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BLACK LEADERSHIP IN
A SMALL TOWN

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Government
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
William Harry Whitley
1977

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

Black leadership in Franklin, Virginia was examined to determine its effectiveness. Seven black leaders of Franklin were interviewed to determine their views about themselves and their city. Seven white leaders were interviewed to compare their attitudes and views with the black leaders. A sample of Franklin's black and white citizens was interviewed and the citizens' views were compared to the views of the leaders.

The black leaders of Franklin do not share a unified view of their town and its problems. They were either satisfied with the progress blacks have made in the town or frustrated by what they termed blatant racial discrimination. These leaders are not trying to push for change within the black community.

Black citizens are alienated from their local government. They feel racism exists in the city and that local government officials are treating them badly.

It is suggested that without more job opportunities to attract young, educated blacks into the town, Franklin may not move away from its segregationist ideals. Hope is expressed that as property is sold by the dominant family of Franklin, new industry will enter the town, and new black leaders with it.

BLACK LEADERSHIP IN
A SMALL TOWN

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Leaders are a vital part of the nation's political process. Who these leaders are and how they function in their positions of authority are important questions in understanding any community. Community leaders are responsible for decisions which affect the citizens directly, and the manner in which these decisions are made is the essence of a democratic society.

Political leadership is important to the black citizens of this country. Blacks are a minority of the United States' population and have had to rely on a unified effort to articulate their demands to the white majority. Leaders are essential in this process. Blacks have had a small part of the material resources, such as money and land, which make a group powerful and for this reason they must rely on individuals to present their opinions.

Joel Aberbach and Jack Walker found evidence that black citizens had become distrustful of their community leaders when they interviewed citizens of Detroit in 1967, and again in 1971.¹ (See Table 1) The black citizens of Detroit did not trust the leaders of the city. In this respect leadership had failed the black citizens.

The Aberbach and Walker table does not demonstrate

however, that black citizens perceive black leaders in Detroit's government as a part of a white institution. If the black citizens are looking at Detroit as a white institution this table is not a true indicator of their feelings about black leadership. The black leaders of Detroit, as a segment of the Detroit government, could be more sensitive to the needs of the black citizenry and the level of trust between black citizens and black leaders may be high. Do black leaders reflect the views of the black citizens in the community? The question will be dealt with in this study.

Table 1

Question: How much do you think you can trust the government in (Detroit) to do what is right: just about always, most of the time, some of the time, or almost never?

Racial Group	Year	About always or most of time	Some of time or never
A. Trust in Detroit Government			
White	1967	45%	55%
	1971	46%	54%
Black	1967	38%	62%
	1971	24%	76%

Source: Joel D. Aberbach and Jack L. Walker, Race In The City: Political Trust and Public Policy in The New Urban System (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1973), p. 49.

The leaders of the black community in a small racially-mixed town are important to their citizenry. Often these leaders are the sole voice of their citizens because state and national civil rights leaders are preoccupied with issues of larger importance. If a community's black leaders become satisfied with their position in the town and decide that they will benefit from a continuation of the present political structure, then black citizens will suffer because the maintenance of the status quo is not beneficial for them. On the other hand, if the black leaders view themselves as vital in the political development of the black community, they are in a position to accomplish a great deal for their constituency.

The threat of co-optation by a community's power structure is a clear possibility for black leaders and their constituents. If because of their positions the leaders fail to represent the needs of blacks, then the white leaders have (1) placated the black citizens with black representation and (2) maintained control over community decisions. This situation must be avoided if the black citizens are to advance politically in a community and not be treated as a separate and unequal segment of the population.

The black leaders of a town must articulate the views of their citizenry, and it is important for them to keep in touch with the needs and views of the blacks. One can speculate that the smaller the community, the easier

the task of keeping informed, but the situation is not so simple. Citizens may not be informed about issues affecting them because they are not interested in local politics. This lack of interest can be used by the community's political powers to maintain the power structure in the town. Also, the black leader may simply not make the effort to explain issues to the citizens because he feels his opinion will be shared by his people and, therefore, communication on every issue is not essential. Whatever the case in a community, one cannot assume that a black leader's vote on an issue represents the views of a majority of the black citizens. It would not be fair to the leaders of a town to expect them to take a public opinion poll concerning every issue that arises, but if the citizens become too isolated from their leaders, representative government is imperiled.

Black leadership and its relationship to the black community in a small town are considered in detail in an examination of the political environment in Franklin, Virginia. Located in the southeastern section of Virginia, 40 miles west of Norfolk and 9 miles north of the North Carolina border, Franklin is a typical small Southern town in many ways. The town was originally settled in 1835 because of its position along the Seaboard Air Line Railway. Franklin is located on the banks of the Black Water River. This fact made the town a good location for steamboat travelers coming up the river from North Carolina to be transferred to the train for the trip to Norfolk.

Products were brought up the Black Water River for the train to carry, and the intersection of the railroad and the river became the Franklin Depot. The Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald reported on July 29, 1835, that the Franklin Depot:

. . .will be the principle intermediate depot for produce on the line of the railroad; and we should not be surprised if, in a few years, the Bridge at Black Water (an admirable structure, by the by) were to exhibit at either end a thriving village, where now there is nothing to be seen but swampy wilderness. 2

The history of the town from the end of the War Between the States until the beginning of this century is uneventful. The only noteworthy occurrence was the beginning of a saw-mill by P.D. and J.L. Camp which was known as the Camp Manufacturing Company.³ The economy of the town became centered in the paper industry because of the Camp operation, and the progress of Franklin has been linked with the mill's growth since its creation.

The political history of the town is characterized by slow development. Franklin was incorporated as a town by the Virginia General Assembly on March 15, 1876. The first town governing body consisted of a six-man town council with one of the councilmen serving as a mayor. In 1922 the town adopted the city manager form of government. It was decided at that time that the town should be governed by a city manager serving with a commission of five members. The population of Franklin grew from 477 in 1880 to 2,323 by 1920. By 1960 the town had 7,264 citizens

and Franklin became a second-class city.⁴ This development took place because the town annexed 2.90 square miles of neighboring Southampton County and thus qualified as a second-class city in land area.

The history of Franklin's black community is very difficult to document because little has been written about it. One history of the town's black community has been written for the town's celebration of its centennial (1976). This essay is dominated by a discussion of the town's black citizens who have become wealthy. One of the historical references that is made to the integration of the races is found in an essay entitled "Franklin Since 1947" written by Waring J. Smith, Jr. Mr. Smith states:

Perhaps the most significant change (in Franklin) has been in the educational system. New modern schools have been constructed. The Hayden High School (black) was completed in 1952. . . .After many years of controversy, Franklin's school system was completely integrated in 1970. 5

Franklin has a population which is slightly over 50 percent black.⁶ This fact suggests that the town's black community would be important politically because of its size but is this the case in Franklin?

The Civil Rights movement and increased black awareness of the need for political participation heightened the importance of leadership for the black community. The black leaders have to direct their community toward desired goals if political advancement is to be achieved. The achievement of these goals explains many things both

about the effectiveness of black leadership and the political efficacy of blacks in the town.

This study analyzes the black leaders in Franklin, Virginia, and compares their attitudes about themselves, their people, and their community with the views of the black citizens they represent. The study also considers the white leaders and citizens of Franklin in an effort to measure the distance between these two groups regarding their community. Do white citizens feel as their leaders do about their community? This additional test of political efficacy demonstrates whether the problem, if there is one, of distance between leader and citizen is restricted to the black community or is one that both races share.

Do the black leaders of Franklin have the same views of their political environment as the white leaders? Do these black leaders feel proud of their personal accomplishments and are they willing to discuss specific community improvements? These are questions that relate to the effectiveness of the city's black leadership, as well as the advancements made by the entire community. Also, these questions lead to some answers as to whether the black leaders have distinct political opinions or simply reflect the views of the traditional community powers.

It is hypothesized that Franklin is ruled by a minority of white economic leaders, that these leaders of Franklin protect and guide a separate and unequal society where black citizens and their views are given secondary

status. It is further hypothesized that the black leaders of the community have contributed to this situation by being co-opted into the dominant ruling class of the town. Finally the views of the black leaders in Franklin will, on examination, mirror the opinions of the white rulers of the town, rather than the black citizens. If this situation does exist, then Franklin has not moved towards racial equality; rather, a white economic elite has succeeded in removing the most potent threat to their domination of the community: the leaders of the black majority.

LEADERSHIP STUDIES: A PERSPECTIVE

The study of power and the individuals who have it has long been attempted by those interested in political development. Much work which has been done on power in the community stresses leadership as a unified elite effort. Leaders are perceived by these studies as being strong or weak, community oriented or business oriented, populists or politicians. Robert Dahl, in his study of New Haven, traces the development of the political structure of the community, and concludes that what was present in the city when he studied it could be described as pluralism, with no dominant ruling elite.⁷ Dahl traces the history of the community and then turns to three issue-areas to determine whether or not a ruling elite presides in New Haven. He also examines Five Patterns of Leadership in the community, which are:

1. Covert integration by Economic Notables.

2. An executive-centered "grand coalition of coalitions."
3. A coalition of chieftains.
4. Independent sovereignties with spheres of influence.
5. Rival sovereignties fighting it out.⁸

Dahl rejects the first pattern for New Haven, and then proceeds to illustrate how at a particular time in the city's history the leaders could be classified under the remaining four.

