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The Power Structure Of An Urban Barrio: South Barelas, New Mexico

Maxine Baca Zinn

This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of The University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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SOUTH BARELAS, NEW MEXICO

Title

Maxine Baca Zinn

Candidate

Sociology

Department

David T. Bazelon

Dean

Aug. 6, 1970

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Committee

Harold C. Meier

Chairman

Charles E. Woodhouse

Lewis G. Blanford

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BY
MAXINE BACA ZINN
B.A., California State College
at Long Beach, 1966

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
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in the Graduate School of
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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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THE POWER STRUCTURE OF AN URBAN BARRIO:
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Maxine Baca Zinn, M.A.
Department of Sociology
The University of New Mexico, 1970

This study is an analysis of the power wielding process in South Barelas, New Mexico. It also deals with methodological issues in the study of community power.

Research in community power is characterized by opposing assumptions concerning the methodological superiority of either the reputational or the decision making approach. This study utilizes both techniques.

Exploratory interviews provided a list of potential influentials. Ten respondents were then asked to indicate those on the list they would enlist for help in a major community project. Subsequent interviews with resultant potential influentials provided a power structure of 17 leaders. Refusal of respondents to rank order the influentials necessitated a qualitative ordering of leaders. Based on kind of leadership activity, influentials were placed in the following categories: party "politicos," agency sub-professionals, activists, and institutional leaders.

Issues affecting the entire subcommunity were the focus of the decision making approach. A series of concrete decisions provided a framework by means of which the activities of the reputational leaders were assessed. This analysis indicated that power in Barelas is channeled through specialized substructures in the community, with spheres of influence being defined by organizational orientations of leaders.

Because South Barelas is one of the top three areas of acute deprivation in Bernalillo County, a number of federally funded community

action programs have been institutionalized. This community action complex proved to be of crucial importance in the distribution of power in the community.

Further examination of decision making events within the framework of Peter M. Blau's model of mediating values in complex substructures revealed that power in Barelas is a dynamic process, characterized by leadership phasing.

Findings yielded by the reputational and decision making techniques were compatible and consistent with the literature of both approaches. Both methods provided static descriptions of community power. However, further analysis within a change oriented framework revealed a dialectical pattern of leadership succession.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Purpose and Method

There are not many concepts as evocative as power. Almost everything in political sociology deals in one way or another with this subject. The recent increase in local community power studies by social scientists has again focused attention on the persistent problem of power in human affairs.

In most communities there are persons who make decisions and take action on the residents' behalf. Who are they? How do they operate? The present study is an attempt to determine the ways in which power operates in an urban Mexican American subcommunity of Albuquerque, New Mexico. The research deals not only with the analysis of a particular subcommunity, but also with methodological issues in the study of community power.

Community power research has been characterized by opposing assumptions and findings. The literature in this area is pervaded by studies which follow either the "economic-elite dominance" model or the "pluralist" model. Much of the discussion concerning power has been locked in controversy over political ideology, conceptualization of power and decision making, and research methods. Authors following the former hypothesis found elite patterns by assessing power in terms of the positions or reputations of those described as influential, while writers following the latter hypothesis concentrate on participation in political decision making to demonstrate a pluralist structure of influence.

Essentially, both methods of measuring community power have been utilized in this study. Power has been determined by using a combination of reputational and decisional methods. There were no initial assumptions concerning the inherent superiority of either method. Rather, the two methods were initially conceived as mutually supportive means of ascertaining power.

An initial methodological problem was the selection of the specific "field" in which to carry out the research. In a recent discussion of community power structure research, Rossi concluded that there have been sufficient "depth" studies of single communities and that research on decision-making should now be extensive and comparative rather than being based on one case study technique.[1] Recent literature does indicate as Clark suggests, that the late 1960's are destined to become the period of the Comparative Revolution.[2] Justification for the present intensive case study of a single community lies in the nature of the community itself. The following considerations prompted selection of this research problem:

1. Power relationships have never been investigated within the framework of economic deprivation.
2. The relationship of the decision-making process within the ethnic subcommunity to the larger social structure has not been studied extensively.
3. Current Chicano cultural and political movements aimed at achieving equal representation and power within the American social system suggest that the Southwestern barrio provides a challenging arena within which the dynamics of power and influence may be investigated.

The present study examines the applicability of the potential leadership pattern to actions requiring cooperative effort by several public agencies. An attempt is being made to identify the forces that encourage cooperative action to solve poverty problems and those that discourage it, to discern the links that join together separate community components and extracommunity agencies in the pursuit of common problems, and to discover the extent to which those links can be equated with a community power structure capable of inducing common action among the several units.

General questions within the broad framework outlined above are:

1. To what extent do methods based on reputation and decision-making yield similar answers to the question, "Who are the most powerful in the community?"
2. What is the relationship between power wielding process in the subcommunity, and power wielding processes at the municipal, precinct, and state level?
3. What are the social characteristics of decision makers?
4. Are there cliques of power wielding individuals?
5. Through what institution does initiatory leadership arise and from which ones does general supportive leadership come?

As the study progressed it became clear that the following question whould be included:

6. What is the role of the poor in urban politics?

The Community and the Population

Various characteristics of a community impinge upon and vitally affect roles and statuses in the decision making process. Description of economic and demographic characteristics of South Barelas will provide a backdrop for the chapters that follow, as well as an identification of those features which may differentiate patterns of decision making here, from patterns found in other communities.

The territory of South Barelas includes the area of Barelas south of Bridge Boulevard, north of Woodward, east of the Rio Grande River, and west of the railroad tracks, thus falling neatly within the area encompassed by census tract 42. Long recognized as one of Albuquerque's major poverty pockets, Barelas was identified as one of the three areas of acute deprivation by Philip Reno in his study of poverty in Bernalillo County.[3] The following characteristics for this area were derived from this study based on 1960 Census data. (See Table 1.)

South Barelas today has a population of 1,900.[4] 1960 Census data indicates that of the 403 housing units in the community, only 39 were listed as being in sound condition, 227 are deteriorating, and 137 are dilapidated.[5]

Research efforts by Varley and Potter in 1967 to evaluate the operation of the South Barelas Opportunity Center provide somewhat more up-to-date figures of the characteristics of this area. (See Table 2.) In addition to the exceedingly depressed income level of Barelas residents, the 1967 study substantiated that the overwhelming bulk of the job skills are in the unskilled category with few in the semi-skilled and skilled categories.[6]

TABLE 1

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF BARELAS

	% of all Families by Incomes Under:			Unemployment Among Male Adults	Adults with Less than 8 Yrs. School	Median Yrs. of School Completed	% of Spanish Surnames in Tot. Pop.
	$5,000	$3,000	$1,000				
Bernalillo County Total Population	35.5	15.3	3.4	4.8	14.5	12.2	12.5
South Barelas	75.8	44.6	11.0	12.4	55.2	7.4	79.0

Source: Philip Reno, Poverty in Bernallilo County.

TABLE 2

PER CAPITA INCOME CHARACTERISTICS IN 1967

% Sustained by Gainful Employment	% Sustained by Combination of Gainful Employment and Pensions	% Receive Support Only From Pensions	% Sustained by Welfare Including Aid to Dependent Children	% Having no Visible Means of Support
52	10	16	20	2

Source: David Varley, A Discription and Evaluation of the South Barelas Opportunity and Training Center.

This area is one of the top three in the Bernalillo County for number of arrests and for amount of truancy.[7]

Alcholism and drug addiction also rank disproportionately high in South Barelas.

Current data on population characteristics of South Barelas are not available and it is beyond the scope of this study to obtain such data. However, a 1970 survey on 112 Barelas families, conducted by the Model Cities Program, provides information which is pertinent to the depressed nature of the community. Average family income is $2,000.00. Thirty-five homes have well water, 71 have city water, and three have no water. Seventy-four homes are equipped with private toilet facilities, 35 homes have outdoor toilets. The five major problems expressed by the residents surveyed were:

1. Sewer smell.
2. Want water connected and indoor facilities.
3. Alcoholism.
4. Unpaved roads.
5. Leaking roofs.

The residents of South Barelas have a strong physical and social identification with the area, an identification which is strengthened by the physical boundries. Since its annexation to the city in January 1965, the south boundry extended from the city sewage plant to Woodward Road, while the east and west boundries are the railroad tracks surrounded predominantly by warehouses, and the river. This caused the area to be physically isolated from the city, except on the North. However, due to long-standing internal political disagreement, South Barelas separated from North Barelas and set up its northern boundry at

Bridge Street. Although technically, a subcommunity, South Barelas will herein be referred to as a community following Blau's definition of a community as an organized collectivity with a territorial base and geographical limits that do not overlap with those of other communities.[8]

Thus, Barelas may be viewed as a social system, comprised of patterned social relations of individuals and groups. Many of the substructures of this community are at the same time substructures of larger systems which extend beyond Barelas.[9]

At the present time, commercial units in South Barelas are limited to one bar and one small grocery store. Riverview Elementary School is the only formal educational unit. Students from the community attend Washington Junior High and Albuquerque High School where most boys become affiliated with R.O.T.C. Community residents, most of whom are Catholic, attend Sacred Heart Church in North Barelas. For laundromats, grocery store outlets, gas stations, the residents must go outside the community.

In general, the life-style of the population follows many Hispano traditions. While kinship and religion are still important structural mechanisms, there are a number of community service organizations which do not have prototypes in the traditional village. One of these is the Barelas Community Improvement Association, formed in November of 1964 by a small group of residents intent on community improvement. A constitution borrowed from Peace Corps trainees who were using Barelas as a training ground for community development, furnished the organizational framework for the Association. The Association was composed of a General Assembly, a thirteen member board of directors of which five are the president, vice president, secretary-

treasurer and two representatives and various committees created for the accomplishing of some specific service. The group waged a campaign to be annexed to the city, in order to obtain city water and sewer lines, street paving, and street lights. The Albuquerque-Bernalillo County Economic Opportunity Board, in existence since September 1964, delegated a task force to work with the Association.

Through the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Association in 1966 formed the South Barelas Training Center. The lack of specialized skills was to be remedied through a $16,000 grant which would train women in hotel and motel housekeeping duties and men in yard and landscaping work. Community service functions were combined with training functions into the South Barelas Neighborhood Center funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity for $59,868.00. In addition to specific training programs mentioned above, the Center functions as a service outpost for the following:

1. Pre- and post-natal clinics.
2. Family Consultation.
3. Bernalillo County Planned Parenthood Association.
4. Legal Aid.

Center staff consisting of a director, an assistant director and three outreach workers also instruct the local residents in securing the services of other organizations such as welfare, police, hospital, etc.

Except for the training programs, the South Barelas Neighborhood Center continues to serve the residents, helping them become self-sustaining and contributing members of the larger society. This general purpose is regarded by Varley as involving three analytically

distinctive functions:

1. The integrative function refers to efforts to help the poor become meaningfully involved in the activities of the larger society. This involvement takes many forms and is manifested through a variety of institutions such as those of an educational, economic, or political character.
2. The leadership development function involves both the problem of recruitment and the problem of training in initiating action, anticipating and avoiding trouble, settling disputes equitably, and planning ahead.
3. The function of collective action refers to the mobilization of the poor in such a way as to foster a collective expression of beliefs and feelings about issues and problems.[10]

In August of 1966, under a $120,000 grant, the Home Improvement Project administered by the University of New Mexico, was implemented in Barelas. The HIP was designed to develop new approaches to community and individual improvement through self-help in impoverished areas, specifically those with the distinctive characteristics of peripheral urban communities where environment, heritage, and culture peculiar to the Chicano population of the Southwest have created conditions which are unique in comparison with the big city slums of the more industrialized areas of the United States. The project used a consolidated approach to assisting impoverished communities in dealing with their two most pressing problems; inadequate housing and unemployment of the untrained and unskilled youth of these communities.[11] Pervading the entire project were the development of a "sense of purpose" and "personal involvement" both in the development of marketable skills and attitudes

in the youth being trained and the permanent resident - owners whose homes were used as "on-the-job" training laboratories. The HIP attempted to encourage the individual youth to recognize that he could develop skills that would contribute to immediately recognizable improvements in the community and environment of which he was a part. Personal involvement of the home owner was made possible by his contributing the materials used in the improvement of his home and whenever possible, his own efforts in such activities as painting and final clean-up.[12]

The linking of the H.I. Project with the Barelas Improvement Association gave residents a part in the decision making process as the Association recommended houses for renovation, and selected trainees. Thus, the project served as a mechanism for amplifying community action by teaching trainees home construction skills, establishing and broadening the communities' organizational structures, increasing the value of property, rehabilitating many poor families and young men, establishing cooperation between trainees, residents and project leaders, increasing the communication of local problems, and enlarging the aspirations of trainees and residents.[13]

Following the creation of a National Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1965, and the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, the Model Cities Program was established in Albuquerque in 1967. It is a program to:

> "assist comprehensive city demonstration programs for rebuilding slum and blighted areas and for providing the public facilities and services necessary to improve the general welfare of the people who live in those areas ...to expand housing, job, and income opportunities, to reduce dependence on welfare payments, to improve educational facilities and programs, to combat disease and ill health, to reduce the incidence of crime and delinquency, to enhance recreational and cultural

> opportunities...and to accomplish these objectives through the most effective and economical concentration and coordination of Federal, State and local public and private efforts to improve the quality of urban life."[14]

Active participation and leadership by local governments is the premise upon which the entire Model Cities Program is built. Correspondingly, "widespread citizen participation" in model neighborhoods is one of the more unique requirements for participation in this program, it was necessary that the residents of South Barelas vote on whether their area should remain industrially zoned, or become residentially zoned. Following a period of explanation and orientation by Model Cities employees (many of whom were themselves residents of the community) in block meetings and Association meetings, property owners voted in a special election to remain industrial. This decision was needed for inclusion in the Model Cities Program, since it specified that assistance to relocate would be given the residents. City planners suggested the area remain industrial because the nearby railroad tracks, the river and the city sewage plant made the area unsuitable for residential development.

