratic credo in a manner suitable to all democrats, and even the totalitarian apologists or intellectual antagonists cannot always describe the party line, except as a daily or weekly business.

Let us move, therefore, to another meaning of the word ideology.

B. Another use of the term ideology occurs or is implied in efforts to describe the political beliefs/~~system~~ of a people, as distinguished from their political behavior. A famous example applied to American life is Gunnar Myrdal ~~and Arvid Rose's~~ description of the American Creed in his American Dilemma. Here the author says flatly that there is an official credo but that the practice frequently denies the professed belief. The contents of the Creed, says Mr. Myrdal, are contained in encapsulated form in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights to the Constitution. Everyone in America is taught formally, in the schools, from the pulpits, and by the well-mannered media of communication that men are created equal and should have equal opportunity to pursue whatever values are available in the society. The Creed is valuable, he writes, despite widespread nonobservance because it makes nonobservers feel uncomfortable and gives a moral cast to political behavior that would otherwise be completely sullied by racism, plutocracy, aristocracy, and other vices. An ideology in this sense, then would be the attitudes that one is told are desirable but which social forces of an obdurate character make at least temporarily unobtainable. The American creed would be a kind of disembodied superego that in an indeterminate but frequent number of cases does not create more than a vague uneasiness of mind when violated and in an indetermined but presumably also large number of cases may not even exist as more than a passing thought on the Fourth of July or better yet Christmas -- which was the day when men long before 1776 felt kindly towards their worst enemies long enough to stop killing them for a Truce of God moment or two.

cf. also de Tocqueville
Lynds

C. A third major usage of the concept of ideology is that found in Vilfredo Pareto's work, in the work of Roberto Michels, and in a large number of empirical works in social psychology and politics of the present day. This usage regards ideology as a separatist component of the individual character, socially induced and trained of course, that coexists and codetermines other interests of an economic, or political, or physical kind. The writings of the various men who have pursued this interpretation of ideologies have not been fully integrated and their viewpoints are often not consistent with each other, but nevertheless they may be joined together as a kind of scientific point of view.

Perhaps it was Pareto in his *Sistemi Socialisti* and *Mind and Society* who enunciated most clearly and in detail this point of view. His foil was Karl Marx, for whom he had great respect, at the same time as he criticized the Marxist simplistic interpretation of human conduct.

In *Mind and Society*, Pareto acknowledges the validity of the Marxist attack on absolutistic ideological theory that held that ideas determine behavior regardless of other influences.

He writes, in this regard: (Michels, 19.)

Pareto's theory of residues completes the work of Marx in this respect.

Then, presenting his own viewpoint, he proclaims the universal presence of residues of a psychological kind, of faith that furnishes dynamism to many different kinds of political movements.

The Communist manifesto itself, he calls ironically "the ideological superstructure of the real interests of the proletarian class." (Michels 19 ff.)

b. Michels: (pp. 25-7 etc.)

c. Ideology in American empirical research often shares the Paretian and Michels method of analysis: that is, it attempts to isolate a psychological factor from other variables and observe its independent movement in the political process.

1.) take for example the interest of American students in traditional voting. (Elements pp.)

Is traditionalism itself then an ideological factor?

2) The religious factor as examined in the PQ fall 1948 study of the attitudes on questions and candidates of the various religious groupings in America.

- 3) The element of misconception or false perception as revealed by the Elmira studies.

D. A final usage of the term "ideology" holds that ideology is a consistent and interrelated set of beliefs possessed with sufficient intensity by a group of persons so as to be tied up with the personality and weltanschauung of those individuals. psychologic
but not
always
logically

Into this school of theory fall men already known to us : Psychologically oriented, i.e. rooting the ideology in individual psychology and the personalities formed by a given culture:

Harold Lasswell (*Psychol Pol; Power & Personality*)

Adorno

Nevitt Sanford

Else-Frenkl Brunswik

Sebastian de Grazia

Ruth Benedict

Margaret Mead

Clyde Kluckhohn

more formal in approach

Walter Bagehot

Alexander Meighan

Karl Mannheim and the Sociology of Knowledge school

Harold Lasswell: *World Rev. Pp; Wld Pol & Pers. Assoc.; Power & Society*

E. How to study ideologies in this last sense. which, after all, is the only unique sense of the concept, the others being either the currency of journalism or the redundant referents to studies of separatist motivations.