In their article "Two Faces of Power", Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz critique Dahl's approach. Bachrach and Baratz maintain that because Dahl studied issues which may not have threatened the elite of New Haven, pluralistic democracy was allowed to function, but these authors state that if the notables were threatened by some action of Dahl's pluralistic process, they would use their influence to defeat the proposal.⁹

Bachrach and Baratz also discuss what they term the indirect influence that the notables may have on the rulers and their decisions in a community such as New Haven. "To measure relative influence solely in terms of the ability to initiate and veto proposals is to ignore the possible exercise of influence on power in limiting the scope of initiation."¹⁰ Bachrach and Baratz raise the possibility that the officials of New Haven may indeed have a free hand at dealing with issues in the community as long as these efforts do not negatively affect the notables of the community.

The study of Franklin tests the ideas of Dahl and

Bachrach and Baratz. The community seems pluralistic with a black mayor and several blacks on commissions. Does the fact that these individuals serve the community help black citizens participate more fully in local government? Is there a dominant ruling elite in Franklin? This study will examine these questions.

Heinz Eulau and Kenneth Prewitt, in their study of 82 city councils in the San Francisco Bay region, develop a typology of the councils in an attempt to explain how the governing bodies react to their community and other city officials. Their councils exhibit three styles:

1. The Benevolent Style: who feel that the . . . council works for the good of the city and its citizens; its work is a public service and serving on the council is not a matter of self-interest. . . .
2. The Pragmatic Style: emphasis is placed on knowledge, facts, expertise, or the substantive merits of a proposal in proceeding with council business.
3. The Political Style: the council is chiefly seen as an arena in which a political game is played, where advantages may be derived from going along or obstructing. . . . 11

Eulau and Prewitt contend the city council in a small town

adapts itself to internal complexity by evolving appropriate social relations and practices; but its more familiar and less complex human environment does not stimulate it to integrate its social relations and governing practices either in the same degree (as a large city) or at all.¹²

How do the leaders in Franklin view their positions of authority? Do they feel "Benevolent" or "Pragmatic" or "Political"? An examination of the leaders in Franklin

sheds light on how they view their jobs. Are the black leaders in Franklin concerned about their political careers or do they view their jobs pragmatically? How do they view their responsibilities as public servants?

Ernest A. T. Barth and Baha Aba-Laban discuss the power structure in what they term "The Negro Sub-Community" which exists in their Pacific City. They compare these leaders with those that Floyd Hunter discovered in Regional City.¹³ Barth and Aba-Laban discover that where Hunter found the black leaders to be fairly content with their positions of leadership, the black leaders of Pacific City were not as content. Barth and Aba-Laban conclude:

It appears that the major concern of the Negro sub-community, as well as of its leaders, lies with issues centering around minority status and group protest. . . Leaders in Regional City are motivated. . . to maintain their segregated sub-community, while in Pacific City the leaders seek the opposite.¹⁴

Hunter and Barth and Aba-Laban have examined black leadership. Hunter found the black leaders content while Barth and Aba-Laban found them leading change. The leaders in Franklin are examined to discover how they view their positions. Are they complacent or are they pushing the white leadership for social and political change?

Power, and the leaders who hold it, is the object of Aaron Wildavsky's study of Oberlin, Ohio. Wildavsky points out that leaders ". . . know that they must at some point take into account the preferences of those who might be activated by severe deprivations and that the citizen, when aroused, has ample means to make his will felt."¹⁵

This assessment of the relationship town leaders have to their citizens suggests that, as Dahl found in New Haven, Oberlin has a fairly pluralistic form of government with different citizens responding to threats they perceive in the system which will relate to them. According to Wildavsky, leaders respond to pressures they receive from the public, and thus function as an extension of those citizens who are interested in the particular issue. In Oberlin, Wildavsky finds that:

All in all there is good reason to regard Oberlin as a successful endeavor in self-government. Those who participate in its affairs, whether they gain their immediate objectives or not, have every right to feel that they are making a notable contribution to self-government in which the clash of interests provides a reasonable approximation of justice and makes the will of the people, realistically defined, a major element in community decisions. 16

Wildavsky finds pluralism in Oberlin as Dahl did in New Haven; different groups making demands of the local government with responses being made to these demands. Does the same situation exist in Franklin where 51 percent of the population is black?

Comparisons of the leaders of various towns gives one the impression that one paradigm does not exist regarding the powerful in communities. Delbert C. Miller compared an English city with an American to test the hypothesis "Key influential leaders in a community influence policy-making by acting in concert through cliques."¹⁷ He concludes that there is "no single solidary elite structure and no hierarchical dominance based on one institutional

sector."¹⁸ He suggests that the leaders in his two cities "play a number of different roles, sometimes negative, often remaining neutral and even withdrawing completely from various issues."¹⁹

Smaller communities have been discussed, and perhaps Arthur Vidich and Joseph Bensman's study of Springdale, New York, Small Town in Mass Society, is the most famous. In this work, the authors trace the development of Springdale, much like Robert Dahl has done in New Haven, and discuss the town, its leaders, and its reactions to the world which surrounds it. The leadership of Springdale was found to be based on the principle of small town unanimity. Vidich and Bensman report that not all dissent on issues coming before the village board was expressed publicly. The authors state that in the village:

Through a process of consultation prior to an official meeting and by extended discussion involving the entire group during the meeting itself, a point is reached when it seems reasonable to assume that everyone will go along with the proposed action. Only then, as a final parry, will someone suggest that a motion be made to propose the action. 20

Obviously, the leadership of Springdale values its position and, through pressures exerted within the group itself, has decided to suppress dissenting voices for the sake of unanimity.

Franklin has much in common with Springdale. Both are small towns; both have leaders who have been in office for a long time; both are conservative in that political change is viewed with suspicion. The importance of

unanimity is stressed by the leaders of Springdale, a town without the racial divisions of Franklin. The study of Franklin examines unanimity in a racially-mixed town.

T. B. Bottomore has said "in every society there is, and must be, a minority which rules over the rest of society; this minority - the 'political class' or 'governing elite'."²¹ The study of these individuals who have been termed the leaders is a complex but interesting process. C. Wright Mills, discussing power, developed a portrait of the "American Political Elite". He coined the phrase to discuss those individuals who hold the top positions of authority in America. His discussion of the 495 men he has chosen as America's elite reveal that 58 percent of them came from the "upper 5 or 10 percent of the American population".²² He concludes that in this group of individuals, the powerful were usually advantaged socially and economically for most of their lives. Mills' findings suggest that the rulers of the town, coming from the elite section of the social order, may express the interests of this segment of the society at the expense of others they are also to represent.

Daniel J. Elazar examines the political culture of various sections of America and explains how the patterns of behavior he describes developed. One of the three patterns he describes is based in the "traditional" political culture. Elazar describes the government's role in this culture:

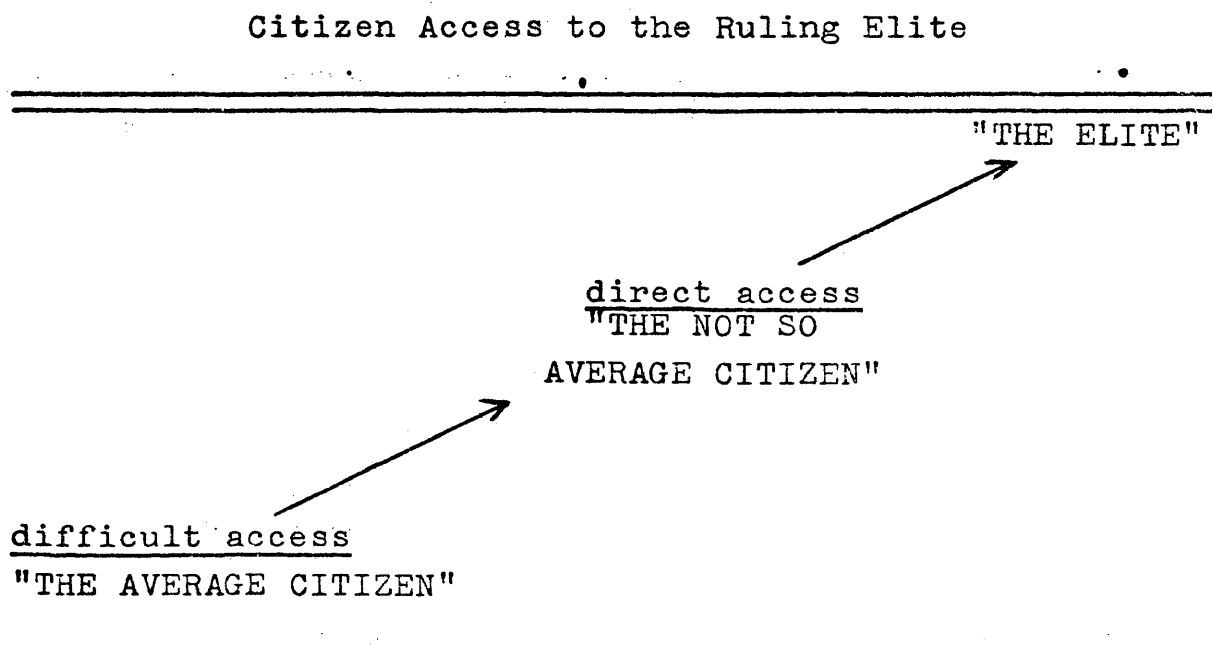
. . .the traditionalistic political culture

accepts government as an actor with a positive role in the community, but it tries to limit that role to securing the continued maintenance of the existing social order. To do so, it functions to confine real political power to a relatively small and self-perpetuating group drawn from an established elite who often inherit their "right" to govern through family ties or social position. 23

According to Elazar's hypothesis, Virginia is the best example of the traditional political culture. This culture is not reserved for state political positions, but permeates the community level of government as local elites can dominate the smaller communities.