Taking place gradually relocation has begun with Kathryn and Smith street residences being assessed for fair market value. To help families find homes and move with as little difficulty as possible, the Neighborhood Redevelopment Program, under the Urban Renewal Agency (technically separate, but functionally united with Model Cities) has entered the picture. Depending on income, number of persons in a household, and ownership of property, residents may qualify for a maximum of $5,000 for further assistance in relocation.

While the decision of Barelas residents to relocate has spelled

the eventual extinction of the community, the social structure remains intact. Relocation is a sluggish process, bound up in policies and requirements of the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. The procedure has been further retarded by a recent cut in Neighborhood Development Funds.

The introduction of a series of community development programs into Barelas has resulted in the unfolding of a new foundation of social organization. Those residents who sett l the area in the early 1900's came primarily from rural communities in Southern New Mexico, bringing with them the values and customs of an agricultural society. Lacking marketable skills, they were prevented from adjusting successfully to the urban setting. Further handicapped by linguistic and educational disabilities, and decreasing opportunities for wage-work, residents were forced to rely on government relief. Studies of the effects of urbanization on these migrants indicate that they became an ecologically separated ethnic minority with little of the internal cohesiveness so characteristic of village life.[15] Removal of the focal element of village life, i.e., land, and the lack of a suitable structuring principle to replace what had been lost, thus created a barrio characterized by poverty, and all those features which accompany social disorganization.

The thrust of the community improvement programs has been a restructuring of Barelas. By introducing new community units which have locality relevant functions, federal programs launched a new arrangement of inter-relationships, both within the community and between the community and the larger society.

The effect of this has been to solidify integration both within the community and between the community and the larger society. In

Warren's terms, both horizontal and vertical linkages have been strengthened. Following Warren's model of the relationships between community systems, the vertical pattern of Barelas may be used to refer to the structural and functional relation of its various social units and sub-systems to extracommunity systems. The relationship across different units and sub-systems operating in Barelas are the horizontal pattern.[16] (See Figure 1.)

The social structure of this community consists of the dynamic interplay of these two patterns, an interplay which sometimes brings the vertical relationships into sharp focus, at other times brings the horizontal relationships into sharp focus, but an interplay in which each type of relationship is present in the decision making process. Both patterns are illustrated in the following chart adapted from Warren's structural functional model of the community. For present purposes, those units having most relevance for the ordering of power relationship have been included. The prepondrance of community action oriented units in Barelas is thus illuminated.

FIGURE 1

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF BARELAS

	Unit	Vertical Relationship
Locality-Relevant Functions		
Production, Distribution, Consumption	Neighborhood Center	Department of Health and Social Services Planned Parenthood Legal Aid Bernalillo Co. Medical Center Bernalillo Co. Mental Health Center
Mutual Support	Community Association Housing Committee	Economic Opportunity Board Model Cities Urban Renewal
	Recreation Program	
	Boy Scouts	
	Cooking, Sewing, Ceramics Clubs	
Social Control	Riverview School	Albuquerque Public Schools
	Ward 5-B Politicos	Democratic Party

CHAPTER I

Footnotes

1. Peter H. Rossi, "Community Decision Making," Administrative Science Quarterly, 1 (March, 1957), pp. 415-443.

2. Terry N. Clark, Community Structure and Decision Making: Comparative Analysis (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1968), p. 5.

3. Philip Reno, "Poverty in Bernalillo County," A Report to the Albuquerque-Bernalillo County Economic Opportunity Board, n.d.

4. The Albuquerque Journal, February 19, 1970.

5. U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1970. Albuquerque, New Mexico. U.S. Department of Commerce, p. 47.

6. David W. Varley, "A Description and Evaluation of the South Barelas Opportunity and Training Center," A Report for the Albuquerque-Bernalillo County Economic Opportunity Board, April, 1967, pp. 10-11.

7. Ibid., p. 8.

8. Peter M. Blau, Exchange and Power in Social Life (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964), p. 285.

9. Roland L. Warren, The Community in America (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), p. 50.

10. Varley, op. cit., pp. 5-8.

11. Albert I. Pierce, "Report of the Evaluative Survey of the Home Improvement and Training Project," The University of New Mexico, December, 1967, p. 1.

12. Ibid., p. 2.

13. L. J. Van Dyke, "Evaluation of the Home Improvement Training Project (CAP 66-9366) of the University of New Mexico," n.d.

14. "U.S. Congress - Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Act of 1966," (Title 1, Public Law 89-754, 89th Congress, 2nd Session, 1966), p. 1.

15. Nancie L. Gonzales, The Spanish-Americans of New Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967), p. 128.

16. Warren, op. cit., p. 50.

CHAPTER II

SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

Since the present study utilizes both research strategies, it is necessary to examine the literature which explains the divergent research consequences of the reputational and decision-making approaches.

Reputational Studies and the Elite Model of Community Power

The recent resurgence of the economic elite dominance hypothesis at the community level is primarily the result of the publication, Community Power Structure, by Floyd Hunter. Based on a new research technique, promising to make the study of political influence easier and more systematic. this volume reported that power in Regional City (Atlanta) was concentrated in a small cohesive elite of businessmen. Hunter described this elite as interacting socially and determining policy informally, behind the scenes. Civic leaders and politicians were subordinate to this power elite. A clear division of labor is outlined. The topmost leaders with important economic connections made basic policy decisions. "The men in the understructure of power become the doers and are activated by the policy makers - the initiators."[1]

The methods Hunter used in reaching these conclusions have come to be called the "reputational approach." The basic assumption underlying this method is that reputations for influence are an index of the distribution of influence. The basic question guiding Hunter and other researchers utilizing this technique is: "Who has the power in this community?" or, in effect, "Who is running this town?" Such questions assume that there exists a set of power holders whose control

of a broad spectrum of resources enables them to determine public policies. Operationally, the methodology involves asking "knowledgables" - those who are in a position to have information about community affairs - for the names of those who are generally most important in getting things done, or whom the knowledgables should enlist if they wanted to get something done. This technique results in a list of the names of the "influentials" most nominated by the knowledgable panel. Power is imputed to the leader nominees according to the number of times they are named by respondents; the highest-ranking nominees are then described as the community's power structure. In some studies, the members of this list of influentials are then interviewed to determine how they exercise power and with whom they interact in public or private affairs.[2] Those researchers utilizing the reputational approach, or modifications thereof, have generally found a relationship between socio-economic status and power. One of the earliest community power studies which describes the disproportionate influence of economic elites in the community power structure was that of the Lynds. The inner financial banking group of Middletown was said to be the hub of a wheel which ran the city. One family was said to be the nucleus of business control, and its influence extended into every aspect of community life.[3]

Attempting to copy and improve upon Hunter's research Delbert C. Miller asked: (1) Do business leaders predominate in the community's power structure? (2) Is community power exercised through cliques of leaders? He compared his findings in Pacific City (Seattle) with data gathered in an English City. His findings support both questions for Pacific City, less so for English City. Those nominated most influential were designated "Top Influentials" and nominated the dozen "Key

Influentials." Key influentials were primarily businessmen (67 per cent). Miller concluded that businessmen do exert a predominant influence in community decision-making in Pacific City. "Key Influentials are a significant feature of any community power structure, for they are the sociometric leaders. The initiation and sanction of policy tends to be centered about them so that they may greatly influence the values which dominate in decision making."[4]

The importance of the economic dimension in community power structures is reflected in the study of Pacific City conducted by Barth and Abu-Lahan, who concluded that although there is an identifiable structure of leadership in the Negro-subcommunity, the leaders themselves are not power wielders or decision makers. "The subcommunity lacked large scale business and industrial organizations, consequently no genuine power structure had developed."[5]

In Robert O. Schulze's study of Cibola, a midwestern "satellite community" the major finding was that as a city grows from an isolated, self-contained entity to an urbanized community its sociopolitical power structure changes from a monolithic one dominated by persons possessing great economic power to a bifurcated structure comprising "two crucial and relatively discrete power sets, the economic dominants and the public leaders."[6] Emerging in this bifurcated structure was a new power elite - a group of middle class business and professional men who monopolized the overt direction of the political and civic life of Cibola.

Research consequences of the reputational approach have generally been similar; American communities are run by a small group of persons, primarily business and social leaders, with the citizenry essentially uninvolved or unimportant in the development of community policies. This

methodological approach, as well as its consequences, have some important theoretical implications which necessitate consideration.

The idea that power is derived from control over the crucial or economic activities in a social system forms the core of Marx' sociology. Economic phenomena give rise to political organization. Therefore the history of social institutions is determined by efforts of classes either to remove or impose exploitative burdens.[7] While the interests defended are class interests, the class struggle is political. For Marx, relation to the means or control of production is the foundation of a society's social and political institutions, and conflict among groups with different property relations is the major source of large scale social change. The economic dominants discovered by most reputational studies seem to affirm the Marxian emphasis upon the importance of the economic or interest variable.

Whereas Marx was less careful to analytically differentiate between economic and political power, Max Weber argued that for conceptual clarity the spheres should be distinguished. Being conceptual rather than real, this distinction enables the understanding of the relationship between economic and political activity. Weber perceived an economy of politics as well as a politics of economy in that economic activity may involve a recourse to methods of force and consequently acquire a political dimension. Political activity (exercise of domination by one or more men over other men) requires economic activity, that is, possession or use of the necessary means to satisfy the desires of men.[8]

Although Marxian implications are reflected in their results, those studies of local power which have utilized the reputational

methodology are derived primarily from the theoretical formulations of Weber, specifically his contention that society is a system of meanings. According to Weber, sociological statements concern observed or observable facts and they seek to arrive at a definite reality in human behavior in terms of the meanings assigned to it by the actors themselves. Power is conceptualized as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance, regardless of the basis upon which this probability rests."[9] The estimate of the probability is attributed to the judgment of the power subject. Power in reputational studies is Weberian in that the potential to act is stressed.

As Dennis Wrong points out, if an actor is believed to be powerful, if he knows that others hold such a belief and if he encourages it, then he does have power. The view that power is primarily a function of the subjective evaluations of more or less representative or significant elements in the population of a social system is thus one theoretical element guiding reputational strategy.

Informants are not randomly selected cross sections of the populations, but individuals presumed to be knowledgable because of their formal, local social positions. This approach is associated with Harold Lasswell, who viewed power in terms of certain functional statuses (and requisite skills) which give their occupants decisive control over the key values in a social system.[10]

According to Polsby, the most general statement of the theory contained in elitist community power literature is as follows: power is a subsidiary aspect of the community's social structure. Referring to this conception as a "stratification theory" of community power since

it suggests that the pattern of social stratification is the principle determinant of power, Polsby finds that stratification studies make five assertions in common about power in American communities. (1) The upper class rules in local community life. (2) Political and civic leaders are subordinate to the upper class. (3) A single "power elite" rules in the community. (4) The upper-class power elite rules in its own interests. (5) Social conflict takes place between the upper and lower classes.[11]

Issue Analysis and the Pluralist Model of Community Power

The reputational approach has been severly criticized by a number of scholars. The basic objection being that in reality power is variable from issue to issue, while in the reputational approach a static definition of power is assumed and reported. According to Wolfinger there are two major causes if ambiguity inherent in asking respondents to name in rank order the most powerful members of their community; the variability of power from one issue to another; and the difficulty of making sure that the researcher and respondent share the same definition of power.[12]

Examining "stratification studies" of community power, Polsby determined that all exhibit symptoms of scientific inadequacy, and noted three methodological errors leading to the failure to test propositions empirically. First, there is the identification, by definition, of economic or status elites with power elites, as in the case of Miller and Barth and Abu-Laban. Secondly, there is the strong propensity to interview only, or primarily, businessmen, as in the cases of Hunter

and Schulze. Thirdly, there is the habit of not specifying issues.[13]

Most critics of the elite studies concentrate their attacks on the methodological aspects of this research. Still, there is invariably an alternative theoretical perspective in their writings. This alternative perspective questions the existence of a single center of power, or a cohesive coalition of groups which wield power in American communities. Instead, the critics propose that there are usually multiple centers of power, none of which is completely sovereign. In addition, these centers of power do not overlap or coalesce from issue-area to issue-area in any consistent way. In other words, American communities are pluralistic.[14]

Sociologists have tended to favor isolating a power configuration which their knowledgable experts assume controls local decisions. Political scientists more frequently have favored an issue analysis approach, following the pluralist model of community power.