Distinction and relations of ideology in this sense to personality and institutions.

~~Operational~~ definition

The Historical method : Toynbee, Sorokin, Spengler.
Aldred de Grazia

The psychiatric method
Lasswell and Nevitt Sanford

The psychological method (statistical)
Fillmore Sanford, Levinson

The social philosophical method

Mannheim
Adorno
Talcott Parsons

The anthropological method

Leighton

Sebastian De Grazia

Connecting the little studies with the big: the gravest methodological task facing political science. Every time a writer advances up one level of generality without losing precision or reliability a great contribution to political science is made.

Lecture 12 Political Leadership

Methods and Techniques of Analysing Leadership

There are a number of political personalities as we have been discussing them who are not leaders. There are even pure politicians who do not become political leaders owing to the accidents of life. There are also a great variety of office-holders who are not leaders: this is especially true of class and caste societies; birth and privileges determine rank, and office. But it is also true of societies of high social mobility like our own. They have a goodly percentage of sinecures, inside-dopesters and family jobs.

Democratic leadership

The distinction between destructive and non-destructive projection

- quote from Fenichel, pp 109-10 on pathological vs. normal projection
- Lasswell definition thus encompasses both pathological and normal projection of private motives. Since we do not distinguish between what is personal and what social we are not worried by the idea of private, but only what kind of private motivation is vested in public objects.
- quote Lasswell, p.53 of P and P to show the emerging political leader.
- Democratic basic preferences and the role of leadership selection.

Show how leader selection must adjust to democratic preferences.

How identification and destructive components in personality result in projection of feelings onto destructive leaders.

(ideas of Leites)

How to study the phenomenon of leadership

1. In terms of developmental studies of leaders
2. Can be checked by trait studies of leaders
3. Can be further checked by studies of group situations *and* *operationally*

In turn, each can be studied macroscopically or microscopically

Thus 1, in terms of the cultural personality and the political class as vs. individual studies (Clarke, Lasswell)

Thus 2 Bychowski, Heiden

in terms of surveys or trait correlations (Pres. study,

Thus 3 Stogdill, Taussig)

in terms of political class again, of institutional phenomena situations (gubernatorial, legislative, executive leadership, etc.) or group dynamics and sociometrics (Lippitt on Dem and Authoritarian leadership),

The men around leaders and the summing up of all qualities present.

Leadership

Ideological components have been previously analysed:
That is the framework of leadership.

Possibilities of individual development within that framework, taking into consideration the million of life-accident possibilities, indicates that there is no prediction possible about the life course of any particular individual save in very general terms.

The study of leadership is then

1) An irrelevant study in many ways

2) Primarily meaningful if

a) taking successful leadership as our datum, we work back through the leader's life history to put the details in perspective and associate the factors with our laws of group behavior

b) we conceive the study of leadership to be one of predicting what general combination (or several general combinations) of personal qualities a given political situation demands.

Trait vs. Milieu as best method of study

Stodgill "Personal Factors Res. w/ Leadership" - p. 63

2.

Let us, however, proceed more methodically in this chapter to discuss the most interesting and important elements in political leadership. There are four of them: The ^{social} psychological qualities of the leader, the ~~social~~ ^{political} skills of leadership, the ~~social~~ ^{political} milieu in which the ~~leader~~ ^{leader} operates, and the ~~social~~ ^{political} class furnishes to leadership, and the ~~social~~ ^{political} situation presents environments that provide chances for leadership.

The psychology of Leadership

What qualities do leaders have that other men do not have? If there are differences, is it these particular differences that have made him the leader? We may admit, here and now, that the social sciences have not ~~answered~~ given adequate answers to these questions. They have lavished attention upon them, ~~the~~ highly abstract and highly specific researches into them have been made. But the conditions of leadership are most complex and broad over most explanations like ~~to many~~ ^{to many} tenets.

A leader has skills, but he also has emotional appeal. There are many better rhetoricians than Franklin Roosevelt, better athletes than ~~Marshall~~^{Napoleon}, better German grammarians than Hitler, and better novelists than Winston Churchill. ~~But~~ In each case, the skill perhaps helped their chances, as did other skills they had acquired, but the sum total of their skills ~~and~~ would not give their full explanation.

dominance - submission

transference of prestige

identification w/ leaders

father or father image - cf. Def. on FDR

~~Def.~~

father

sibling - sibling

Def. on FDR

mother image - de eroticization of leader to
get rid of Oedipus complex

disbelief & unusual verifications

loss of control

gastrostomach, etc.

guilt & anxiety

- reaction

transference to person close to Pres.