A very important part of the political culture in America involves leadership. Kenneth Prewitt and Alan Stone describe the access to "the elite" ruling class in America. Their different levels of access are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1



Prewitt and Stone tell us:

The elite position must be achieved, but the plateau from which it can be most easily achieved constitutes a cluster of ascribed positions. To be well-born, wealthy, well-educated, in a prestigious occupation, and beneficiary of establishment connections is to be located among the "not so average citizens". . . . It is not impossible to reach the all-important plateau, but it takes tremendous effort, specialized talent, and not a little bit of luck. 25

The achievement of the leadership position is more difficult if one happens to be a black American. In 1937, John Dollard wrote Caste and Class in a Southern Town, and examined the social order between blacks and whites. His conclusions were that "The caste line works out also as an automatic block to social advancement for the Negro. . . and the highest prestige prizes are not accessible to him."²⁶

When V.O. Key, Jr. wrote Southern Politics in State and Nation in 1949, the caste system Dollard spoke of had not changed. Key commented that "the predominant consideration in the architecture of southern political institutions has been to assure a subordination of the Negro population and, externally, to block threatened interferences from the outside with these local arrangements."²⁷ The problems with trying to develop leaders in the black community under such a social and political structure are monumental.

James Q. Wilson examined Negro leaders in his work Negro Politics. He divided Negro leaders into three styles:

the prestige leader, the token leader, and the organizer. The prestige leader is an individual who is prominent in the Negro community because of his personal achievement. These individuals are usually doctors, lawyers, and ministers.²⁸ The token leader is one who is selected by whites to "represent" the black community. He is chosen to "legitimate" the white power structure's decisions.²⁹ The organizers are leaders who "raise issues and create, direct, and sustain organizations for the attainment of civic goals." These individuals are true leaders in the sense that they lead the black community in a town.³⁰

The relative scarcity of Negro leaders in American history has been traced to the deterioration of the Negro family. In 1965 the United States Department of Labor issued a study entitled The Negro Family which reported this dilemma. The study concludes that "the fundamental source of the weakness of the Negro community at the present time. . . is the deterioration of the Negro family."³¹ Leaders usually do not develop from terrible family situations. This study states that one-fourth of non-white families are headed by a woman.³² The instability of a poor, one-parent family suggests that blacks have not had an equal opportunity to develop leaders in their own communities.

Have any advances taken place which have changed the position of black leaders in a community? Frederick M. Wirt found evidence in a Mississippi county that this may not be so. Wirt comments about the 1964 Civil Rights

Act and its effect in Panola County, Mississippi:

It is certainly true, however, that such acceptance has been minimal and grudging. Nothing in this writing should be taken to indicate a belief that a transformation has occurred among those who dominate the county's economy. The few jobs here and there, an occasional restaurant that will let the occasional Negro buy its fried catfish, a hospital waiting room where now the races may mix, the few small black farmers now able to participate in decisions about crop allotments--these are not major changes. Those who hold power have long known the victory to be gained from a seeming defeat by yielding minimally. So it is true in the matter of the law's effort to improve the economic options of the Panola Negroes.³³

Have conditions really improved for the black in small towns?

It is said that the 1960's "became the time of the 'movement', when Negroes, after half a century of seeming indifference, overcame their lethargy and became active participants in state and national politics." ³⁴ What about community politics? Have changes which are vital to the day-to-day lives of blacks on the local level taken place? National and state participation does not necessarily mean that blacks are advancing on the community level.

VALUE OF THE STUDY

The study of the leaders in Franklin, Virginia contributes to the community power efforts because the racial makeup of the town, as well as its location, make it a worthy case study. Franklin is a small southern town, and its racial composition presents a test case for

the amount of change that is taking place in the South. The town, with its large black population, can be an example of progress towards racial equality with the black leaders in the forefront of the effort, or it can be an example of lack of change for black citizens in the small communities of the South.

Dahl's study of the political decisions and the leadership of New Haven creates a perspective of the community as being a place where citizens can become involved in the decision-making process. Franklin is a true test of these pluralistic ideals in that for the town to be ruled by the people as in the New Haven model, one would expect blacks to be a very large part of the power structure. Is this the case in Franklin? Do the black leaders feel that they are an important part of decision-making in the town, and if so, do the black citizens share this feeling of political efficacy?

The critique of the New Haven study by Bachrach and Baratz suggests that the notables of a city, those with wealth and position, could influence the decisions made by the leaders. Franklin has two dominant families that could be considered the most powerful notables. Do the leaders, black as well as white, feel influenced by the views of these notables? Has their presence created any hindrance to black advancement in the city?

The leaders themselves will be examined to consider how they view their positions of power. The styles developed by Eulau and Prewitt could explain a great amount

of the behavior of the leaders of the city of Franklin. If the leaders of Franklin classify themselves as benevolent, for example, how does this affect the decisions they are called on to make? Do these leaders feel uncomfortable with a new and changing condition in their community, and try to adjust it to their own styles, and if so, what does this do to their view of the city and its citizens?

Another question which is raised about leadership in a small town pertains to the position of the black leaders. Does the fact that a black leader is in a town with a population of over 50 percent black citizens change how he views himself and his community? Where Hunter found blacks to be contented with their leadership position and Barth and Aba-Laban found their respondents more issue oriented, does the percentage of black citizens in Franklin change the role the leaders play? If so, how do the leaders view their community, and do the citizens share these views?

The civil rights legislation of the last decade stimulated much political change in this nation. Have these legal decisions created new political conditions for Franklin's black citizens? Are the black citizens more powerful now than they were a decade ago? Is the "New South" a reality for black citizens of a small community or have there been no changes?

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

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⁴ Hill Directory Company, Hill's Franklin Southampton County, VA. City Directory 1968 (Richmond: Hill Directory Company Publishers, 1968), p. VI.

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⁶ U.S. Department of Commerce, comp., Characteristics of the Population, Volume I, Virginia, (Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce Printing Office, March, 1973), p. 48-148.

⁷ Discussion is based on Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs: Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1961).

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¹⁰ Ibid., p. 952.

¹¹ Heinz Eulau and Kenneth Prewitt, Labyrinths of Democracy: Adaptations, Linkages, Representation, and Policies in Urban Politics (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1973), pp. 119-120.

¹² Ibid., p. 126.

¹³ Barth and Abu-Laban base their discussion on Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

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¹⁴Ernest A.T. Barth and Bahu Aba-Laban, "Power Structure and the Negro Sub-Community," American Sociological Review, Volume 24 (February, 1959), pp. 75-76.

¹⁵Arthur Wildavsky, Leadership in a small town (Totowa, New Jersey: The Bedminster Press, 1964), p. 360.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Delbert C. Miller, "Decision-Making Cliques in Community Power Structures: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," American Journal of Sociology, LXVI (November, 1962), p. 299.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 309.

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²⁰Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society: Class, Power and Religion in a Rural Community (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 110.

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²³Daniel J. Elazar, "The American Cultural Matrix," in Daniel J. Elazar and Joseph Ziskmund, II, eds., The Ecology of American Political Culture: Readings (New York, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1975), p.22.

²⁴Kenneth Prewitt and Alan Stone, The Ruling Elites: Elite Theory, Power and American Democracy (New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London: Harper & Row Publishers, 1973), p. 138.

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²⁶John Dollard, Ph.D., Caste And Class In A Southern Town (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), p. 63.

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²⁸James Q. Wilson, Negro Politics: The Search For Leadership (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960), p. 256.

²⁹Ibid., p. 261.

³⁰Ibid., p. 269.

³¹U.S. Department of Labor Office of Planning and Research, "The Negro Family: The Case For National Action," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), p. 5.

³²Ibid., p. 11.

³³Frederick M. Wirt, Politics Of Southern Equality: Law and Social Change in a Mississippi County (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970), p. 276.

³⁴Andrew Buni, The Negro in Virginia Politics 1902-1965 (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1967), p. 259.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The study of community leadership in Franklin required that the town's leaders be interviewed. The method of selecting those to be interviewed is a problem for students of community power. Floyd Hunter used the reputational method to select the leaders of Atlanta. He asked a panel of knowledgeable observers in the city to select the individuals they felt were powerful in Atlanta.¹ Hunter studied the leaders these people mentioned most often. Other authors of community power studies have chosen leaders by issue, elected position, or economic status.² All of these methods have drawbacks. The reputational method neglects the individual who leads without attracting attention. The researcher who studies issue-areas exclusively may not understand why some concerns are never articulated. A study of elected officials can overlook other powerful forces in the community. An examination of the economic elite is interesting, but how does one demonstrate that the wealthy control the community?