This debate on the prevailing structure of power in American communities raises a significant question in the sociology of knowledge. Why do different sets of analysts employ such disparate methodologies and reach such different conclusions? It has been suggested that the answer may lie in part in the different outlook on American society which sociologists and political scientists have adopted as a result of their professional training.[15]

The empirical presumptions guiding pluralist research may also be considered embryonic political theories. The normative dimension of pluralist analysis is clear. As Hawley notes, the theoretical assumptions of the pluralists seem to carry the implicit judgment that pluralist political systems are "better" (i.e., more democratic) than elite

political systems.[16]

Pluralism may be defined as a sociopolitical system in which the power of the state is shared with a large number of private groups, interest organizations, and individuals represented by such organizations. The following propositions include several of the basic contemporary tenets of pluralism. (1) That competing centers and bases of power and influence exist within a political community. (2) That the opportunities exist for individual and organizational access into the political system. (3) That individuals actively participate in and make their will felt through organizations of many kinds. (4) That elections are a viable instrument of national participation in political decisions, including those on specific issues. (5) That a consensus exists on what may be called the "democratic creed."[17]

Such theoretical assumptions are illustrated in Robert Dahl's influential study of New Haven, Connecticut. In addition to developing an alternative research methodology, Who Governs? is a comprehensive attempt to develop an empirically based theory of democratic pluralism. Dahl found that New Haven is not a homogeneous community, but one made up of immigrant minority groups. Power is, therefore, widely dispersed among the various elements in the community. Examining the issue areas to determine what processes of influence were at work, Dahl found that in each of a number of key sectors of public policy, a few persons have great direct influence on the choices that are made; most citizens, by contrast, seem to have little direct influence. Yet, voters exert indirect influence on the decisions of leaders by means of elections. The distribution of resources and the way they are used are considered an important source of political stability, and political change. Wide-

spread consensus on the American creed of democracy and equality is also a stabilizing factor.[18]

Nelson Polsby, another of the Yale school of power elite critics, regards the process of decision making as the nucleus of the phenomenon of power. An associate of Dahl on the New Haven Project, Polsby isolated elites in three issue areas which were of importance to the total community - urban redevelopment, political nominations, and public education. By conducting lengthy formal interviews, observing the meetings and formal activities of city officials serving on a full-time basis, and contacting informants in the community, he was able to develop "pools" of decision-making individuals in each issue area. Interviews with many persons in these pools led to the development of inventories of leaders classified according to the number and kind of decisions made, or an inventory of policy areas classified according to the ways in which policy outcomes were achieved. He suggests that such inventories can be used to identify both special and general, random or repetitive, aspects of community power.[19]

Comparing his findings with those characteristics of the elite literature, he states: "In none of these three issue areas could we determine the faintest hint of what Hunter described for Regional City, the Lynds for Middletown, and Warner for Jonesville; namely, the more or less covert determination of community policies by a politically homogenous economic and social elite."[20] He further suggests that the differences in findings are due to differences in research procedure and theory rather than to some peculiarity in the social structure of New Haven.

In his critique of community power studies, Sethard Fisher views the application of this approach with some reservations. "The process of decision making almost invariably includes spontaneous and private discussion of issues from which researchers might be excluded. It might also be contended that the decision-making process is but one facet of a complex and interwoven series of past and present community processes, and that to fully understand one process requires knowledge of others. In addition, Polsby selected only three issue areas out of many possibilities. This may mean that his findings have lower validity in other areas and thus they must be used with considerable caution."[21]

Refining Dahl's technique of decision-making analysis, Aaron B. Widlavsky considered all issues of conflict in the small college town of Oberlin, Ohio, rather than the limited number examined by Dahl and Polsby. He shows that the pluralist model can apply to a small town as well as to a larger one, and that conflict appears even in homogeneous communities. "There is no person or group which exerts leadership in all issue areas. To the extent that overlap between issue areas exists, it is held predominantly by public officials...who owe their positions directly or indirectly to expressions of the democratic process through a free ballot with universal suffrage."[22] The common methodological threads running through most of thsoe studies are the emphasis on outcomes of issues and the relations between various segments of the community as material for assessing the structure and process of power.

Having reviewed the methodological debate, it becomes evident that the distinction between the perception and the execution of power is precisely what distinguishes elitists from pluralists. According to

Irving Horowitz, the former has been more concerned with power perception, and the latter more with power exercise than is healthy for either.[23]

As the debate over methodology goes on, it becomes increasingly clear that each method might be striking at a different dimension of power within the same setting. A number of researchers have begun to examine empirically the usefulness of the reputational and decisional approaches. Such inquiry has produced, by the mid-sixties, an awareness of the strengths and limitations of these research methods.[24]

Freeman and his associates compared alternative approaches to the problem of locating leaders in a single community. Decision making, voluntary activity, reputation, and position were compared. It was found that these procedures did not converge on a single set of leaders. Which leaders were uncovered appeared to be a function of the mode of study. Some overlap was evident, however, and these patterns of overlap suggested three distinct "types" of leaders. These were termed (1) Institutional leaders, (2) Effectors, and (3) Activists. According to the researchers, each of these types plays a distinct role in leadership activity.[25]

A combination of the reputational and decisional methods of measuring power was undertaken by Robert Presthus in two communities. Beginning with the theoretical assumption that the decisional strategy would provide more objective evidence as to the distribution of power, he modified this conception in favor of the conclusion that neither method was unqualifiedly superior to the other. While each method has its particular weaknesses and strengths, the two methods would best be conceived as mutually supportive means of ascertaining power. The reputational method tended to isolate those with high "positional"

status which gave them a high power potential even though they did not always exercise this power overtly. Presthus found it useful to be made aware of these "behind-the-scenes" leaders, particularly because the resources (both human and financial) of the organizations they controlled were frequently brought into the major decisions. Although such individuals did not always appear on the decisional list, their appearance on the reputational scale directed attention to the question why men who were judged to be powerful by the most sophisticated members of the community failed to be identified by the decisional method. By asking the question the other way around, it was possible to make judgments about the relative power of some individuals, who appeared on the decisional list but were not identified by the alternative method. For example, some decisional leaders played essentially implementary or formal roles in several decisions. Most broadly, the decisional method was found to have the advantage of focusing on behavior, enabling the researcher to differentiate better between overt and potential power. Thus, the use of both methods gave a more systematic differentiation among members of the power structure.[26]

Studies such as those by Freeman et. al. and Presthus signal the evolving resolution of the methodological dispute, as comparison within an empirical framework uncovers different dimensions of power. This suggests the advisability of measuring power from at least two different perspectives.

Major Concepts Utilized in the Present Study

Lack of conceptual clarity in the area of community power has contributed to much of the prevailing disagreement. It follows that

the construction of a conceptual framework is a particularly difficult task in a project of this nature. Yet, conceptual specification is essential. The following are thus the major concepts relevant to this study:

POWER may be conceptualized as a system of social relationships. This presupposes in every community a certain ongoing network of fairly stable sub-systems, activated by social, economic, ethnic, religious, and friendship ties and claims.[27] This systemic orientation toward power follows Clark's emphasis on basic units as actors operating in one or more status positions within a specific social system.[28] Dennis Wrong asserts that the idea of "potential" should be regarded as implicit in all non-behavioristic definitions that treat power as in some sense a capacity distinguished from its overt exercise.[29] Robert Bierstedt maintains that "it may seem redundant to say so, but power is always potential."[30] Still, when power is defined as a capacity it may be either actual or potential. Wrong distinguishes between potential power and possible power, which in the case of groups requires social mobilization to become actual and potential.[31] Clark's conceptualization goes beyond Wrong's theorizing, however a basic consistency remains. Thus, for present purposes, power is viewed as the capacity of actors to select and change, and to attain goals within a social system. Power, conceived as a distribution of resources, may be converted into influence. INFLUENCE is the exercise of power that brings about change in a social system.[32]

Power activated through influence may be brought to bear in concrete DECISIONS which are conceived as choices among alternative goals.[33]

By following the conceptualization set forth by Clark, it has been possible to retain concepts applicable to the two approaches that are herein being utilized.

CHAPTER II

Footnotes

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CHAPTER III

THE REPUTATIONAL APPROACH

The present study followed Hunter's research design insofar as possible; however, due to certain unique features of the community under investigation, most notably size and limited number of organizations, certain modifications became necessary.

Initial Interviews

A number of informal exploratory interviews were conducted with approximately 15 strategically located individuals in Barelas. These people were strategically located in the sense that they occupied certain sensitive positions in governmental or civic bodies, or community service agencies. These interviews proved useful for marking out the boundaries of later work, and for producing descriptive accounts of the way certain problems were being handled and the major people and organizations involved in the issues. The names of subcommunity organizations through which influence might be channeled were obtained. Also, a list of "important issues for the subcommunity" suggested by the informants was compiled. From these sources 23 potential influentials, five organizations, and about seven issues were obtained.

Two questionnaires were constructed: one containing the names of the potential leaders, and the other of the organizations. (See Appendix A.) A panel of 10 respondents representative of the various institutional areas of the community was selected. In a personal interview each respondent reported how well he knew each potential influential and added names of others whom he believed to have been omitted.

Following Hunter, it was stated at the beginning of each interview that the researcher was interested in the process of power or influence rather than in identifying the persons. It was explained that it was necessary to use names in order to get data, but that all names would be disguised in this exposition of findings. He then selected from the list and placed in rank order the names of people he would choose for help in a major project requiring a decision by a group of subcommunity leaders.

Although the respondents were willing to name people they would choose for help, not a single respondent complied with the directions concerning the ranking of people on the list. For the most part, no reason was given for this refusal. All respondents were eager to discuss either individuals on the list in qualitative frames of reference, or to explain that they did not approve of studies such as this one. Because most respondents were verbose concerning individuals on the list, it was surprising that they would not attach quantitative value to leadership positions. The interviewees were then asked about organizations in the community. In the second questionnaire they were asked to list those organizations which they considered most important in Barelas. They were further asked which issues or projects, either current or past, were most important to the people of Barelas. Most of the individuals interviewed ignored the second questionnaire, preferring to discuss leaders on the potential influentials list instead. Thus, it was not possible to rate organizations. Eleven of the potential influentials received three or more nominations. (See Figure 2.)

With information from these interviews the list numbered 23 individuals. In Hunter's research and in the research of most of those

FIGURE 2

INITIAL INTERVIEWS IN BARELAS

Mr. Costilla	10	(No. of Nominations)
Mr. Guadalupe	9	
Mr. Jaliso	8	
Mrs. Hidalgo	6	
Mrs. Jalisco	6	
Mr. Villanueva	6	
Mr. Veracruz	5	
Mr. Rosario	5	
Mr. Valencia	5	
Mr. Fransisco	4	
Mr. Animas	1	
Mr. Chama	1	
Mrs. Chama	1	
Mr. Espanola	1	
Mr. Ignacio	1	
Mr. Mora	1	
Mr. San Miguel	1	
Mr. Sanchez	1	
Father Yucatan	1	

Not listed on the potential influentials list, but received one or more nominations were:

Mr. Vallecitos

Mr. Ventana

Mr. Dulce

Mr. Anton Chico

who have followed his method, the list has been narrowed at this point. In present research, it was merely altered substantively, four being scratched, four added.

Interviewing the Probable Influentials

A second phase of the field work involved interviewing the 23 probable influentials. Each respondent was asked to fill out a questionnaire seeking information about his background, which 10 nominees on the list of 23 he considered most influential, and about his activities in the community. Each respondent was asked to indicate whether he belonged to any of the same organizations as individuals on the list and to estimate his average monthly number of social and committee contacts. The respondents were invited to add the names of any leaders they felt had been omitted from the list.

Fourteen of the influentials consented to an interview although some did not check influentials on the questionnaire. For the most part, respondents were not reticent concerning their own involvement in the community; communication was established by beginning each interview in Spanish. Although most influentials speak both English and Spanish fluently, it was found that respondents were more open, if even a minimal amount of Spanish was spoken. The factor of ethnicity thus facilitated the interviewing process, by establishing a common frame of reference.

Despite the easy setting in which most interviews took place, a definite dissatisfaction with what some respondents referred to as "studies" was apparent. The feeling of community residents in general is reflected in the comment of one informer who suggested, "there have

been enough studies done on us. You people pick us over, write your studies, and get rich on government contracts that are supposed to help us. Where is that help now?"

On the other hand, sociological investigation is at the very least, tolerated and for the most part appreciated by those influentials who will later be described as agency sub-professionals and institutional leaders. This is because of their occupational frame of reference which increasingly defines their personal values. The fact that many are in positions of leadership is the result of studies which documented the need for federal agencies and programs.