Vice-Pres.
Eleanor R.

cf.
public
asceticism

Oulard vol. I French Rev.
 has a couple of pages on
 a decision of member of assembly
 re. keeping hats on, standing up
 when king approached.

also Paderewski on 'Polish Resentment'
also Federalist defense of theory of

Checks and Balances

Checks and Balances
also Litta remarks on Wazi ~~separaten~~ ^{Stations} w/
locality of de Julle visitance of per Chra

II. Political Dynamics

The Intro. of change into the state and the adjustment of the state to external pressures

II - 3

Leaders and Followers

The Leader and Social Forces

The Great man Theory

The social forces theory
The masses, socialist + dissent dem. theory

Sidney Hook

The social ~~structure~~ communication theory

Abilities of Leaders

Kind of leaders vary with situation
- Skills of leaders

Each complex state has to have different kinds of leaders
judiciary - legis. - exec. etc.

Political Class
of the Freedom
Opportunity
The Political Class - How it differs from country to country
The changing panorama of leadership and leadership groups - circ. of the elite and freedom of Opportunity.
classes as class circulate
indiv. " indiv. "

~~The effects of power on leaders~~

~~The consequences of leadership~~

~~The effects of leaders on followers~~

Changes in leadership power -
various

The attempts to restrain leaders - from
assassination to elections
leads to pub. opinion

corruption -
professionalism
lack of contact

The political personality of the "average man"

There is ^{hardly} ~~not~~ such thing in the coherent meaning
of personality

- Nearest to it
Lasswell theory of political man
S. def. theory of insecurity and anomie

Psychoanalytic theory of identification
displacement, projection, super-ego
disturbance & destructiveness, rationalization

Theory of Values (H. D. Lasswell) traditional man
Explanations of voting behavior (religious man, nationalistic
man, economic man, political [personal] man, apathetic man)

Personality types found among "average men" as well as
Readers.

Pure power man
Anomic personality
Extreme identification
Super-ego destructive type

Leadership(continued)

What is art? e.g. medicine, of politician

Art in relations to science

What is difference between art and applied science?

What is the politician's art? e.g. T.V. Smith

selections from Oliver on Hamilton

Is politics a skilled profession?

What types of procedural and organization skill are demanded
under different ideologies: Gandhi, Roosevelt, Hitler

institutions: situational facts, occupation, etc
political classes: old, new, (manners, bureaucracy,
situational crises or cycles etc., revolution
war, depression, simple ennui

What are the politician's skills as an individual

Lasswell formula: political man displaces private motives
onto public objects and rationalizes his behavior
in terms of the public interest

cf. DeGrazia on origin of political ideas
in the Political Community

This refers to basic personality directions in determining
political types

there are certainly subordinate factors in great number:
e.g. hypocrisy or sincerity of hypocrisy
height
age, etc.

Group Situational Studies: Types of Leadership Situation

A. Microscopically

- 10 1. Sociometry: Choice of associates
 - a. Howell, C.E., "Measurement of Leadership"
 - b. H.H. Jennings, "Leadership & Isolation" (see reading in Neurosis & Hartley 407-13)
- 10 2. Lewinian Group Dynamics
 - a. Lippitt study of Democratic & Authoritarian Leadership (see Kroch & Crutchfield)
- 5 3. General ^{intensive} controlled group observation
 - a. Chapple & Donald, "A Method of Evaluating Supervisory Personnel"
- 5 4. General ^{intensive} un-controlled group observation
 - a. Thiracher
 - b. W. Whyte
 - c. G. Rortell
 - d. Carlson & Harrell critique of life poll of journalists

B. Macroscopically

- 10 1. Operationally
 - Best materials in works like Rosabeth & Hopkins (The men around the leader)
 - Michels - Political Parties
 - Merton & G. - International, party, etc. kinds of leadership
 - ~~Robt on legislative context of the emerging leader~~
 - Jornell - Book Platt & his New York Machine
- 5 2. Class Situation
 - Discuss Situational Chart
 - Lakki
 - Heinberg
 - Hymen
 - Lowell & Sereno
- 5 3. Utterly complex inter-class, inter-interest situation: e.g. Godekin American Behavior

(over)

Manipulatively

Lippitt's The Governing of Men
Machiavelli's The Prince

Plunkitt of Tammany Hall

Demock, The Executive in Action

Wood, Human Nature & Management

Lippitt "From Domination to Leadership"

(3)

dust that rise from the plow. They float about aimlessly, settle anywhere, are amorphous, unimportant and ~~unimportant~~ nonessential.