One advantage of studying a small community is that the selection process is simplified. The methods used by others were combined and used in Franklin. Hunter's reputational method was used to make the initial leadership

selection. The writer lived in Franklin twenty-one years and knows, by their reputations, the community leaders. Hunter's technique of asking leaders to choose other community leaders was also used in Franklin. The list of leaders chosen was shown to each leader after he was interviewed and these individuals could think of no other people with whom the writer should talk.

Alexander Heard was one of the interviewers used by V.O. Key, Jr., when Key wrote Southern Politics in State and Nation. The orientation Key required of his interviewers centered around their living in the community they were to study. Heard describes the process:

An interviewer spent about five weeks in each state. To help him become familiar with the state's politics, to decide whom to interview and what questions to ask, he went through an orientation program before commencing his task. He read the most adequate one volume history of the state. He read the newspaper clippings accumulated by the study. 3

The training methods described by Heard emphasize the importance of living in the community. Leadership selection choices are simpler with knowledge of the town.

Another advantage in dealing with a small town is that the political leaders and the reputational leaders are the same individuals. The economic leaders are also easy to identify because there are not many of them. There is a small group of leaders in Franklin and all were interviewed.

The black leaders were also chosen by reputation. Franklin has only a few prominent black leaders so this

decision was not difficult. Blacks who are wealthy are involved in city government so the reputational method included those to be interviewed because of both wealth and position.

Fourteen town leaders (7 white, 7 black) were interviewed. The list includes the city manager, the mayor (black), and the four members of the city council. The mayor and the city council are the only elected officials in the town. The heads of the two economically powerful families in Franklin were interviewed. The six other individuals interviewed were: the President of the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); a member of the school board; a member of the city planning commission; a member of the Industrial Development Authority; a member of the Redevelopment and Housing Authority; and a member of the Housing Code Board of Appeals. All six of these individuals are black and represent broad areas of authority in Franklin's government.

The author interviewed these fourteen individuals privately. A tape recorder was used to insure accuracy. The advantage of using a personal interview are numerous. First, this method allows the interviewer the latitude of pursuing questions which the respondent seems to be truly interested in discussing. Also, the problems with multiple interviewers are eliminated. These problems include consistency in the training of the interviewers, the honesty in the carrying out of the interviews, and the effect each

interviewer will have on the respondent. The personal interview with one interviewer eliminates these problems, and creates a more relaxed, open atmosphere that will make the results of the study valid.

One of the assumptions about the tape recorder is that people are hesitant to be recorded. Past research suggests that this is a false assumption. Bucher, Fritz, and Quarantelli find:

Contrary to initial expectations, we found that respondents everywhere readily accepted the use of the tape recorder. Interviewers seldom reported open resistance to their usage. The interviewers' impressions are supported by the fact that in each of the field studies, the refusal rate was low, averaging less than 10 per cent.⁴

The accuracy of the recorder is a great asset. Its advantages outweigh its disadvantages. Lewis Anthony Dexter states another reason why a tape recorder is helpful:

However, I am now sure that a tape recording of an interview does permit the interviewer to capture nuances of the sort mentioned in the preceding section. Even more important. . . listening to a tape recorder interview will permit a much closer analysis of interviewer-interviewee interaction. ⁵

The use of a tape recorder assures that no part of the exchange between the interviewer and the respondent is lost.

As Bucher, Fritz, and Quarantelli state:

Comparisons of tape recorded interviews with written interviews reveal that remarkably large amounts of material are lost in written ones. Although we conducted no systematic study of this problem, our experience indicates that even a person who takes rapid shorthand while interviewing may lose one-third to one-half of the total material in an interview. ⁶

Most problems that arise with a tape recording

are mechanical. The interviewer does not know how to use the machine correctly and makes the respondent aware of the fact that he is being taped. If the taping is done unobtrusively, problems are minimized.

The procedure that was followed in the interviews consisted of five steps. They are:

1. The writer reminded the person being interviewed who he was and what the project involved before the interview began.
2. During this initial stage, the tape recorder was set up. No mention was made of it unless the leader asked about it. If he did ask, it was explained that to insure accuracy this method was being used.
3. The interview began with very general questions which should not have been threatening to the respondent. (See Appendix A)
4. The respondent was allowed to lead the session as much as possible. The interviewer used follow-up questions to a great extent. (For example: Why do you feel this situation exists?)
5. At the end of the session, the leader was thanked and assured that he had been very helpful.

These five steps were used during all fourteen interviews. The procedure allowed latitude in pursuing interests of the subject of the interview. It also created an atmosphere of conversation rather than one of prosecutor versus defendant. The main concern guiding these methods was that the leader perceive the interviewer as an interested and unthreatening student of local politics.

The leadership questionnaire used was open-ended. Dexter states that open-ended questions allow a much freer exchange of thoughts between questioner and respondent.⁷

The questions used measured three aspects of the leadership position. First, questions were asked to discover how the respondent viewed his community. The next questions attempted to ascertain how the leader saw his role in the town. Questions that dealt with attitudes toward black citizens were asked mainly as follow-up questions to find if there was a difference in the attitudes of white leaders and black leaders regarding the black community. This process allowed the writer to determine whether black leaders and their white counterparts viewed the town, politics, and the citizens of their community in a like manner. If their views are alike, while the black citizens' are different, there will be justification for the hypothesis that black leaders do not reflect their black constituents' views, but instead reflect the white leaders' views.

A sample of Franklin's citizens was interviewed to compare their political views with their leaders' opinions. Black leader-citizens interaction is the main concern of this research, but a sample of white citizens' views was also considered. The writer used this method because if there is a difference between black leaders and black citizens, it must be proven to be a problem of black leadership. The white citizens' opinions will also be compared with the views of the leaders of Franklin. If it is found that the white citizens and Franklin's leaders have similar opinions about their community, while the black citizens' views are not close to the leaders' views, there will be support for the hypothesis that black citizens'

views on local politics are not being articulated by black or white leaders. If this situation does not exist then it is possible that the leaders of Franklin are satisfying the wishes of Franklin's citizens.

A telephone survey was used to measure the political views of the citizens of Franklin. This method was chosen because of its economic desirability and feasibility. The use of the telephone method allowed the completion of two hundred interviews in two consecutive evenings, (105 white citizens and 95 black citizens were interviewed). The calls were made from a central location in Franklin with phone capacity to accommodate the effort.⁸ Ten women were used to complete the surveys. Women were used because it has been noted that individuals respond to female voices more positively.⁹

The use of the telephone method eliminates certain problems associated with interviewing. Stanley L. Payne suggests:

Bias resulting from the effect of the interviewer on the respondent is probably reduced in the telephone approach. Clothes, mannerisms, and all other characteristics except voice are masked. This method enables us to come closer to achieving the uniformity desired in interviews. 10

An attempt was made to have black callers interview black citizens and white individuals interview white citizens. This was done to make the respondent feel more comfortable during the interview. It is hoped that the use of this method produced more accurate results.

One problem that must be mentioned concerning the

use of the telephone method in Franklin is that as of 1970, 25 percent of the households in the town did not contain phones.¹¹ The proportion of black residents who do not have phones is not known, but a reasonable assumption can be made that a large number of the phoneless homes are those of black families. Leuthold and Scheele report that in Missouri the percentage of individuals with whom they talked who did not possess phones had dropped in an eight year period (22% in 1960 to 10% in 1968).¹² While no transfer of this data can be attempted, it is likely that the twenty-five percent figure in Franklin has become smaller since the 1970 census. A fact that lends some credibility to this assumption is that a major housing redevelopment program has been initiated in the city since the census data was gathered. Poor housing has been torn down and new housing projects have replaced them. Presumably, many citizens now have phones in their new homes, although no records are available from the phone company.

Leuthold and Scheele found that isolation and income were the two factors that had a bearing on whether citizens had phones. They define isolation as:

. . .not only people living in rural areas but also people who are recent arrivals in the community, people who do not read mass media, people who live alone, and people who do not vote or participate in community affairs.¹³

Leuthold and Scheele's findings are summarized in Table 2. This table emphasizes the fact that a survey attempted by telephone will not reach a proportion of lower-income individuals.

The accuracy of the method used has been considered. A study by Teresa F. Rogers shows that the telephone method of interviewing is just as accurate as in-person interviews. She also finds that a warm, friendly approach by the interviewer is not as effective as a businesslike (cool) manner.¹⁴

Telephone numbers called were chosen randomly using the Franklin City Directory. This method of selection insured that no area of the city dominated the survey as addresses were used to randomize the sample.

Table 2

Income and Isolation: Proportions of Respondents
Who Did Not Possess Telephones

	Income	
	Below \$8,000	\$8,000 And Above
Time in community	% N	% N
Less than 5 years	31 (82)	6 (81)
5 or more years	13 (461)	3 (296)
Read magazines		
No	23 (207)	5 (66)
Yes	10 (337)	3 (313)
Expect to vote		
No and/or ineligible	19 (90)	7 (30)
Yes	13 (426)	3 (342)
Rural-urban		
Rural, farm	24 (284)	4 (144)
Urban	13 (819)	1 (669)
Number of adults in household		
One	18 (359)	4 (52)
More than one	16 (743)	1 (760)

Source: David A. Leuthold and Raymond Scheele, "Patterns of Bias in Samples Based on Telephone Directories," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXV (Summer, 1971), p. 250.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

¹Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision-Makers (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953), p. 65.