The interviews with final influentials were unstructured, and often characterized by digression. At least four of the interviews lasted more than two hours. For these reasons, it was necessary to take notes during the sessions. Immediately following each interview, recorded notes were typed and attached to the questionnaire completed by the influential.

The relative success of this part of the research may be attributed to a number of factors.

1. Leaders, often the subject of much controversy in the community, were eager to justify their behavior particularly since their comments were being recorded. During several sessions, associates of friends were called in to corroborate the respondent's story. Frequently, after carefully selecting his words, the respondent would note, "write this down." It may be further suggested that for the agency sub-professionals, whose status is insecure, the chance to set down properly his community participation and leadership while discussing the negative attributes of his opponents in the community game,

provides some degree of self-legitimation.

2. In addition to the researcher being Mexican-American, being female also proved helpful. Subordinate status accorded women in Chicano culture enabled leaders to perceive the researcher as being non-threatening.

Because of earlier difficulties involving ranking, it was decided that on the questionnaire each influential should check "leaders he would accept" rather than attempt to place them in rank order.

At least three respondents (of 14) would not check influentials, explaining that everyone in the community played an important part in community affairs, and it would be unfair to single out ten.

Four were unable to find on the list ten people whom they could consider leaders.

Thus the power structure of Barelas is 17 leaders each having received three or more nominations by community influentials. (See Figure 3.)

Leadership Categories

Following the methods set forth by Hunter, power has herein been imputed to the leader nominees according to the number of times they were named by respondents. Although quantitative ranking was unobtainable in the present study, an attempt has been made to order leaders on a qualitative basis. This procedure involved the utilization of data gathered in all interviews - from the exploratory stage to the final 14 influential nominee interviews.

While research does suggest that distinct types of leaders are present in most communities, categorization according to kind of leader-

FIGURE 3

BARELAS LEADERS NOMINATED BY OTHER LEADERS

	Votes Received
Mr. Guadalupe	11
Father Yucatan	10
Mr. Costilla	9
Mr. Jalisco	9
Mrs. Hidalgo	8
Mr. Francisco	6
Mr. Veracruz	6
Mr. Villanueva	6
Mr. Rosario	5
Mr. Dulce	4
Mrs. Jalisco	4
Mr. Valencia	4
Mr. Vallecitos	4
Mr. Ventana	4
Mr. Animas	3
Mr. Anton Chico	3
Mr. Questa (added to list by 3 nominees)	3

ship activity is a further modification of the reputational approach.

Each of the 23 nominees on the final influential list may be placed in one of the following categories:

Party "Politicos"
Agency Sub-professionals
Activists
Institutional Leaders

Party "politicos" exercise control in Barelas by virtue of their involvement in precinct politics. Former precinct and current ward officials, and those involved with party politics at any level, whether it be holding an official party position or merely hustling votes at election time, constitute the composition of this group. Messrs. Villanueva, Francisco, Valencia, and Ventana fall into this category.

Agency sub-professionals represent a group of low income power figures, whose recently acquired power rests in their participation in federally funded "war on poverty" programs. Power wielded by individuals in this group has developed around the coordination and distribution of social services offered by the Economic Opportunity Board - Community Action Program, and the Model Cities Agency.

So that local programs would not become the tools of politics, administrative handling of poverty programs has revolved around the concept of "maximum feasible participation" of the poor in mobilizing resources to combat poverty. Bloomberg and Rosenstock explain that maximum feasible participation has to do with the involvement of people in decisions that will affect in fairly direct ways, their own lives and well-being. These include decisions shaping the policies, programs, and specific projects taken by welfare agencies and local government with the purpose, or at least the alleged goal, of enabling the poor to

overcome some of the most debilitating effects of poverty and to enjoy increasing opportunities to move out of poverty. Thus, the concern is for political participation, applying the term "political" quite broadly.[1] Viewing the Community Action Program in perspective, Kravits found that by involving poor people in programs as planning participants rather than solely as program beneficiaries, some narrowing of the gap between the poor and the rest of the community was narrowed.[2] This study has found, as Kravits suggests, that each poverty program agency operating in Barelas has proved to be a catalyst for the development of leadership among those usually excluded from this role. Selected by a neighborhood association board, individuals acquire power by coordinating and distributing crucial social services and jobs, as official representatives of Barelas. Messrs. Animas, Veracruz, Guadalupe, Rosario, Ventana, Dulce, and Mrs. Hidalgo are agency sub-professionals.

Community activists are full-time participants in the affairs of Barelas, but are not officials in any organization. Contrary to Freeman et. al., in a study which found that top participants in local activities were typically government personnel,[3] the present research uncovered a group of people whose leadership is based on their informal participation in the community. Taking sides on virtually all issues, activists are often successful in mobilizing residents. They are Mr. and Mrs. Jalisco.

Institutional leaders are those having high ranking positions in institutional community units such as the schools and the churches. Many sociologists have attributed power exclusively to formal positions held by individuals. This approach is associated with Harold Lasswell who viewes power in terms of certain functional statuses (and requisite

skills) which give their occupants decisive control over the key values in a social system.[4] Institutional leaders in Barelas are Messrs. Costilla, Anton Chico, and Father Yucatan.

As noted earlier, reputational studies have nearly always concluded that power is concentrated in a small, cohesive elite of businessmen. Interestingly, the application of this methodology to measure power in the barrio yields an analogous finding. Power is economically based. While Hunter found that the most powerful figures in Regional City were the traditional economic elite, the power figures of Barelas are also an economic elite by virtue of their acquisition and control of jobs and services. Thus, the influence of Marx on contemporary political sociology remains relevant. The power phenomenon, deriving from control over the crucial sustenance or economic activities in a social system forms the core of Marx's theory of society as class; hence power is determined by the way the individual cooperates with others in the satisfaction of his basic need of food, clothing, and shelter.[5]

The Marxian implications of power are thus strikingly clear in this setting where survival - food, clothing, and shelter - remains the primary consider of the population. In contrast to the study in a Negro subcommunity conducted by Barth and Abu Lahan, who suggested that no genuine power structure had developed because (emphasis mine) the community lacked large-scale business and industrial organizations.[6] Reputational research in Barelas has ascertained that anti-poverty agencies operate as a pivotal focus for the development of a genuine power structure.

FIGURE 4

TYPES OF LEADERS PRESENT IN BARELAS

Party "Politicos" - 4

Mr. Villanueva
Mr. Francisco
*Mr. Valencia
*Mr. Ventana

Agency Sub-Professionals - 7

Mr. Animas
Mr. Veracruz
Mr. Guadalupe
Mr. Rosario
*Mr. Ventana
Mr. Dulce

Activists - 2

Mr. Jalisco
Mrs. Jalisco

Institutional Leaders - 3

Mr. Costilla
Mr. Anton Chico
Father Yucatan

*Mr. Ventana and Mr. Valencia are most typically party "politicos," although their activities have recently been extended to the community service sphere.

Bifurcation in Barelas

The power structure of this subcommunity has been delineated into four major categories. While activists and institutional leaders have in the past played a significant role in the decision-making process of the community, the final interview step in the present study furnishes evidence that party "politicos" and agency sub-professionals are presently dominant. Consistent with the findings of Schulze, the present controlling elements of the power structure may be viewed as being bifurcated. Schulze hypothesized that the power structure of the relatively isolated and self-contained community tends to be monolithic, that is, that the persons who have greatest power in its economic system tend to be the same persons who have greatest power in its socio-political system. As the community becomes increasingly involved and interrelated in the larger societal complex, however, its power structure bifurcates, resulting in two crucial and relatively discrete power sets, the economic dominants and the public leaders. These two sets of power figures may be roughly compared with Barelas' party "politicos" and agency sub-professionals. Schulze does not suggest that these two are the only important sets of power statuses in the urban community, but that they are most significant to the overall life of the community. This consideration is, of course, applicable to the power structure of Barelas.

Bifurcation is explained in terms of the changing relationships to the larger society. Schulze states:

> With increasing urbanization, the local community loses control over its economic system. In particular, its industrial and commercial base, in earlier periods owned and directed by local persons and groups, becomes

> divorced from local domination as an increasing number of plants are linked...with large organizations beyond the community...as the development and maintenance of extra-community relationships becomes increasingly crucial... the local community endeavors to maintain its integrity as a meaningful social political area in which its members live their lives. Thus, the community experiences a 'new localism' as increased interdependence forces local leadership to define the 'outer world' and to attempt to organize the community so that its integrity is maintained. The functional necessity for leaders whose orientations, commitments, and efforts are directed primarily toward other communities or groups, is therefore maintained and perhaps even identified.[8]

Janowitz indicates that a similar need is experienced at the sub-community level.[9] The following discussion indicates that the need is apparent in the Chicano subcommunities of Albuquerque.

Although substantively distinct, the case of Barelas presents an interesting comparison within the analytic framework developed by Schulze. Following a typical ecological pattern, the territorial expansion of Albuquerque gradually absorbed the numerous small rural communities (of which South Barelas was one) on its periphery. Growing along the main arteries of communication, particularly parallel to the two transcontinental highways which intersect at Albuquerque, extension of the city proceeded from the central business district with each inner zone extending its area by invasion of the next outer zone, followed by succession and further invasion. The rural communities which were "swallowed up" by Albuquerque in its growth as a city originated from the Spanish Conquest, and were rooted in isolation and a primitive agricultural economy.[10]

Dependent upon agricultural and sheepherding activities, each community was governed by the local "patron." Since there was no formal extension of the agricultural system outside the community, it was then

entirely under the dominance of the "patron" system, an hierarchical system which pervaded all other community traditions and attitudes. In such a period, as Schulze suggests, public leadership and economic dominance were combined.

With the coming of the railroad, local rural communities lost control over their economic systems. This event, which marked the commencement of a transition from employment devoted exclusively to agricultural and herding pursuits, to a way of life in the shadow of the railroad[11] dominated by employment opportunities which it offered the inhabitants of the communities. The process of urbanization, combined with the increasingly important railroad and its accompanying activities, thus created linkages between the local peripheral communities, and large economic organizations beyond the community. The impact of local policy determinations on community organizations and activities as a result diminished. In Schulze's schema, persons in key statuses within economic dominant units stimulate an extra community orientation. This induces withdrawal rather than involvement in the decision-making processes of the local community. It is herein proposed that heightened involvement in the larger society upheld and further enhanced the power of the "patron." His role thus changed from economically dominant one to one where his efforts and commitments were directed to his community by virtue of his extracommunity participation. His ability to mediate between two cultures, consequently to "ease" the adjustment problems of community residents to the domination of a foreign culture, provided the resource with which the "patron" was able to retain control of his village, or neighborhood. Anglo politicians soon used this resource to their advantage, and "bought off" local leadership by promising jobs and

other political favors to "patrons."

In the barrios then, the power base of the "patron" has undergone a gradual, subtle shift from that emphasizing economic dimensions to that emphasizing public leadership characteristics. (Still those "patrons" who became entrepreneurs often exercised public leadership because of their economic control gained by the credit system.)

The point at which bifurcation occurred in Barelas is not clear (nor is it being suggested that power is necessarily bifurcated in other local barrios). The fact is that there are two dominant, relatively discrete sets of power statuses, each calling upon different resources to maximize their power.

Community Organizations and the Structure of Power

The formal organizations and administrative agencies, as well as the less formal but relatively stable cliques (such as the "politicos") offer mechanisms through which community decision making may be channeled. In an attempt to identify the major organizations through which policy decision flow, a list of the major organizations in Barelas was drawn up. (The technique of obtaining this list and some of the problems encountered are discussed earlier in this chapter.) Although respondents were not asked to rank organizations on the three-point scale used by Hunter (1) most influential, (2) influential, and (3) less influential, the final nominees were asked at some point during the interview, which of four organizations listed were most important in initiating or supporting actions of importance to the residents of Barelas. Since most of them had by this time checked all of the organizations as being

influential, it was necessary for the researcher to emphasize that she was interested in one most important organization. (In retrospect, to have originally asked for those organizations which are most influential was misleading.)

The organizations are listed in order of their perceived importance to the final influential nominees interviewed.

1. Barelas Community Improvement Association
2. Economic Opportunity Board
3. Model Cities Citizens Board
4. Riverview P.T.A.

The organizational participation of the leaders is specified in Figure 5.