A preliminary survey of leadership literature by ~~an~~ an Ohio State University ^{point} ~~illustration~~ ~~of our~~ ~~point~~ group gives us ~~124 studies~~ 124 studies of leadership are classified according to the generalization about leadership which they allegedly elicit. Certain qualities, traits, or capacities are found to be discovered frequently.

Max Weber, pp.324-92 in The Theory of Social and Economic Organization

Problems of authority

- the appeals of authority
 - affectional
 - ideal
 - material
 - legitimacy

Why classify the kinds of legitimacy

- as legal, traditional, and charismatic
- to get clarity and wade thru materials
- because different type of legitimacy brings different kinds of obedience, of administrative staffs, and modes of existing authorities.

Realism problem

forms are transitional; they blend and merge into one another.
See pp.382-3, but will discuss later.

Authority in Office: Formal Leadership

1. Legal legitimate authority

- Based on acceptance of these ideas as valid and right
 - *that legal norms can be consciously imposed on grounds of expediency or reason
 - *that the body of law is rational and consistent throughout
 - *that a person in authority must hold office
 - *that obedience is owing to the office, not the man
- Based on these modes of organization
 - * a continuous organization of rule-bound functions
 - * a carefully demarcated sphere of job competence & authority
 - * a hierarchy of supervision
 - * specialized training
 - * officials separated from ownership of means of admin. or product
 - * the incumbent does not own his position
 - * great emphasis on records and writing down everything

Weber then lists detailed characteristics of the monocratic bureaucratic type of the legal legitimate authority. 333-41

2. Traditional legitimate Authority

"Legitimacy is claimed for it and believed in on the basis of the sanctity of the order and the attendant powers of control as they have been handed down from the past, 'have always existed'" p.341
The leader here is: a personal chief rather than a "superior"

is designated according to traditionally transmitted rules

his authority is personal

the elite is tied together by personal loyalty

the staff here is composed of personal retainers not officials

great emphasis on personal relations, not enacted rules
recruited from familial or patrimonial loyal followers, or favorites

Charismatic authority(cont.)

The need for proof of charisma often enough

The results of the failure of charisma

(routinized as in ancient China where a stipulated series of failures would require the abdication of the monarch)

The followers - the corporate group of the char. leader

* not officials, often not trained

* does not recognize class or privilege

* no appointment, no dismissal, no promotion, no career

* only the "call" exists

* no definite sphere of authority or competence

* no appropriation of offices or authority

* communal relationship of the leader and disciples

* the leader preaches new laws, orders, or demands without reference to precedents.

This does not mean there is inconsistency. On contrary, his preachments may be entirely consistent.

* non-routine, as cf. with Rational or Traditional Authority

* opponents are delict in duty, not merely irrational

* no fiscal system for movement, only voluntary gifts or begging or booty.

* anti-economic, no salaries

The Routinization of charisma

Charismatic movements cannot remain stable in their pure form
Motives underlying transformation of charisma

* providing for the succession of leaders because all members of the movement are interested in its permanence

* material needs of the administrative staff

* universalization by organization

Results:

a principle of succession: charisma- e.g. Dalai Lama
revelation - oracles, lots, etc.

designation of successor by leader

" " " by admin. staff

heredity

the erratic shifting of charisma to somebody

a testing of qualifications of disciples

an hereditary social class of officials

distinction between priests and laity

crystallization of organization structure - the power of precedents and habit of office

systemization of tax collections and salary payments

The absence of pure forms and the absence of any confirmed cyclical type of authority and leadership.

American politics combines all three types of authority.

The law is a strange compound of rational, traditional and charismatic (the eloquent lawyer, the sob-sister). Some political organizations are charismatic, ~~others~~ (especially in West), others are traditional and a couple rational (Vare machine; Cermak machine). While constitutionalism in the US represents a peak of rational construction and bureaucratic deduction from rules, the elective system emphasizes personality over issues and gives charisma often freely (govt. by law vs. govt. by men). Yet the constitution is sanctified and genealogical research is active.