²For example Robert Dahl, Who Governs (New Haven, 1961) looks at issue-areas. C. Wright Mills, Power, Politics, and People (Oxford, 1963) looks at position. Bachrach and Baratz "Two Faces of Power" (American Political Science Review, LVI) examine economic status.

³Alexander Heard, "Interviewing Southern Politicians," American Political Science Review, XLIV (December, 1950), p. 887.

⁴Rue Bucher, Charles E. Fritz, and E.L. Quarantelli, "Tape Recorded Research: Some Field and Data Processing Problems," Public Opinion Quarterly, XX (Summer, 1956), p. 429.

⁵Lewis Anthony Dexter, elite and specialized interviewing (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970), p. 59.

⁶Rue Bucher, Charles E. Fritz, and E.L. Quarantelli, "Tape Recorded Interviews in Social Research," American Sociological Review, XXI (1956), p. 359.

⁷Dexter, op. cit., p. 55.

⁸The central location is Paul D. Camp Community College, College Drive, Franklin, VA.

⁹Dexter, op. cit., p. 62.

¹⁰Stanley L. Payne, "Some Advantages of Telephone Surveys," The Journal of Marketing, XX (January, 1956), p. 280.

¹¹U.S. Department of Commerce, comp., Characteristics of the Population, Volume I, Virginia (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce Printing Office, March, 1973), pp. 48-148.

¹²David A. Leuthold and Raymond Scheele, "Patterns of Bias In Samples Based on Telephone Directories," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV (Summer, 1971), p. 250.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2 (continued)

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Theresa F. Rogers, "Interviews by telephone and in Person: Quality of Responses and Field Performance," Public Opinion Quarterly, 40 (Spring, 1976), p. 64.

CHAPTER III

THE LEADERS

The leaders of Franklin were interviewed on three successive days. It is hoped that by interviewing all 14 leaders this quickly, correspondence between those already interviewed and those yet to be interviewed was reduced. Five of the leaders were interviewed in their offices and the remaining 9 at their homes. All interviews were tape recorded with no major complaints from the respondents about the use of the recorder.

The white leaders are considered first. The two wealthy family heads are in this group. The other five white leaders are classified by their opinions about politics and social class in Franklin. All seven white leaders answered the questions without hesitation. They were very candid in expressing their personal beliefs.

The black individuals are considered after the white respondents. These men were very candid in their opinions but it is felt that the tape recorder inhibited their answers to a small degree. Assurances of anonymity were given to these leaders to attempt to put them at ease.

The White Leaders

The seven white leaders of Franklin are divided into

three classifications. First, the wealthy family leaders will be considered. Two leaders are in this category. Next, the traditional leaders will be considered. There are three traditional leaders. The last group is termed progressive. The two individuals in this group are somewhat different from the traditional leaders in their political and social beliefs.

The first of the wealthy family leaders is considered a dominating force in the history of Franklin. His family has long been associated with the progress of the community and his land-holdings in the town are great. He does not hold a political position in the community, but his wealth and family tradition make him a force with which to be dealt. He was mentioned by all of the other leaders of Franklin who were interviewed as the most important political force in the community.

This individual felt the most important problem facing Franklin was traffic. He felt that the large trucks and industrial vehicles which travel directly through the community were a very serious problem. The need for a bypass which would divert the heavy traffic around the city was mentioned by him as being necessary. He also mentioned general road maintenance as a serious problem. This leader saw the lack of road repairs as a problem with which all citizens were concerned.

He mentioned a lack of future planning as another problem about which he felt strongly. This lack of planning by the city government has caused numerous problems,

according to the leader, Old houses have been torn down to make room for parking lots. The shopping centers built were not planned to include trees and shrubs to make them more attractive. In his opinion the city government officials simply had no respect for the land. This person had no impact on some of this planning because the old houses he complained of were owned by others. These people allowed the city to destroy them despite his protestations.

One further problem mentioned by the individual concerned housing. He emphasized very strongly that there should be a minimum housing size for homes built within the city limits. The leader was very concerned that individuals who owned land were going to sell it to those who may build houses not in ". . .keeping with the beautiful traditions of the town." If this situation began to occur this individual felt the city would become a less desirable place in which to live.

This economic leader felt that black citizens were satisfied with their treatment by the city government. He stated that this situation existed because the city has spent much money on the black community. The point was emphasized that even before the Supreme Court decisions concerning the integration of schools, city council was spending more money on black schools than it spent on white schools. The leader used the expression "fat cats cause no trouble" referring to the black citizens. He discussed the high salaries he thought blacks were making and

mentioned the fact that his company had contributed funds for the building of a recreational facility for the blacks to use.

The "we take care of them" attitude was prevalent whenever the respondent spoke of black-white relations in the city. The company gives them much, the city council gives them much; these were cited as reasons why no trouble had developed between the races. He felt that because many black women had worked as domestics in white homes there was harmony between races. Communication was developed between the two separate communities when these black domestics came to the white neighborhoods to work and, because of this fact, good relations were prevalent.

Another reason given by this individual for good black-white relations in Franklin was that the black leaders have been "good". Good meant that these leaders kept trouble from erupting in the black community. This seemed to be the most important measure of good black leadership to this man. He mentioned several black leaders who could be counted on to relay the feelings of the black citizens concerning problems which developed. These black leaders were termed "stable" and "level-headed" and their job, from this gentleman's perspective, was to make sure that no trouble arose within the black community.

The second of the wealthy family leaders is also considered a dominating force within the community. He was mentioned by the other leaders as a force within the town, but his power was considered less than that of the

first economic leader. This gentleman does not hold a political position in the town but his power stems from his wealth and family.

The first problem mentioned by this individual was traffic. He stressed the problems the town faced because the traffic was too congested. Accidents, pollution, and noise were the unwanted results of the traffic congestion. This gentleman mentioned the fight the city has been waging to get a bypass constructed around Franklin that would eliminate, or greatly reduce the traffic problem.

Housing was also considered to be a problem. This economic leader spoke of housing as a problem because of the fact that homes were being constructed outside the city limits. In his opinion, this situation caused city services to be extended out into the surrounding counties which strained city-county relations. When asked why individuals did not choose to reside within the town he stated that there was no land for housing. Much land is still undeveloped within the city limits but the people who own it will not sell. This causes people to move out into the county with a resulting loss of tax revenues for the city government.

A lack of planning was also a problem he mentioned. This person felt a master plan was needed for the town of Franklin so the community could try to look into the future to solve some problems before they arise. The regional concept was stressed because he felt a great need for the

town to cooperate with the surrounding counties in many areas. The need for combining resources and working on mutual problems were seen as goals which needed to be accomplished.

This economic leader felt, as the other economic leader, that black citizens were satisfied with their situation and the local government. He stressed the fact that the city has provided for the needs of the black community and has had much foresight in dealing with problems associated with race. The importance of good black leadership was discussed. This leader was convinced that leadership was the reason that there had been no trouble between blacks and whites in the town. "We have picked good black leaders," he stated at one point. He felt that these leaders knew how to calm the black community before problems developed and they had the leadership ability to recognize problems very early and eliminate them before trouble began. The point that was made by the other economic leader was stressed by this gentleman. He felt that the city had spent a great deal of its money on the black community and this was why relations were in such a good state.

A private foundation was also mentioned by this leader. He pointed out that the foundation, which bears the name of the most powerful economic leader already mentioned, gives various causes in the town \$300,000 a year. The decisions about where this money is spent are made by the foundation's board of directors, of which the

two family heads are members. The types of projects that have been undertaken by the foundation include a hospital fund drive contribution, a donation to the YMCA, and a gift to the local Senior Citizens organization. This foundation must be viewed as a major political force in the community because of its wealth. This leader stated that the foundation was having a difficult time this year deciding where to spend the money. He commented that there were no pressing problems in Franklin that needed the funds. According to this economic leader, the funds that had already been used had been dispersed equitably throughout the community. He mentioned one project that had been completed for the black citizens with the help of the foundation after Dr. Martin Luther King's death in 1968. Franklin had its only racial unrest of the decade immediately after Dr. King's death and the foundation decided that one measure that could be taken to keep more trouble from breaking out would be to build a recreational center for the black community.

The traditional political culture is defined by Daniel Elazar as being prevalent in Virginia, and some other southern states. Elazar states that this culture ". . . accepts government as an actor with a positive role in the community, but it tries to limit that role to securing the continued maintenance of the existing social order."¹ The next three leaders interviewed exhibit this philosophy about their role in government. These three gentlemen were two city councilmen and the city manager.

These individuals, two elected, one appointed by council, expressed similar beliefs about their community and themselves.

The city manager has been in that appointed position since 1953. During his tenure of office Franklin doubled its size in an annexation and became a second-class city. The changes in the social order he has witnessed have been centered around the Supreme Court decisions on integration. Most of the progress the city has experienced during the last twenty years has been a reaction to racial integration. New housing developments for blacks have come about because of federal assistance funds and the integration of schools was forced on the city by the courts.