That power is generated by involvement in community action programs and agencies as illustrated in the foregoing chart. Only three of the influentials have never held an official position in these organizations. One is an institutional leader. The other individuals are party "politicos," holding well-entrenched positions within the party structure, hence their leadership can still be maintained despite the fact that they forego official participation in anti-poverty programs. It is not being suggested that these men do not participate in programs of this nature, but that their participation is secondary to their role as "politicos." It does happen that these leaders are called into consultations and discussions in which they are not primarily interested. As Vidich and Bensman explain, community leaders, regardless of their reluctance to extend their leadership into secondary positions, are forced to submit to pressures to become involved, because if they do not accept such secondary positions, they are likely to be

FIGURE 5

ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION OF LEADERS IN BARELAS

Barelas Community Improvement Association

Office Holders

President:	Board of Directors:
Mr. Valencia	Mr. Jalisco
Mr. Animas	Mrs. Jalisco
Mr. Jalisco	
Mr. Rosario	
Mr. Vallecitos	

Economic Opportunity Board

Mrs. Jalisco	Mr. Veracruz
Mr. Ventana	Mrs. Hidalgo

Neighborhood Center

Director:	Staff:
Mr. Ventana	Mrs. Hidalgo
Mr. Guadalupe	Mr. Veracruz
Mr. Vallecitos	Mr. Dulce

Model Cities Citizens Board

Mr. Ventana	Mr. Veracruz
Mr. Jalisco	Mr. Dulce

Riverview P.T.A.

Mr. Anton Chico	Mr. Costilla

Never held an office in Barelas Organization

Mr. Villanueva	Father Yucatan
Mr. Francisco	

thought of as selfish power grabbers who only want to take and not to give.[12] Although Mr. Villanueva and Mr. Francisco have not held offices in the major organizations of Barelas, they occasionally extend themselves into these spheres. There is always the risk of losing power in their primary "political" sphere if they refuse to become involved in secondary community improvement spheres. Mr. Villanueva, at least, is aware of this vulnerability, as he emphasized his initiative in mobilizing of the community improvement group in the early '60's. He further pointed out that his advice regarding operation of the Neighborhood Center is continually sought.

Two community leaders in the "politico" category have officially extended their activities into the community improvement sphere. Mr. Valencia and Mr. Ventana, either because of their recognition that these positions provide productive bases from which to operate, or because they believe in social participation and public service, have acquired legitimation for their occupancy of other "political" positions, and in this sense, their leadership has become more generalized.

The modified reputational approach applied to an urban barrio in the Southwest has isolated some individuals with high positional status which give them a high power potential. When asked to name the most powerful figures in the community, many respondents apparently gave names they thought they were expected to give. Father Yucatan and Mr. Anton Chico thus appeared on the final influential nominee list, and even emerged as final influentials, despite the fact that they are seldom involved in the decision-making process.

This points to the soundness of the issue raised by critics of the reputational technique; the problem associated with different per-

ceptions and definitions of power by the researcher and the respondents. To ask for leaders "whom nearly everyone would accept" is not asking which individuals are in fact leaders. Undoubtedly nearly everyone would accept Father Yucatan, the local parish priest, and Mr. Anton Chico, the principal of the elementary achool in Barelas. Still, they have never been involved in the initiation or execution of a major community policy.

A number of final influential nominees registered surprise at the omission of Mr. Questa's name from the list. This man was not mentioned in the first two sets of interviews; however, some final influentials felt that he should be considered powerful because of the charitable donations he recruits for the children of Barelas. This probably reflects a more sophisticated perception of the power dimension on the part of community leaders. They clearly recognized that Mr. Questa's associations with civic organizations could serve as an effective resource and they would certainly want his help in implementing a community project.

CHAPTER III

Footnotes

1. Stanford Kravitz, "The Community Action Program in Perspective," in Power, Poverty, and Urban Policy, Vol. 2, Urban Affairs Annual Reviews (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc., 1968), p. 315.

2. Ibid., p. 278.

3. Freeman, et. al., op. cit.

4. Schulze, op. cit., p. 21.

5. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, "Karl Marx' Theory of Social Class," in Class Status and Power, 1st ed. (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 26-36.

6. Barth and Abu Laban, op. cit., pp. 69-76.

7. Schulze, op. cit., p. 22.

8. Ibid., p. 23.

9. Morris Janowitz, The Community Press in an Urban Setting (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952).

10. Laura Waggoner, San Jose, A Study in Urbanization, Unpublished Masters Thesis (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1941), pp. 2-3.

11. Ibid., pp. 30-33.

12. Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society (Garden City: Doubleday, Anchor Books, 1958), p. 267.

CHAPTER IV

THE DECISION MAKING APPROACH

Critics of reputational power studies assert that descriptions of the structure of power do not constitute a sufficient basis for making inferences about how persons or groups will seek to maximize power. Thus, the present research has attempted to enlarge upon the yields of the reputational approach by analyzing power in the context of specific issues.

The research design supplied by Dahl and Polsby was followed insofar as possible. However, modifications became necessary as the study progressed.

Three issue areas, where important decisions affecting the entire community were made, were the focus of study. The initial steps of the reputational technique had supplied names of all persons occupying formal positions with responsibility for making policy decisions. In the course of interviewing the final influential nominees, and nine extracommunity agency representatives, key decisions in each issue area were identified. These key decisions provided an historical framework against which the activities of the 17 community leaders were assessed. This further systematic investigation helped to identify active participants in decision making and provided description of their roles. According to Polsby, this procedure avoids the two major pitfalls of the reputational technique: premature closure and inadequate specification of leadership roles, both of which result from an over-dependence on reputation rather than activity as the test of leadership.[1]

In addition to the informal contacts and interviews with informants

in the community, and the formal interviews with 14 final influential nominees and 9 community service agency personnel conducted as part of the reputational study, observation of the community included attending Barelas Association meetings and other public events, reading (and recording) articles on South Barelas which appeared in the Albuquerque Journal of the Albuquerque Tribune since 1960, as well as all available copies of the Barelas news-sheet "The Voice of Barelas," and the Economic Opportunity Board Newsletter.

The process of decision-making is recognized as the nucleus of the phenomenon of power and the analysis of this process that was the object of the second part of this research. All current issues in Barelas were found to revolve around community action. Given the ambiguity and related definitions of community action programs, it is necessary to construct an ideal definition of a functioning community action program to be used as a standard by which existing issues in Barelas may be examined. For purposes of the study, a community action program involves the development and use of techniques whereby the victims of poverty, social injustice, or some form of exploitation and discrimination are organized to identify their problems, determine the sources and causes, mobilize their energies, resources, and collective power in seeking and obtaining remedies and the desired changes.[2]

Activities in three major issue areas have been examined:

1. Initiation and formation of the Barelas Improvement Association and Neighborhood Center.
2. Residential relocation/rehabilitation.
3. Nominations and hirings.

Having already categorized leaders, it seemed apparent that influence might be specialized. This assumption was tested in each of the three issue areas, and found to be valid. A striking characteristic of influence in Barelas is the degree to which it is specialized. This finding provides support for the strategy of Dahl and Polsby, and more significantly, for the theory of pluralism inherent in the decision-making approach. The outcome of actual decisions in this community reveals that influentials who are influential in one sector of public activity tend not to be influential in another sector. No one individual exerts influence in all areas. Furthermore, spheres of influence are defined by occupational or associational orientations of leaders.

Resources and Rewards

The distribution of political resources is an important determinant of the distribution and structure of influence in a political system. A political resource may be defined as "anything that can be used to sway the specific choices or the strategies of another individual."[3] While almost any person or group has access to some resources which it can exploit to gain influence, there are these basic reasons why political resources are unevenly distributed in the community:

1. Specialization of function (division of labor) creates different degrees of access to different degrees of access to different political resources. Mr. Gualalupe's position as Director of the Neighborhood Center gave him the right to control services.
2. Inherited differences, both biological and social, assure differential access to resources. Mr. Ventana's know-

ledge of legal systems was inherited largely from his father, a long-time, prominent legal official.

3. Inherited differences in combination with differences in experience produce differences in incentives and goals, which in turn lead to differences in skills and resources. By skillfully manipulating his resources, Mr. Ventana was able to have himself appointed as new Director of the Neighborhood Center, winning out over Mr. Jalisco who clearly had less experience and fewer resources.

It was discovered that the relationship between potential and actual influence depends on resources that may be converted to political influence, and the extent to which these resources are exploited. The following list includes many of the important resources or bases of power that have been suggested by various writers to explain the operation of influence in local communities:

1. Money and credit.
2. Control over jobs.
3. Control over the information of others (mass media).
4. Social standing.
5. Knowledge and specialized technical skills.
6. Popularity, esteem, charisma.
7. Legality, constitutionality, officiality.
8. Ethnic solidarity.
9. The right to vote.
10. Social access to community leaders.
11. Manpower and control of organizations.

12. Control over interpretation of values.

To determine the ways in which decisions may be effected, it is necessary to characterize types of resources available to various actors. Similarly, it is important to be aware of goals and rewards sought by contestants in the decision-making process, or what Sayre and Kaufman describe as "What people get out of politics."[4] The following are among the more salient rewards sought by leaders:

1. Public office or employment.
2. Money.
3. Service.
4. Intangible rewards; power prestige.[5]

Rewards sought and those resources which are aviilable to leaders in Barelas are characterized in the following model adapted from Martin et. al. (See Figure 6.)

Participation in community decisions will now be appraised to clarify the way in which power operates, thereby establishing the power structure, i.e., the observable uniformity of action of decision-making in Barelas.

The process of decision making will be analyzed within the following broad dimensions:

1. Actors initiating, supporting, and opposing decisions.
2. Mobilization of resources.
3. Structural and functional areas in which decisions are made.
4. Outcome of decisions.

FIGURE 6

A MODEL OF DECISION MAKING

Contestants in Barrio Decision Making	Seek These Rewards	Use These Potential Resources
Party Politicos	jobs, money political favors	officiality money political favors
Agency Sub-professionals	occupational mobility	control over jobs, services, information
Activists	jobs intangible rewards (prestige)	popularity charisma
Institutional Leaders	intangible rewards (prestige, higher level of participation, cooperation of residents with organization)	position knowledge, experience

Structural Implications of Community Action

The idea of coordinated community action to relieve human distress and poverty has been present since the first decade of this century when social service organizations have shape to various forms of local community structures. Two parallel efforts for the relief of the distress of the poor had taken firm root in American communities during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The Charity Organization Society movement and the settlement movement had roots in England, and had engaged a philanthropic public. Pressure for increased resources from this public, the growth in the number of service agencies, and increased interest in improved management as well as in rationalizing the array of programs for the poor encouraged the spread of a new coordinating agency form, the Council of Social Agencies. A social work institution, this Council oriented itself toward a view of community problems in terms of the professional disciplines and agency capability to deal with such problems. The rapid growth of governmental services after 1930 placed strains on the Councils to become more inclusive in their membership and to widen their concern with social problems. Until the 1960's, they appeared unable to make any major breaks from the form and function that had governed their early beginnings. The coordinating structure mode of organization under which they operated and their reliance on business and social elite for key leadership gave them a stance that was directed at social services and their refinement, not social problems and their causes. There was thus no major mechanism fully prepared to engage the critical problems of poverty in urban America.[6]

In the late 1950's the Ford Foundation had invested in a series of experimental programs in metropolitan planning and in aid to education in the inner city and in urban renewal, followed by a program designed to effect smaller subsystems in specific cities. In September of 1961, Congress passed the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offences Control Act. Despite their small scope, these new efforts jolted the communities in which they were inaugurated. Their advent challenged existing planning structures such as welfare councils by talking in terms of problems, not organizations. They acknowledged the power of professional politicians, called for public responsibility in addressing the problems of the inner city, and urged a rededication to serving the poor. A seedbed was thus provided for the central conceptual elements in the later Community Action Program - that was to become a major pillar in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. This program called for careful diagnosis of needs and subsequent application of all appropriate program and organizational solutions. It implied central local authority to exert influence on and make decisions about the critical program components, the involvement of major institutions, and above all, the power to control allocation of resources. The open-ended nature of the organizational design provided a framework within which a breadth of program activities could be carried on and nationalized; it could serve all ages; and it could provide an umbrella for the diverse and discrete phenomena identified as the many faces of poverty. Hence, it became an all purpose program.[7]

In September of 1964, the first meeting of what was to become the Albuquerque-Bernalillo County Economic Opportunity Board was called by the President of the Community Council. Articles of incorporation

and by-laws were drafted for a private, non-profit corporation eligible to receive poverty funding under Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act. The actual preparation of programs for funding and execution of contracts was to be carried out by an executive director to be appointed by the Board. In January 1965, Economic Opportunity By-laws were approved by vote of the Board. Four members considered to be truly representative of the poor were placed on the board. Mrs. Hidalgo of Barelas was one of these representatives whose appointment to the board was viewed as a step in the direction of implemention "maximum feasible participation of the poor."

In existence since November of 1964, the South Barelas Neighborhood Association had been waging a campaign in order to obtain city water and sewer lines, street paving and street lights. Residents in other low income neighborhoods of Albuquerque followed the action taken in Barelas and more neighborhood associations were formed. When the E.O.B. Development Grant of $34,000 was approved by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Governor, the first project considered by the E.O.B. was the South Barelas Neighborhood Center proposal. Thus initiation and implementation of a community action group in Barelas may be regarded as the pivotal point for the organization of the present social structure of the community.