Good family and old immigration counts. The fight now raging between administrators and lawyers is one between rational and tradition.

*Roosevelt
Admin. showed
all 3 types of
legitimate authority*

The staff of traditional legitimacy(cont.)

- *has no clearly defined sphere of duties
- * no rational hierarchy not subject to change
- * no regular recruitment system
- * technical ~~and~~ training and fixed salaries often absent
- * great emphasis on precedents in deciding matters, the chief can give grace at will within broad limits (yet these limits are never stated in the law)
- * is compensated from the personal household and stores of the chief. Fee system common.

Sub-types of traditional authority

A. Primitive without administrative staff

gerontocracy; elders, all persons group members, not subject;
patriarchalism: Shiek type

B. Patrimonial systems where subjects are differentiated; ruler owns his domain and people; administrative staff is present.

- Sultanism is absolute patrimonialism
- decentralized patrimonialism occurs when certain areas, functions, property become appropriated by tradition among subordinate individuals or groups
 - large variety of these: e.g. leasing, pledging, sale, privileges for cooperation, or special education.
 - income of retainers often derived from these things which are called benefices. /
where the admin. staff is supported under a contract based on honour by fiefs, this is called feudalism.

Effects of traditional authority on the economy

free or rational economy is improbable because there is no coherent tax system or pricing system; limits of enterprise are set by patrimonial retainers or the chief. Non-economic virtues and values are emphasized by the system's integrating values. There is no inherent reason for refraining from substantive economic regulations.

Modern capitalism arose in the relatively coherent economies administered by semi-free urban communes in N. Italy, Holland and England

3. Charismatic authority

Charisma is applied to "a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities."

In primitive communities especially, this is found among prophets, magicians, hunt-leaders, and war-heroes

Sociology must treat this phenomenon without value judgements on individual cases.

~~Key~~ The fact that followers assign the touch of grace to a man make him eligible for our category.

The followers see the sign or miracle of such a leader. He in turn asks them to do their duty.

The rise of charisma is a social-psychological problem, some of the pre-conditions for which we have treated in this course. Anomie, identification, projection are concepts to be used in explaining the origins of a case of charismatic leadership.

(5)

What are the sources of criticism of this theory?

1. It does not explain the leadership of office -
Max Weber on Charisma, Legal Auth.
etc.

2. It does not explain the great man. (Charisma)

⑦

4. It does not explain the introjection, into the group, of leaders by outside authority.

Levin-Lippitt - White Experiment

never state as natural leader
no such thing

(7a)

5. It does not explain The developmental
impacts of leaders.

63 min.

Developmental Studies

Microscopically

- Intensive Interviews, psychoanalysis
 - of leaders
 - case studies
- Intensive Biographies w/ frameworks of analysis
 - Clarke, Fosswell on Lincoln
 - Heiden on Hitler, also Fosswell
 - De G. on Gandhi
- Intensive Biog w/ a priori framework that is not conscious
 - Education of Henry Adams
 - Sandburg on Lincoln
 - Beveridge - Life of John Marshall
 - Emerson on Napoleon
 - F.S. Oliver, on Alexander Hamilton
 - ~~W.S. Foster (Book on Napoleon)~~ Malachuk, Brian
 - ~~Scheidt, Foster, Dayton McKean, The Boss~~
 - ~~Trotsky, Huntington, Albuski~~
 - Fosswell - Psych & Pol
 - Rur & Pers
 - Bychowski on Stalin (needs no facts here of his theory)
 - Gandhi
 - Hitler, Mein Kampf

Macroscopically

- culture patterns fitted to generalizations about leadership
 - Pareto on types of society & selected leader personalities
 - Trait - Leadership in a Democratic Society
- theories of drives and needs (social and individual) fitted to generalizations about leadership
 - Schuman on Nazi Dictatorship
 - Albion - Great Man vs. Social Forces
 - Tolstoi - on Napoleon in War & Peace
 - Max Nomad - The 19th century of leadership

~~The Stigall Study, The General Summary, The failures~~
~~and so.~~

(8.)

~~6. It does not explain the general role of culture.~~

7. It does not explain leadership lag -- why the group does not respond to outside conditions affecting its goals. Failure of functional approach
Meaning of informal leadership

The Boss

also the Boss as a new type
of leader coming up to fill
the gap.

Heaven You're the Boss
Farley Behind the Ballots

~~8. It does not explain the role of the leader.~~