This leader felt the most important events that have occurred in the town were physical changes. He mentioned the redevelopment which has been going on for the past eight years which benefits black citizens. He also spoke of street improvements, and the low rate of real estate taxation the city has been able to maintain. The reason given for this low rate of taxation (the real estate tax has not been increased in 20 years) was good financial management. According to the city manager, the town buys and maintains the electricity used in the community and this venture is extremely profitable. The city manager also spoke of the generosity of the wealthiest economic family in the town. The family gives money through its foundation, and it also gives the town \$60,000 a year in

company gifts. The family has donated land for needed city facilities, such as the community college, a shopping center, and a park, keeping funds in the city treasury that would have been spent on these projects.

The city manager mentioned no real problems when discussing the government. He felt the citizens of the community were very satisfied with him and the city council because all citizens' needs were being met. He stressed that the major reason for this situation was the low real estate tax rate. If taxes were low, he stated, people were usually happy. The fiscal responsibility of the city government had been able to keep taxes low, therefore the citizens were content.

The black citizens of Franklin were not seen as an exception to this rule of contentment. The city manager felt that race relations in the city were very good and cited two reasons for this state. First, he felt that the city government, especially, had made a very great effort to maintain good black-white relations. The fact was mentioned that the city takes care of its "colored" and therefore problems were avoided. This leader told a story about a slight rock-throwing incident that had occurred in the city. He was very proud that he had gone into the black community personally to talk with the citizens about the problem. He stressed that this type of personal involvement by city government had kept problems from developing. Secondly, he felt that the city had good black leadership which created open communication between

the black community and city government. Whenever a commission or a board needed to be appointed in the city, a black was on it, and one that the city manager knew and trusted. These individuals were depicted by the city manager as men who could calm their people and speak in a sensible manner.

The major point the city manager emphasized was the contented nature of the black community. He told of the "colored" friends he had and was proud of this. The city has spent a great deal of money in the black section in order to keep these citizens satisfied and the city manager felt that the money had been well spent. He saw it as preventive maintenance. If you spend this money to keep trouble from erupting in the black community it is not wasted, it is foresight to do this, and he was very proud of his part in this process.

The next traditional leader interviewed was a city councilman who has worked for the dominant economic family's corporation for over 30 years. This gentleman stated that he decided to run for city council because he was reaching the age of retirement and needed something to do with his spare time. He viewed his position in city government as a pleasant diversion from his daily routine. His philosophy about leadership is traditional in the Elazar sense because he saw his job as a responsive one. City council should respond to citizen demands and not make severe changes. He viewed the existing social order as good and saw his job as one of maintaining this traditional

order.

The city councilman could think of no problems facing Franklin at the moment. He stressed the contented environment, describing the town as a very happy little place. When pressed for problem areas the councilman mentioned minor citizen complaints. Noisy teenagers, speeding cars, and the need for a dog leash law within the city were problems mentioned. This gentleman could not recall one bitter debate on city council or one issue of major importance that faced council. He was proud of the fact that he could think of no problems. This was seen by the councilman as a very good sign that all was well in the city. "Nobody complains," he stated. "There is nothing to complain about."

This leader could not think of any problems Franklin might face in the future. He pointed out that if progress was associated with population growth, then he, and he felt, most other citizens of the community were against that. The city was fine just as it was and any changes could only bring about undesired results. In that sense, growth was seen as a problem; it should be avoided.

The black citizens of Franklin were depicted as being very happy with the town. The councilman expressed his belief that blacks would not be able to think of any reason to be dissatisfied with the government in the town because it was doing such a good job. While the city manager told of some problems faced which were like large cities,

this councilman did not think this was so. Black citizens had no problems because no citizens had problems. The city was a very good place in which to live.

The councilman did point out one reason why blacks were so content. Once again black leadership was mentioned as being good. The mayor, a black, was pointed to as being a strong leader. He was termed a moderate; a gentleman whose intelligence could solve problems before they spilled out of the black community. The personal qualities of the black leader were such that he could work closely with the white city council. The councilman felt that this was a major reason why black citizens were happy. The black leader he discussed knew how to approach city council with problems in the black community without making the points he raised seem like demands.

The generosity of the dominant economic leaders was also mentioned as a reason there was contentment in the black community. The recreational center that was built by the family was pointed to as an example of this generosity. The councilman expressed the view that when needs arose in the black community, the economic family took care of them. "Their section of town is in good shape because they have been taken care of," he stated at one point in the interview. This type of care exhibited by the family was sometimes taken for granted, according to the councilman, and he stressed his appreciation of the family's generosity. He pointed out that all of the streets in the black sector of Franklin were being curbed, and was

of the opinion that this showed the good faith of the town as well as the economic family.

He mentioned one other reason why there was harmony between the races. The mayor, and other black leaders with whom he has dealt have been in the community for many years. "They know how things are done around here," he stated. When asked what this meant, it was learned that changes come about very slowly in the town and anyone who attempts to speed up the process will be ignored by the community's powerful. According to the councilman the black leaders of Franklin have learned this lesson and adhere to it.

The final traditional leader was a councilman. The reasons he became involved in city government are basically the same as those of the other traditional leaders. He was interested in the maintenance of the existing social order in Franklin and was very concerned about the possibilities of change. The only difference that could be ascertained between this councilman and the other traditional councilmen was that he was not born in Virginia. This councilman thought this was very important. He commented that it had taken him forty years to break into some social and political circles in Franklin because of his "Yankee Accent". He still was not welcome in some social circles. This gentleman had worked for the dominant family's company his entire life.

The councilman was a businessman and thought the

two most pressing problems concerning Franklin were maintaining a balanced budget and avoiding excessive taxes. He felt proud of the low property tax rate in Franklin and commented that he would never vote for its increase. His traditional philosophy of government was conservative in the sense that he felt new projects should only be attempted as a last measure. Again the phrase was heard, "Why change a town that is perfect?"

A concern of this councilman's was the participation of the citizens in local government. He told me he was from New Hampshire and that Virginians could learn a great deal about democracy from those citizens. Concern was felt that the council made decisions affecting many citizens of Franklin without their knowledge or consent. Consistent with his feelings about guarding the town purse, he felt citizens should decide by mass meeting whether to spend funds and authorize the council to proceed. There was a distinction made in his philosophy of government in that citizen was synonymous with property owner. The councilman stated that those who paid their way could have a voice in the affairs of the city. If they owned land, they were citizens. Asked if this arrangement leaves out by definition a large portion of citizens, the poor who do not own land, the councilman seemed surprised by the question. He reiterated that those with property should make decisions, as that was the only fair way to administer a town.

This gentleman had retired from the dominant

family's company and entered political life for much the same reasons as the previous councilman. He saw the job as a means to have some activity and maintain social contacts in his older years. Problems that citizens expressed to him stemmed from these social encounters. He heard of broken street lamps, speeding cars, and noisy teenagers. These were the only problems that the people in Franklin had that he had ascertained.

When questioned about black participation in town government and black citizen problems, the councilman concurred with the other traditional leaders. He could find no reason why blacks should complain in Franklin. They had been treated fairly and the city council had created a very good atmosphere of friendliness toward the black community. These reasons eliminated all problems black citizens had. He also commented that the mayor had been a stabilizing force within the black community. The mayor knew how things were done in Franklin and did them properly. If the council was concerned about something in the black community the mayor was asked to look into it. He was responsible for maintaining order. The councilman commented, "This is the way things have always been done in Franklin." The black citizens did not talk to this councilman about their problems. He could not recall one instance when a black citizen had approached him about some problem. There was nothing unusual, in his estimate, about this political order. The blacks had a black on council, the mayor, and if they had a problem, they would

go to the mayor with it.

These three leaders, the city manager and the two councilmen, are traditional leaders. They are concerned with keeping the social order exactly as it has been for years in Franklin. They view any political or social changes suspiciously and feel that the citizens of Franklin feel as they do. Also, they feel that the citizens of Franklin, black and white, are content with their city and its city government. They are blessed with a beautiful little town and do not wish to change anything.

The final two white leaders of Franklin are classified as progressive individuals. Both are members of city council but do not see things as the traditional leaders. One older man has all of the traditional heritage. He has been in the community his entire life, owns land in Franklin, and has family there. However, his attitudes about the town do not place him in the traditional class. The second individual is a young man who has recently graduated from law school and practices his profession in town. His attitudes are not traditional and thus he is, by Franklin standards, a progressive leader of the community.

The first progressive city councilman did not depict the town as the utopian village of which the traditional leaders spoke. This councilman spoke of severe problems that were going to face the town in the very near future. Most of his concerns were economic.

He saw an expanding budget due to the high costs of city services and a city council afraid to raise the

property tax because it would be political suicide for them to do so. The leader spoke of the dominant corporation as a major cause of what he termed "turn of the century" thinking. The major corporation had effectively kept out any new large factories and the councilman felt the dominant family was still doing this. He expressed the opinion that the corporation did not want any new industry to enter Franklin because the chance of competition for the work force could drive salaries up. According to this individual, the company had refused to sell land to companies that wanted to settle in Franklin on at least four occasions. This protection of its own corporation by the family was costing the town thousands of dollars in tax revenue. The councilman found the fact that the company was keeping new industry out of Franklin and was not paying any taxes to the city most irritating. The company is located just outside the city limits and enjoys the services of the community but pays taxes to the county. It was felt that this situation could be remedied with some strong leadership from the council, but the gentleman could not see this happening in the near future. He commented that Franklin still was very much a company town, and the council was of secondary importance.