In the fall of 1964, a Peace Corps instructor selected the Barelas area to be used as a setting for training in community development. Community residents had long complained about the lack of facilities, but general disorganization prevented these complaints from becoming focused goals. Realizing the potential, the Peace Corps instructor, with the consent and assistance of Mr. Costilla, then the

informal leader of the community, called a general community meeting for November 4, 1964 to discuss the possibility of getting paved streets, water and sewer lines, a basketball court, and most important, forming an improvement association to do this.

Through the efforts of Mr. Costilla, principal of Riverview Elementary School and a resident of the community, the association was formed. As residents became informed, and activated Riverview School provided facilities to become a center of activity in the community. Borrowing a constitution from the Peace Corps, the Association was formalized under the direction of Mr. Costilla, Mrs. Hidalgo, and Mr. Truchas. A concrete slab at the school which served as a basketball court was the first accomplishment of the Association.

Turning their attention to city annexation and tutoring program, the officers and working committees wrote two propoaals to be submitted to the Economic Opportunity Board. The two proposals were jointly called "Barelas Community Development" and centered around the following principles: Self help, attitude formation, increased participation in community affairs, and volunteerism. The twin proposals sought help from federal funds for "a city that enriches and ennobles rather than degrades, and a quality of education that enriches the quality of American life."[8] Intense family and neighborhood feeling and loyalty, and highly personalized elementary education were given as considerations for the proposed success of community development in Barelas.

Barelas is, in fact, a very cohesive community. Evidence indicates that the willingness of the people to become involved, was the primary factor in the success of community action at this point. Community solidarity was structurally conducive to the implementation of

of the Community Action Program when the proposal was finally approved after three rejections.

Several integral components provided the thrust for the formation of the Association and implementation of the Neighborhood Center. The enthusiasm of the Peace Corps trainees, the fact that Riverview School was a dynamic center of influence, thereby giving form to community solidarity, and the direction furnished by Mr. Costilla, were contributing factors to the process. Mr. Costilla was emphatic on one point: "The most important thing to remember is that the people were ready for this sort of action, and government funding was the vehicle whereby the people and their needs could be mobilized." The Economic Opportunity Board was the impetus for change as residents found an extra-community organization to which they could state their needs, through the voice of their newly-created organization.

The mobilization of leadership in this process of change illustrates that education was the institution through which initiatory leadership arose. Because Mr. Costilla was the principal of the local school, and one of the few residents with a "cosmopolitan" orientation, people turned to him for help in writing both the constitution with its by-laws, aand each of the proposals submitted to the Economic Opportunity Board. Mr. Costilla was thereafter successful in maintaining this influence, not only through his own energy and skillful exercise of his resources as an institutional leader, but also by meeting the general needs of the community.

The situation further reveals the ways in which leadership was legitimized. Vidich and Bensman found in Small Town in Mass Society, that the qualifications for leadership in a given sphere are to a certain

extent based on an individual's being situated in a special set of circumstances so that it is strategically possible for him to be available, prepared, and perhaps indispensable, for a number of different positions.[9] The special set of circumstances in which Mr. Costilla found himself is clear. However, the notion is equally applicable to the cases of Mr. Truchas and Mrs. Hidalgo. Both former storeowners in Barelas, these individuals situated themselves in positions of primary importance in the community action movement at the initial meeting. With the formalization of the Association, informal procedures became formalized, and their leadership became legitimate. Mr. Truchas became the first president of the Association and Mrs. Hidalgo became the first representative of the poor to sit on the Economic Opportunity Board.

General needs of the community were also met by Mr. Truchas and Mrs. Hidalgo, as Mr. Truchas was persistent in revising proposals needed for funding and in maintaining community interest and morale. Mrs. Hidalgo was deliberate in pointing out the inequities in Barelas to the Board. In relating her experiences as a community organizer to the researcher, she recounted the difficulty she had in getting the professionals on the Board to believe her descriptions of conditions in the barrio. Finally, with the help of Mr. Costilla, she rented a bus and arranged for board members to "tour" the area. It was a snowy, muddy day in November, 1965 when the board members visited families living in cold shacks, without electricity or water. Many informants testified that more positive and active commitment on the part of the Economic Opportunity Board did ensue following the tour set up by Mrs. Hidalgo.

Once an individual has acquired the halo of being a public leader, he is drawn into additional positions just because he is known

as a leader.[10] When the Neighborhood Center proposal was approved, Mr. Truchas became the Director, and Mrs. Hidalgo became the Assistant Director. In assuming these positions, both individuals relinquished their former positions as Association president and E.O.B. representative, thus setting the stage for competitive power arrangements between residents seeking the two positions. This development lends support to the theoretical statement advanced by Walton that "the introduction of organizations with vertical ties produces a greater interdependence between community and extracommunity centers of power. This interdependence brings changes in the local normative order as well as new resources and sanctions, creating circumstances conducive to the emergence of competing power centers."[11] Thus, in Barelas, changes accompanying community development led to more competitive arrangements in the structure of power.

Prior to the changes effected by the initial community action program, Barelas did have one central figure who was influential in all areas of community life. Mr. Villanueva was the local Justice of the Peace, and was considered the "patron" of the neighborhood. In addition to the fact that he was better educated, and better acquainted with the larger community, it was his legal resources that enabled him to maximize his position to advise and even to command residents living in this area. Mr. Villanueva alleges that he is a leader in Barelas because the people made him a leader. He feels that his actions have created confidence, and attaches a great deal of importance to what he termed "staying out of politics." He stated that if a leader is to be successful, he must stay out of politics. When probed on this topic, Mr. Villanueva revealed an interesting justification for the political

advice which he continues to deliver to residents. While he makes it a point never to tell people how to vote, he does not hesitate to tell residents how he is going to vote. This he considers a different situation altogether.

That this individual has been and is involved in politics at the precinct level is obvious. Still, his attitude may indicate that the classic "patron" complex has largely disappeared from Barelas. He has in return for legal assistance expected loyalty and support for his political candidates, however, he affirms "democratic" values. Perhaps the term "benevolent patron" most accurately describes the position Mr. Villanueva has held.

Three factors have contributed to the deterioration of Mr. Villanueva's power. The abolition of Justice of Peace positions, the shifting and redefinition from precinct to ward voting areas, and the emergence of community action leaders. Thus, the central linkage between Barelas and larger Albuquerque, has been transferred from the "patron" type leadership figure to competing factions in the community action complex. Although the "politicos" who are qualitatively closer to the typical "patron" have assumed partial control of the community action complex, the pattern of leadership has changed in that the mechanism linking the barrio and the various extracommunity systems, is no longer a "patron" but a number of anti-poverty programs.

That leadership in Barelas has been generated in community action programs is evidenced in the operation of the Home Improvement and Training Project. The H.I.P. staff was successful in effecting community decision making by utilizing the Association to select trainees and homes to be improved. The home construction skills learned by the

project trainees, along with increased morale, confidence and responsibility, affected both the trainees and the community of Barelas as a whole. While construction skills were a small part of the skills learned by trainees, the daily basic education and the general work atmosphere they were exposed to prompted some trainees to talk of going back and finishing high school. For others, the learning of many separate construction skills convinced them that they wanted to specialize in one trade. According to Mr. Costilla, the project made vast inroads into the motivational structure of the young men in the community. Before the project started, 50 per cent of the young men were taking "unsuccessful" paths in their lives: quitting high school, spending the little money they earned recklessly, getting into trouble with the police, etc. The other 50 per cent of the young men were headed in a "successful" direction: planning to finish high school and go on to college, studying at night, making a little money on the weekends. When the project came into Barelas, an unusual thing happened. Under the program only young men were qualified to become trainees who were school dropouts or jobless. As they were accepted by the program, they came to be regarded as successful by other young people.[12]

Since these learned skills positively affected the trainees in their future plans and aspirations, the community was also affected. In addition to rehabilitating homes, thereby increasing property value, communication was enhanced. The work of the project became a focal point from which underprivileged residents were drawn out into community life. In Warren's terms, the project functioned to intensify the social participation produced by the Association, as outsiders were brought into the homes of improverished, secluded residents. In meetings and get-

togethers there was much dialogue on home improvement.

The extent to which the project aided communities in broadening their overall organizational structure was the object of a study by Van Dyke. Observing three communities, including Barelas, he found that the extent to which the project influenced the leadership and overall organizational structure was in direct relation to the number of other projects and organizations active in those communities. The training group was seen to have far reaching influence in Barelas where the Association was involved in several other projects, and the local school was very community oriented.[13] Trainees became active in the Improvement Association activities, and many assumed leadership positions in the community.

When the project was completed in Barelas, several trainees and staff members were able to acquire sub-professional employment in other community action programs, not necessarily because of the skills developed in the H.I.P., but because their increased activity in the community placed them in important positions in the emerging organizational structure.

During the period that the H.I.P. was operating in Barelas, the power structure consisted of Mr. Villanueva, a "politico" whose power was waning, Mr. Costilla, the school principal and institutional leader, and Messrs. Truchas, Ventana, and Mrs. Hidalgo, sub-professional power figures holding leadership positions in the Improvement Association and Neighborhood Center. However, with the proliferation of community action programs, modeled on maximum feasible participation of residents in decision making, new avenues for leadership development were opened.

H.I.P. foreman, Mr. Rosario, was elected as Vice President of

the Association. A trainee, Mr. Dulce, was placed on the Albuquerque Economic Opportunity Board, and Mr. Veracruz, also a trainee, was employed by the Economic Opportunity Board as an Outreach Worker for the Neighborhood Center. As Outreach worker, he had the responsibility of informing Barelas residents of all services and programs offered at the Center, and seeking out and involving them in services, programs, and community issues.

Values as Media of Transaction Between Community Substructures

The complex of community action arrangements in Barelas may be viewed as an institution which exists to perpetuate the authority and organization necessary to mobilize resources and coordinate collective effort in the pursuit of social objectives. As these complex structures became legitimized, they exerted constraints on other elements of community life.

Since the components of the social structure of Barelas are also social structures, it is necessary to examine the interdependence of these substructures in order that the dynamics of power be revealed. Commonly accepted cultural values serve as media for social transactions between these social structures. Common values govern the processes of both social integration and differentiation in complex social structures, as well as the development of social organization and reorganization in them. Blau analyzes four types of social values in terms of this principle: particularistic values as the media of solidarity, universalistic values as media of exchange and differentiation, legitimating values as media of organization, and opposition ideals as media of

reorganization.[14] Universalistic standards are defined in completely generalized terms, independent of the particular relationship of the actor's own statuses (qualities or performances, classificatory or relational) to those of the object. Particularistic standards, in contrast, assert the primacy of the values attached to objects by their particular relations to the actors properties. The specific differentiating criterion is whether the value standards that govern the orientations and associations among people are independent of or not independent of the relationship between their status attributes. Thus, universalistic standards give rise to differentiation of social status, since attributes or performances that are universally valued give prestige and power to those who have them. Particularistic standards produce segregating boundries between subgroups in the collectivity, because the tendency to value characteristics like one's own unites individuals with given characteristics and separates them from those with others.[15]

Values that legitimate authority are media of organization, which extend the scope of organized social control. The common values and norms in a collectivity, that legitimate the authority of a government or a leadership and enforce compliance with its commands constitute a medium of organizing power.[16] As the authority of the of the agency sub-professionals became legitimized in Barelas, the community action program assumed an organized pattern of social associations.

Opposition ideals constitute a medium of social reorganization, as they legitimate the leaders of opposition movements and their organizing power and thus produce a countervailing force against entrenched powers and existing powers in the community.[17] The operation of opposition ideals as media of social change and reorganization in Barelas

will be considered later.

These values which serve as media of social transaction have contrasting implications for Barelas and its substructures. Particularistic values create integrative bonds of social solidarity in substructures but simultaneously segregating boundries between them in the community. The occupational orientations of the agency sub-professionals are particularistic standards from the perspective of the broader society, but within each community action agency they as universalistic standards for differentiating those whose qualification and merit earn them mobility.

The structural implications of given value standards are illustrated in the following discussion.

Social differentiation in substructures serves as a recruitment mechanism for the leadership of the political or administrative organization in the larger society.[18] This is clearly exemplified in the cases of Mr. Rosario, Mr. Truchas, and Mr. Veracruz. Each one, due to his progress in the substructure of the H.I.P., advanced to a more generalized leadership position in the community. Furthermore, Mr. Veracruz experienced a definite vertical mobility as he took on the job of a sub-professional and acquired an important decision-making position in the vertical-horizontal pattern of the Neighborhood Center. As Blau describes it, the internal differentiation in substructures promotes crosscutting ties between similarly located strata in the various substructures and thus furnishes new bonds of social integration in the larger social structure.[19] The common situation and interests of Mr. Veracruz and other professionals involved in community action created bonds which intersected the Neighborhood Center and the community

of Barelas, and consequently produced integrative ties along new lines crisscrossing the old ones.