The lack of forward thinking the councilman was concerned with was also present regarding the black community. He saw the city interacting with the black community of Franklin on a responsive basis. The black citizens come to the council with a demand and then the city

acts. He felt that this was a dangerous way to maintain good relations with the black community.

The comment about responding to black demands was not meant to imply poor black-white relations in the community. The councilman pointed out the relations with blacks were very good, and pointed to the black mayor of Franklin as the reason this situation existed. As the other white leaders suggested, the black mayor was viewed as the dominant force in the black community, "a man of great wisdom and ability," the councilman commented. He was depicted again as a man who knew how the political system worked and dealt with it effectively.

Asked about problems that black citizens have, the councilman said that housing was a severe problem in the city. He was proud of the redevelopment that had been accomplished in the black community, but commented that there still were not enough houses. This meant a loss of property tax revenues for the city because these citizens had to build new homes in the surrounding counties. He feels black citizens come into Franklin to work and shop, but must live in the county. The dominant family was seen as a force in keeping new housing from being built in Franklin. The councilman stated that all of the land which encircles the black housing sector of Franklin is owned by the family, and they refuse to sell any of it. This situation effectively traps the black citizens of Franklin in the black housing sector which already exists and keeps them from building a home in the city. Even if the blacks wanted to

build in a white housing section within the city limits this would not be possible because the land available for housing has already been sold. Thus the black citizens are forced to move into the county, and the dominant family maintains the black population at a constant level. The councilman did not comment on the value of such a situation, he just related it as one who realized the loss of funds for the city because it exists.

The last white leader interviewed also was a progressive city councilman. He was a lawyer and the youngest elected official in the city. His progressive attitudes about city government were confined to the economic sector, much like the previous progressive leader's views. His comments about the town were not as harsh as the other progressive leader, and he saw the dominant company in glowing terms.

Problems that the city was facing were problems associated with economics. The councilman was concerned that the rising costs of city service would cause property taxes to rise in the city. He was very distressed by this situation. However, when asked if new housing would help reduce this problem with more funds from personal property taxes, he responded that there were plenty of houses in the city. He made the point that those individuals who complained about a lack of housing had not had the opportunity to see how bad the problem was in other cities. In the comparative sense, he felt Franklin was far ahead of communities across the nation in providing new, low-cost

housing for the poor. Apartments were not desirable because these units could attract unwanted segments of the population. According to the councilman, Franklin was interested in family housing. He meant by this that the family was the social unit most desired by the community. Single men and women could cause problems if they dominated the community.

The councilman expressed progressive business views. He stated that while the dominant corporation had been very good for the community, the town needed new, diversified industry. He felt the facilities were impressive for new industry in Franklin and saw this development as the only way for the city to pay for future services. He also spoke of annexation proceedings which the city has undertaken over the last twenty years in an attempt to bring the large corporation into the city. He felt that for the town to provide homes and shops for the people of the company without any taxes coming into the city treasury was a ridiculous situation.

The councilman spoke of housing as a problem with which black citizens were concerned. However as already noted, the councilman felt that Franklin had done a very good job in providing low income housing. Blacks who complained about housing were characterized as not very realistic. They were "taken care of" by the city, and did not realize how bad other blacks in other communities were treated.

He spoke of good relations with the "colored" and

joined the other white leaders in praise of the black mayor. "A very strong leader, a sensible man," the councilman termed the mayor. The progress Franklin has made in race relations was emphasized. The councilman felt that a black mayor elected in a small Virginia town was a demonstrated fact of the city's progress. Besides the influence of the mayor, the councilman commented that the elected leaders of Franklin knew the views of the black community, and felt that if asked the black citizens would speak of minor problems which existed in the city. He commented that no severe problems existed in the black community and that the council was responding to the black needs effectively.

These are the views of the seven white leaders who were interviewed. The seven were fairly consistent in believing that the community had no severe problems regarding the black community. They also felt that the black citizens were satisfied with local government. These views are summarized in Table 3 and will be discussed again in Chapter 4.

The Black Leaders

The black leaders will be examined using James Q. Wilson's typology. Wilson discusses black leaders as (1) The Prestige Leader (2) The Token Leader and (3) The Organizer. The prestige leader is an individual who has contacts with the white community because of his occupation. The token leader is a black that has been chosen by the white power structure to lead the black community; leading

Table 3

The White Leaders

Leaders	Problems	Black-White Relations
<p>First Economic Leader</p> <p>Second Economic Leader</p>	<p>Traffic</p> <p>Lack of future planning</p> <p>Housing standards</p> <p>Traffic</p> <p>Lack of future planning</p> <p>No land for housing in city</p>	<p>City treats blacks well</p> <p>Blacks satisfied with treatment by city</p> <p>Good black leadership, especially black mayor</p>
<p>Traditional Leaders</p>	<p>No major problems</p>	<p>Blacks contented with city government</p> <p>Blacks have no problems in the city</p>
<p>First Progressive Leader</p> <p>Second Progressive Leader</p>	<p>Expanding budget</p> <p>Small tax base</p> <p>No taxes from major corporation</p> <p>Lack of low-cost housing</p> <p>Rising cost of city's needs</p> <p>More new industry needed</p>	<p>Generally good</p> <p>City only reacts to black problems</p> <p>Good</p> <p>Good black leadership</p>

in a manner that is unthreatening to the existing social order is his function. The organizer is a black leader who attempts social change by organizing the black citizens into political groups to pressure the community's powerful to listen.²

The first two black leaders interviewed were prestige leaders. Both of these men have been in the community for over forty years and are looked to as leaders by black citizens. One, the only black dentist in the black community, is on the Industrial Development Authority, a commission appointed by city council to attract new business. The other prestige black leader was an educator in the black school system before integration. He is now on the city school board. As professionals these two individuals are examples of Wilson's prestige leaders because their occupations have provided them with social and political status within the black community.

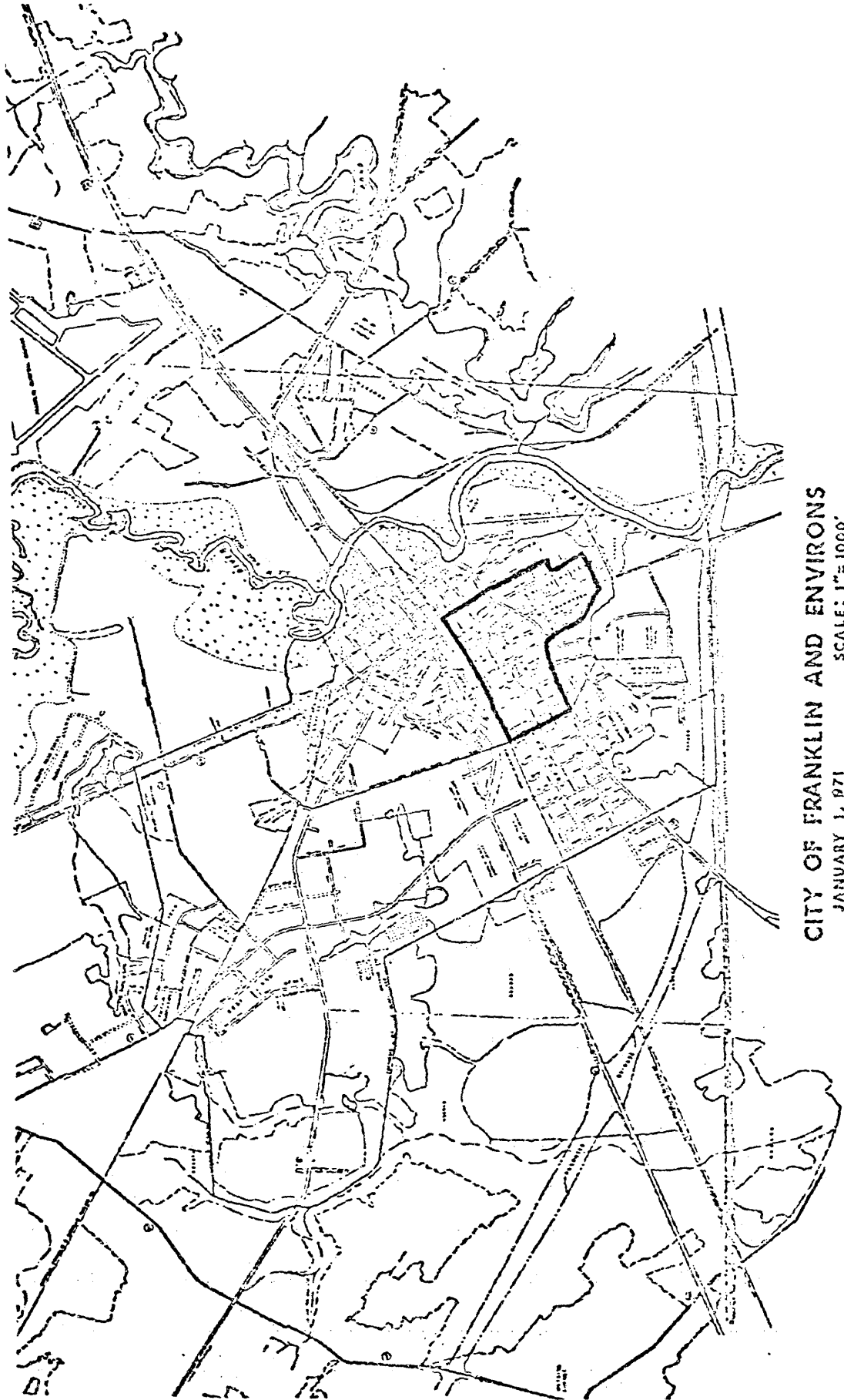
The dentist was the first prestige leader interviewed. His history of Franklin and being black in Franklin was an impressive chronology of events. He was very satisfied with the progress the black community has made in the town over the years and commented that "Franklin was always better than most small southern towns" to blacks. The major industrial family was mentioned in the gentleman's history of Franklin and he was favorable in his judgement of them. Many blacks were brought to work in the family's industry from farms throughout the South and he felt that this action improved the situation of these

blacks. He felt that the family helped these blacks find homes in the black sector of Franklin and that they provided blacks with relatively well-paying jobs.