These new integrative ties had significant ramifications on the decision making process, which may be illustrated by describing some activities of Mr. Guadalupe, Director of the Neighborhood Center for years. Mr. Guadalupe became a rather controversial figure. Being a policeman before assuming his job as Center director, Mr. Guadalupe had acquired values which were universalistic in nature. These values served as media of social exchange and differentiation, which expanded the range of exchange transactions beyond the confines of direct social interaction in Barelas.[20] This universalistic orientation resulted in what Mr. Guadalupe termed "making rational decisions." Because of this orientation to the goals of professionals in community action programs, and the fact that he was attending the University at night, he felt he had a solid base from which to make these decisions. Emphatic about education and rational, objective thinking, he explained that it was difficult to allow maximum feasible participation and still persuade residents to make decisions that would benefit the greatest possible number of residents.

Conflict arose from a number of decisions initated by Mr. Guadalupe. The hiring of various Neighborhood Center staff exemplifies the dissension created by the clash of universalistic and particularistic value orientations. Feeling that an educated staff has the capacity to view issues objectively, he recommended to the board of directors of the Association that a certain individual with a college degree, but not a resident of Barelas, be hired as an Outreach Worker. Board members got wind of his planned proposal, held a number of informal meetings in

homes, decided to oppose the recommendation, and then voted his suggestion down at the monthly Association meeting. They proposed instead, that a local female, in need of a job, should be hired. She was.

On another occasion, he proposed to the board that the Neighborhood Center remain open on Saturdays, and he would enable each staff member to have one weekday off in return for working on Saturday. In this case, the staff members contacted board members with their objections. The board voiced disapproval at the monthly Association meeting. Mr. Guadalupe responded by declaring that if they were sincerely interested in doing something for their community, and if they were to be considered a dedicated, indispensable board of directors concerned for the welfare of their people, it was their obligation to reconsider and vote yes. This, they did and the Center opened on Saturdays.

Intent on continuing his education, Mr. Guadalupe had been attending a class at the University of New Mexico during working hours, and making up the time during the evening. Complaints were circulating in the community, so that it became necessary to bring up the issue at an Association meeting. Various community residents expressed dissatisfaction with the arrangement, saying that the Association had hired him to work from 8 to 5 and that was when he should work. Others expressed the feeling that if he wanted to go to school they should get another director. At this point, Mr. Rosario lectured to those gathered on the necessity of education for a man in charge of "our" community center. Explaining that the entire community would benefit by the education, Mr. Rosario made a motion that Mr. Guadalupe be given the time he needed to attend school. The motion carried with eleven voting for and one voting against.

These issues reflect the interrelationship of horizontal and vertical relationships of community action substructures, and the way in which value orientations of these substructures give rise to conflict. The outcome of the three incidents pertaining to Mr. Guadalupe was, in each case, defined by the particularistic values of Association or Board members. The issues arose because the universalistic standards adhered to by Mr. Guadalupe were not common among Association or Board members. The outcome of each incident was defined by the particularistic values of the residents. Thus, decisions were initiated by universalistic criteria of differentiated subgroup members, but particularistic attachments created obstacles to the decisions. Each issue was resolved by referring to particularistic standards; value attributes shared by all members of the community, i.e., the good of Barelas.

The Dynamics of Controversy

As community action programs and their resultant social arrangements became institutionalized in Barelas, four groups of decision makers were evident. Agency sub-professionals and "politicos" most frequently initiated decisions, and activists and institutional leaders often heightened community interest in issues.

"Politicos" and institutional leaders were part of the social structure long before the community was reorganized. As programs took shape, they participated in community action, but remained primarily concerned with precinct politics and occupational roles. However, the decision concerning relocation was to bring each group into the issue, consequently setting the stage for changes in the ordering of power relationships.

Concerning issues of education and the part played by Riverview School and the P.T.A. in community action, Mr. Costilla continued to initiate problem solving attempts and define the outcome of all issues. Mr. Villanueva, Mr. Francisco, Mr. Ventana, and Mr. Vallecitos gathered votes for their candidates, but as power wielders in issues arfecting the total community, they became submerged. At this point, it was the agency sub-professionals who exercised power in Barelas.

The inclusion of Barelas in the Model Cities Program affords a vivid description of the dynamics of conflict in a local community. In order that the area qualify for assistance from the Model Cities Program, it was necessary that an election be held in the community so that the kind of assistance desired by residents could be specified. Property owners were asked to choose one of two alternatives.

1. To keep South Barelas zoned industrial and ask for assistance to relocate.
2. To change the zoning from industrial to residential and ask for assistance to rehabilitate.

Following guidelines for citizen participation called for in the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, the Barelas Community Improvement Association served as the organizational framework through which the program could be implemented. Guidelines also specify that neighborhood residents be employed in planning activities and in the execution of the program with a view toward developing new career lines. Thus, Mr. Veracruz and Mr. Truchas were hired by Model Cities as community workers. Already highly active in community improvement, these agency sub-professionals were given the task of explaining the issue to all residents of Barelas. Having created the Barelas

News-sheet, Mr. Veracruz was particularly adept at communicating with residents and involving them in numerous community projects. Mobilization of residents for this decision was a long, carefully planned project. By conducting a series of block meetings where Model Cities representatives explained both sides of the issue, all residents were informed. The relocation/rehabilitation issue was discussed at several Association meetings. Transportation was made available to a city-wide Model Cities meeting.

Since city planners had suggested that the area remain industrial because of nearby railroad tracks, the river, and the city sewage plant, Model Cities was indirectly pushing for relocation.

When this urban renewal proposal was first announced, it was not clear to the residents how the project would affect them. Their reactions tended to be based on initial determinants such as their general attitude toward the Agency. The initial determinants were influenced by a number of factors; the fact that community leaders were now employed by the Agency, including the impact of the Economic Opportunity Program in the area. As the block meetings and general orientation sessions progressed and residents had time to absorb the details of the proposal, stakes of various groups - what each would gain or lose depending on the outcome became the most important determinants of attitudes.[21]

The ensuing controversy as leaders considered the effect of both sides of the proposal on their economic, political, and social stakes, lends support to Coleman's contention that conflict occurs where local ties are strong.[22] Community disagreement in Barelas was a measure of local involvement in community affairs. Attitudes toward the Model Cities proposal found their expression through each of the four power

groupings. Those leaders categorized as agency sub-professionals (with the exception of Mrs. Hidalgo) were in favor of relocation. Party "politicos" and institutional leaders favored rehabilitation, with activists tending to support relocation. Pursuing Davies' analysis, attitudes of each group can be explained by its perception of the possible effect on respective stakes.

Agency sub-professionals, socially differentiated in the community, had the possibility of social mobility open to them. Their universalistic value orientations made them perceive the recommendation of the city planners with favor. In addition to the fact that several of the "politicos" were property owners, their opposition to relocation was made even stronger by their dependency on voters in that area. Relocation would mean the loss of their power base. Mrs. Hidalgo, like some of the "politicos," had a considerable investment in land. Institutional leaders, although they also had universalistic value orientations, had a stake in maintaining the existing population of Barelas intact. The fact that Mr. Costilla was a resident, and long involved in improving the community, made him favor rehabilitation. Thus, the degree to which segments of Barelas' power structure were opposed to relocation was a reflection of their social economic, or political identification with the community.

Once the controversy began, conflicts typified the pattern analyzed by Coleman. The specific issue gave way to more general issues, and new and different issues having to do with the qualifications and performance of agency sub-professionals were raised by the "politicos." Disagreement shifted to antagonism, and the "politicos," submerged in decision making since community action programs had over shadowed their

activities, now reasserted their influence.

In December, 1968, the special election was held and Barelas residents voted in favor of relocating with assistance. In the final tally, 84 voted for relocation and 60 voted for residential rehabilitation. Residents were praised in the Albuquerque Journal, for their wise decision. The basic reason for the outcome of the election lies in the way resources were utilized by agency sub-professionals backing relocation. In addition to their officiality (Model Cities employees) Mr. Veracruz and Mr. Dulce utilized commonly available resources at a much greater rate and with considerably more skill than their opponents. Time, energy, knowledge, persuasion, and skill were available to others, however, the intense application of these resources spelled success for the Model Cities Agency.

Changes in the social organization of Barelas accompanied the conflict. Once set in motion, the hostility sustained conflict without reference to the initial disagreement. The relocation/rehabilitation issue was settled, yet the controversy continued and extended into other areas. Where formerly "politicos" and agency sub-professionals did provide each other with assistance, relations became polarized. Within a year, a new leader took over the dispute. A "politico," Mr. Valencia, was elected President of the Community Improvement Association, thereby signaling the end of community action control by agency sub-professionals. The differentiation of interests and stakes in Barelas thus had major consequences for the arrangement of power relationships in the community. The resolution of this decision presents further evidence that influence in Barelas is actually channeled through relatively specific, specialized substructures.

The Restructuring of Power Arrangements

It now remains to consider, nominations and appointments, in order to clarify power relationships as they exist in South Barelas today.

The "politicos" were successful in limiting the sphere of agency sub-professional operations, by moving more community action functions into "the politicos'" own sphere. Attempting to maintain a "technical" environment in the management of the Neighborhood Center became increasingly problematic for Mr. Guadalupe, as the hostility generated by the relocation issue gained momentum of its own. When Mr. Valencia was elected President of the Improvement Association, support for Mr. Guadalupe's operation was precluded. While several minor struggles followed, it will suffice here to say that every decision or proposal made by Mr. Guadalupe was negated or contradicted by the "politicos." There is sufficient evidence to verify that he was not given support by the policy board of the Association, and therefore resigned his position as Director of the Center. However, the foregoing analysis of the value orientations of agency sub-professionals reveals that such a move on the part of Mr. Guadalupe was not perceived as a real exit from his identification with community improvement. His resignation came about only when he became certain that a position in the Urban Renewal Agency would be available to him; a position which guaranteed upward mobility in the vertical system of the community, and in the extracommunity structure of the Agency, as well as the opportunity to maintain his ties in Barelas via the duties of his job as a relocation officer.

Mr. Guadalupe's resignation presented an opportunity for the

"politicos" to solidify their power base in the community. The policy board and board of directors must accept applications, and recommend to the Economic Opportunity Board a candidate for the position. While the Economic Opportunity Board does make the final decision, it generally adheres to the recommendation of the local Association. Four applications were taken by the Association: Mr. Ventana, a "politico," Mr. Jalisco, Mr. Peralta, both activists, and Mr. White. Several factors gave Mr. Ventana an open advantage. His legal resources, and his communication with important figures outside of Barelas (state legislators, city politicians); the position of his father as the benevolent "patron;" and foremost, the fact that other "politicos" especially Mr. Valencia, were backing him. The situation was such that he was the only real applicant, despite authentic attempts by both Mr. Peralta and Mr. Jalisco to mobilize support for themselves. Residents were very much aware that the policy board controlled hirings, and the "politicos" controlled the policy board. So certain was Mr. Valencia of success, that a month before the hiring procedure began, he announced at a political convention that Mr. Ventana would be the next director of the Barelas Neighborhood Center!

The power structure of South Barelas has changed for the third time in ten years. As the agency sub-professionals have become upwardly mobile in their various extracommunity agencies, the "politicos" have assumed control and direction of the local agency units. This shift points to a more significant trend; the utilization and maximization of a new power base by the "politicos." Community action units have replaced the old precinct system of exchange and reciprocity, with a new system of exchange founded on services for the disadvnataged. It

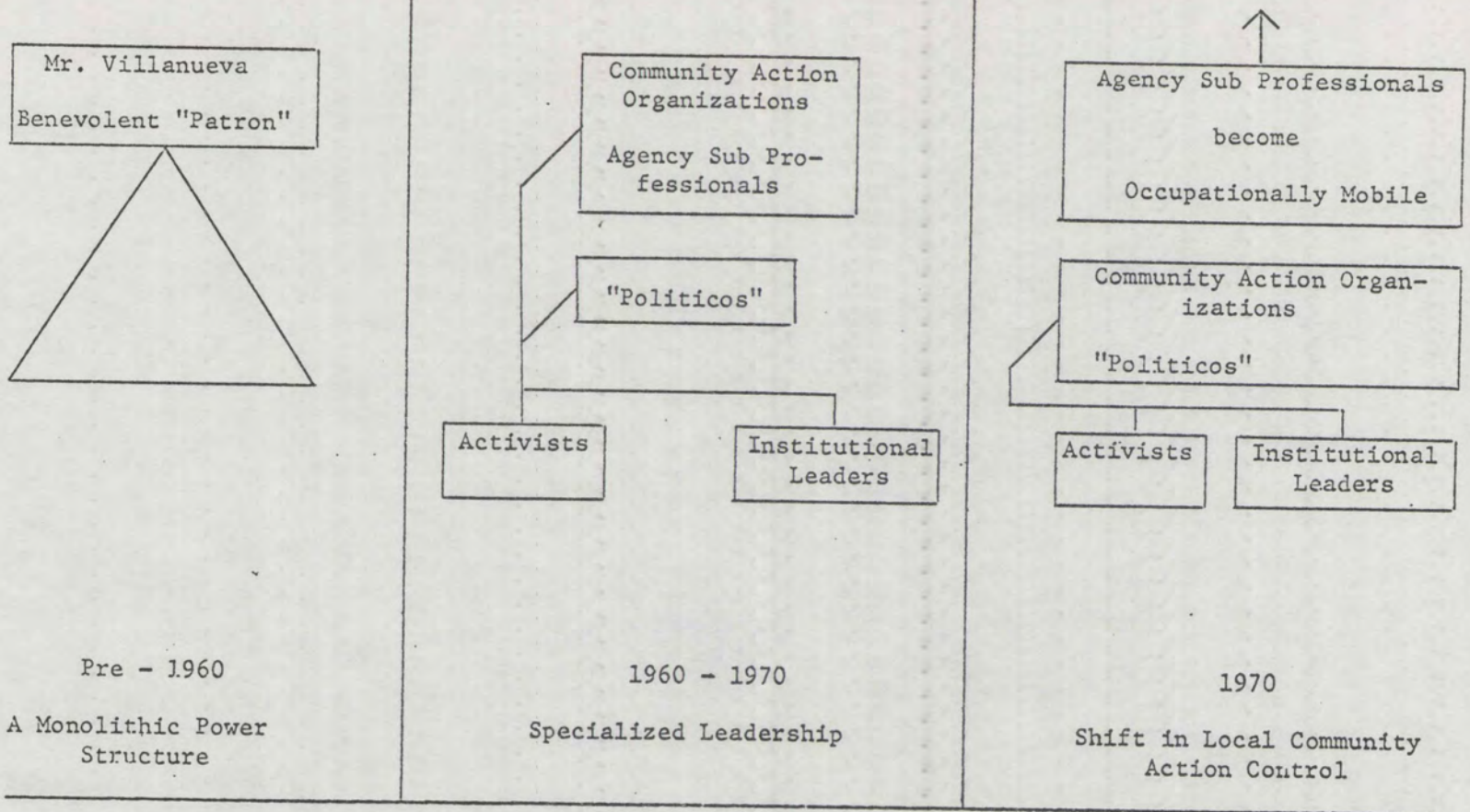
is herein referred to as a trend because three and perhaps four Associations and Neighborhood Centers in other local barrios have become dominated by "politicos."

While agency sub-professionals are still a significant power grouping, their influence is now submerged as was that of the "politicos" five years ago.

The Present analysis of a series of concrete decisions has exposed a well defined pattern. While the power structure has undergone a number of substantial shifts, a pattern remains which reveals the inter-relationship between social forces within and among the horizontal and vertical substructures of Barelas. Power is actually channeled through relatively specific, specialized substructures. (See Figure 7.)

FIGURE 7

PHASES IN THE POWER STRUCTURE OF BARELAS



CHAPTER IV

Footnotes

1. Polsby, "Three Problems in the Analysis of Community Power," op. cit., p. 789.

2. A Relevant War Against Poverty: A Study in Community Action Programs and Observable Social Change (New York: Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc., 1968), p. 23.

3. Hawley and Wirt, op. cit., p. 106.

4. Roscoe Martin, et. al. Decisions in Syracuse (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), p. 5.

5. Ibid., pp. 4-6.

6. Kravitz, op. cit., pp. 259-271.

7. Ibid., pp. 259-271.

8. Barelas Community Development Proposal.

9. Vidich and Bensman, op. cit., p. 226.

10. Ibid., p. 226.

11. John Walton, "Differential Patterns of Community Power Structure: An Explanation Based on Interdependence," in Community Structure and Decision Making, Terry N. Clark, ed., (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1968), p. 454.

12. Van Dyke, op. cit.

13. Ibid.

14. Blau, op. cit., p. 265.

15. Ibid., pp. 265-267.

16. Ibid., p. 270.

17. Ibid., p. 271.

18. Ibid., p. 292.

19. Ibid., p. 291.

20. Ibid., p. 268.

21. Clarance J. Davies, Neighborhood Groups and Urban Renewal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), p. 147.

22. James Coleman, Community Conflict (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 3-4.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

The specific questions to which the present study was directed have been answered in the course of the report. However, they will be reviewed briefly at this point for purposes of clarification.

Conceived as mutually supportive means of ascertaining community power, the reputational and decision making techniques revealed findings which were at the same time compatible and consistent with the literature in both areas. It might be suggested therefore that distinctions between elite and pluralist systems are matters of degree rather than mutually exclusive contrasts. Critics of the reputational approach have argued that what is being determined when people are asked to identify influentials is the identity of those persons who have the reputation for being influential. This reputation can be divided into that part which is justified by behavior, and that part which is not so justified. Present findings lend support to this criticism, as a number of prestige figures in Barelas were revealed by the reputational approach. Still, real power wielders were also revealed. Although all individuals in primary decision making circumstances were discovered, it remained for the decision making approach to provide a means of studying behavior directly in order to determine whether their repute as leaders was justified.

The reputational method is particularly susceptible to ambiguity resulting from respondents' confusion of status and power. Hence, reputations for power are not an adequate index of the distribution of power. Perhaps the main weakness of the reputational method is that it

assumes and reports a static definition of power. Four groups in Barelas were characterized as power wielders, but the method by itself did not furnish information concerning changes in the nature and distribution of the sources of power. Indeed, the process whereby these groups replaced each other thereby changing the distribution of sources, is the most salient disclosure of the present study. However, the reputational approach assumes an equation of potential for power with the realization of that power.[1] This appears to assume a kind of equilibrium which precludes description of the shifting distribution of power.

The application of the reputational method to an urban barrio indicates that, as Wolfinger suggests, it should be regarded as merely a systematic first step in studying a community's political system rather than as a comprehensive technique for discovering the distribution of power.[2] However; a further examination of the concrete decision making events in the framework of Blau's model of mediating values in complex structures revealed a dynamics of change in the power wielding process. Hence the present study yielded insights beyond those of both the reputational and the decision making models.

1. The reputational technique disclosed that power derives from control over the crucial sustenance of economic activities in the social system of Barelas. It did not, however, indicate that this control is a dynamic process, characterized by leadership succession.

2. The decision making technique presented a clear outline of a pluralist system of influence, revealing a process of shifting control. As key individuals in decision making substructures responded to incompatibilities in goal states between and among interdependent substructures in Barelas, fundamental transformations of the power structure took effect.

The shift from "patron" to agency sub-professional, to "politico" dominance occurred as coordinated collective effort took place within the organizational setting of the community. As each group acquired legitimation and authority to pursue community action objectives, the specialized segments that were formally established and legitimated through delegation of authority (the Community Improvement Association and Neighborhood Center) tended to acquire some autonomy. The relatively autonomous organizations such as the Neighborhood Center staff often conflicted with the centralized organization of the Association. Finally, the application of Blau's conceptualization of mediating values in complex structures provided insight into the process of leadership succession.

As structures in the community action complex became institutionalized, these institutional elements exerted constraints on other elements of community. Thus, the power of the "patron" and later that of agency sub-professionals deteriorated. Opposition ideals generated new values within the community. Though analytically originating outside the social system of Barelas, in the "war on poverty," opposition ideals created new social rewards, new social resources by inspiring men with fresh energies, and new organized collectives for mobilizing these resources within the community.

A social process which takes many different forms, opposition may be characterized as a type of organized collective dissent and action against an established order.[3] For purposes of the present analysis, opposition can be conceptualized in terms of the conflict between autonomy and interdependence of community substructures. Since substructures in Barelas are dependent on each other, changes in one

have led to changes in the others. The dependence of community substructures on larger social structures in the vertical pattern of the community such as the Economic Opportunity Board, or the Albuquerque Model Cities Program, directly conflicted with the autonomy of the local subgroups. Centralized authorities in the larger collectivity coordinated the major courses of action in the subgroups, thus creating conflict. The conflict was inevitable since both some centralized coordination and some autonomy of parts are necessary for organized collectivities.[4] The phases in the power structure of Barelas occurred as opposition movements to the established organization of the community were mobilized by grouping together dissatisfied elements into new substructures.

Serving as a catalyst or starting mechanism of social change, opposition was carried out in the initial shift from "patron" to agency sub-professional control by those who became sub-professionals rather than by the institutional leaders that stimulated it. Thus, in Barelas, opposition was the regenerative force that introjected new vitality into the social structure and became the basis for the initial reorganization, and the shift in control of the community action complex.

Analysis of decision making in Barelas revealed that the interdependence between substructures produced many incompatibilities. Social conditions that were established to meet some requirements of community action goals, became impediments for meeting others. The conflict between universalistic and particularistic value standards are examples of incompatible requirements in the social structure of Barelas which led to recurrent reorganizations. Integrative and differentiating processes came into conflict, as did legitimate organizations and the opposition provoked by the constraints they exerted. In this manner,

the present study was able to focus on the dilemmas that confronted organized collectivities in the community and promoted a dialectical pattern of change. This pattern of change entailed fundamental transformations of the social structure of Barelas, as well as a process of leadership passing within the power structure itself.

The question pertaining to the role of the poor in barrio politics has been answered as the dynamics of power were illuminated. The attitudes of residents of Barelas have been found to be significant only insofar as they found organized expression through a decision making group.

The pattern taken by the power structure of Barelas is the function of a number of independent variables: the system of exchange and reciprocity in precinct ward politics, the economic structure of the community which calls for federal assistance in community action programs, and the "rules of the game"[5] or the set of norms which arose out of the interrelationship between substructures on both horizontal and vertical levels of community organization. However, the critical independent variables established by the present research are the incompatible requirements which exist in the social structure of the community. Social processes that meet requirements of some substructures, have been found to create impediments for meeting others. This incompatibility stimulates reorganization in accordance with these other requirements. Thus, power wielding in Barelas is a dialectical process because any form of organized delegation of authority is likely to engender problems and conflicts that call for some reorganization.

It was suggested earlier that the reputational method assumes a static definition of community power. It is contended here that the

decision making method also concentrates on what the structure of power in the community has been and what it is rather than on what it is becoming. As the present research has demonstrated, changes in the character of issues are only one type of change.

Present findings suggest the need for further research on community power within the framework of change-oriented hypotheses. Investigation of dilemmas produced by interdependence between interpenetrating substructures in the community would provide a means of focusing on the way in which power groupings respond to and bring about changes in other community structures. This would enlarge our understanding of the operation and distribution of community power.

CHAPTER V

Footnotes

1. Wolfinger, op. cit., p. 672.
2. Ibid., p. 673.
3. Blau, op. cit., p. 302.
4. Ibid., p. 303.
5. Clark, "The Concept of Power," op. cit., p. 55.

APPENDIX A

INITIAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Mr. Animas	Mr. Jarales	Mrs. Chama
Mr. Vera Cruz	Mr. Meranales	Mr. Chama
Mr. Costilla	Mr. Guadalupe	Mr. San Miguel
Mr. Villanueva	Mrs. Hidalgo	Mrs. San Miguel
Mr. Pajarito	Mr. Ignacio	Father Yucatan
Mr. Espanda	Mr. Jalisco	Mr. Sanchez
Mr. Tome	Mr. Valencia	
Mr. Fransisco	Mrs. Jalisco	

Suppose a major project were before the community, one that required decision by a group of leaders that nearly everyone would accept. Which people would you choose to make up this group, regardless of whether or not you knew them personally? (Add names of persons who may have been omitted in the list above)

a. _____ f. _____

b. _____ g. _____

c. _____ h. _____

d. _____ i. _____

e. _____ j. _____

Which organizations (clubs, associations, etc.) do you consider most important in Barelas?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

d. _____

e. _____

f. _____

g. _____

What are some issues or projects (either current or past) of importance to the people of the community?

Issues	Persons Involved
a.	
b.	
c.	
d.	
e.	
f.	

APPENDIX B

PROBABLE INFLUENTIAL QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME _____

Age _____

Sex _____

Birthplace _____

Occupation _____

Education _____

Length of residence in Barelas _____

If you were responsible for a major project which was before Barelas, that required decision by a group of leaders - leaders that nearly everyone would accept, which 10 on this list would you choose?

Mr. Animas
Mr. Vera Cruz
Mr. Costilla
Mr. Villanueva
Mr. Espanola
Mr. Fransicso
Mr. Guadalupe
Mrs. Hidalgo
Mr. Ignacio
Mr. Jalisco
Mr. Valencia
Mrs. Jalisco
Mr. Mora
Mr. Durango
Mrs. Chama
Mr. Chama
Father Yucatan
Mr. Rosario
Mr. San Miguel
Mr. Ventana
Mr. Vallecitos
Mr. Dulce
Mr. Anton Chico

Of the following organizations listed below, which are most influential in initiating or supporting action or importance to Barelas residents (Add names of organizations omitted.)

BARELAS COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION
MODEL CITIES CITIZENS BOARD
RIVERVIEW PTA
ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY BOARD

Do you belong to the same organizations as any of those individuals listed above?

Name Organization

_____

_____

_____

_____

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