Social and political advancements made by blacks were viewed in comparison to other communities. He felt progress was being achieved about as quickly as a black could realistically expect. Most changes were forced on Franklin by Supreme Court decisions or the federal government (public school integration, federal housing projects), but this black leader felt that Franklin had been good to its black citizens.

Problems of the black community that he mentioned were lack of low-cost housing and lack of opportunities for young blacks. The dentist said that housing was the biggest problem. He said the reason for the lack of housing was that the industrial family would not let their land be developed. As the one progressive white councilman also stated, he felt blacks were entrapped in the small black housing area in town with no place to expand. He saw this as a direct and very successful attempt to keep the neighborhoods of Franklin racially segregated. (Figure 2 indicates the housing dilemma of Franklin's blacks. The eastern border of their present housing area is owned by the dominant family's corporation. The dominant family owns the land to the south and west, and to the north is the white housing area. The blacks are trapped in their present housing areas.) The lack of opportunity for young blacks left the black community without effective political

Figure 2
Residential Discrimination in Franklin
(The Black Housing Sector Is Circled)



CITY OF FRANKLIN AND ENVIRONS
JANUARY 1, 1971
K. KIRCHER, WEEKS ENGINEERS
SCALE: 1" = 1000'

leaders, according to this gentleman. Franklin blacks were depicted as having to leave town after high school to find a decent job. This meant that the blacks who remained in the community were older, or the young, uneducated blacks. The older blacks were not going to attempt political change he felt for two reasons: (1) they saw some progress for the black community toward political and economic parity with the white community and were satisfied or (2) they were satisfied with their position in the community so they did not wish to "rock the boat". The young uneducated blacks were simply not capable of the type of leadership necessary for political change.

The second prestige leader interviewed was the school board member. This gentleman has lived in Franklin over forty years and has viewed many changes in the town. He spoke of the same treatment of blacks that the first black leader had described; Franklin was seen in comparative terms, and when it was viewed in this manner blacks had accomplished quite a lot.

This leader felt the basic problem Franklin has is education. He expressed concern that black children were being taught by white teachers who did not understand them or take the time to try to understand them. He stated that Franklin's school population was 65 percent black, but 65 percent of the teachers were white. It was felt that this situation was harmful to the education of black children because of the cultural differences between white teacher and black child. As a black school administrator,

this leader felt that the teachers were encouraged by their school administrators to treat black children as a separate class of students. He expressed the opinion that children educated in this manner would not be allowed to learn at the same rate as the white students, and may be forming racist attitudes toward whites because of this treatment. This was racism in the most subtle manner and the school board member felt that the white leaders of Franklin were carrying this on in a planned and deliberate manner.

This leader felt racism was practiced in the hiring of professionals in Franklin. He cited the fact that 65 percent of the teachers in the public school system were white, but he felt the schools were not the only source of this problem. He saw this form of racism existing throughout the community with the white owners employing white professionals to work for them. The town's largest corporation was mentioned as the most blatant example of this discrimination. The school administrator explained that the corporation has no blacks in upper management and only one black in its massive sales team. He cited other businesses throughout the community as discriminating against black professionals and felt that the dominant economic family had "passed the word" to practice this form of discrimination.

The leader felt this discrimination accomplished two goals for the white leaders. First, he saw the practice forcing educated young blacks from other areas to eliminate

Franklin as a possible job market. This meant that the young blacks who might come into the town and try to advance the cause of the black community were kept out. They have no reason to enter the town. There are no opportunities and none are forthcoming. The second goal he felt the white leaders accomplished in this manner concerned Franklin's educated youth. The best talent of the black high school students left Franklin after high school never to return. These students are the hope for change in the black community, the leader felt, and they all left just as they were beginning to make a contribution to their people. This leader felt that Franklin's white leaders were very aware of this situation and were attempting to protect and maintain it. In this manner the black community was left with older people who were either secure in their job or too poor to worry about black advancement. These individuals were not seen by this gentleman as being capable of leadership. Without leadership, he felt the black community would not change in Franklin. He expressed the opinion that the black population would remain fairly static with the number of black professionals at a low level.

One further problem this leader mentioned relating to the job discrimination he discussed was housing. The lack of apartments and low-cost housing in Franklin was viewed as another means to keep young blacks out of town. The black teachers who were employed in Franklin lived in other towns and drove to Franklin to work. This situation

assured the white leaders that the young black professionals who worked in Franklin would not become too involved in the town's black community. The forcing of these individuals to live in another town was viewed as a very effective means of keeping potential young leaders out of the black community.

The next three leaders interviewed were token black leaders. James Q. Wilson's classification of a token leader as a black chosen by the white leaders to be a spokesman for the blacks fits all of these men. "Token" is used in the sense that these leaders have been picked by the white leaders. It is not intended in a derogatory manner. The fact that a black leader has been chosen to lead by whites does not mean he will be a bad leader for his community.

The black mayor of Franklin was the first token leader interviewed. He has been a member of city council for twelve years. He was picked by a "group of white individuals" in the town as a black for the city council twelve years ago. These individuals approached the gentleman and asked him if he would like to run for city council. He agreed and has been on council since that time. Last year, he was appointed mayor by the other members of the council, who are white. The position of mayor in Franklin is basically ceremonial. The mayor votes in council only to decide a tie vote.

The mayor saw himself as a leader of the black community. He discussed his role in Franklin as one of

trying to present to council the problems of the black community. He described patience and persistence as two of his best virtues, and was proud of the progress blacks have made in Franklin.

The problems he saw in Franklin were economic problems. Franklin was depicted as a town that wanted more services and yet wanted a stable real estate tax rate. The mayor saw this as the most serious problem facing the town because the money to provide these services was not available. He commented on the tightening of the state's budget by Governor Godwin and stated that this has caused much hardship in Franklin. Schools were especially affected by the governor's austerity program. The 5 percent cut in the state's school budget was seen as causing severe problems for Franklin because these funds now had to be provided by the localities.

The complaints the mayor received center around monetary needs. He stated that individuals in the town all had special areas of interest for which they wished city funds could be spent, but the funds are not available. The mayor emphasized that these were minor complaints and for the most part individuals were very pleased with city government. He saw Franklin's problems as relatively minor compared to other communities and felt that these problems were all solvable.

The black community was seen as being satisfied with city government and life in Franklin. He cited housing as one problem mentioned to him by many black

citizens, but felt the city government was helpless to act on the problem because the individuals who owned land in Franklin would not sell it. Low-cost apartments will never be built in the city because of the lack of available land and this was a problem with which the mayor was concerned. He saw no conspiracy by the land owners to keep blacks from buying land or to keep blacks out of the town.

The mayor mentioned a lack of representation as another black problem in Franklin. He commented that he was the only black to be elected in the town's political history. He said that black citizens were upset about this fact but he felt they could only blame themselves. The mayor stated the blacks could run for city council if they were interested, but none were. He felt that this made any discussion of under representation of blacks a ridiculous complaint. "If they were really concerned, they would run," the mayor stated. Also, the mayor explained that there were blacks appointed to various commissions in the city and this should not be overlooked. He did not feel that blacks in Franklin should expect representation to be "placed at their doorstep". They needed to get out and run for city council.

The next token leader is a member of Franklin's Housing Code Board of Appeals. He is considered a token leader because he was asked by the city council to be on this committee and he stated that he was not that interested in politics or public life. This board was created after the last decade's reconstruction and housing projects

were started in Franklin and was begun to maintain a standard of housing in the city. All the board's members are appointed for four year terms by the city council.

The problems this leader expressed were minor. He felt that the city was a fine place to live and that, compared to other towns, Franklin had no real problems. He commented that housing was not a serious problem. Since the city has undergone redevelopment he felt there were no housing problems. He did complain that some of the houses which were built were poorly made. The contractors were allowed to use poor materials on this low-cost housing and he felt the houses would not last because of this. Also, he mentioned that there were no jobs in the city for young blacks and this was a problem. He stated that some individuals in the community had felt the major economic family kept other industries out of the town. He did not feel this was the case because he felt the family no longer has the power it once did.

Crime was mentioned by this individual as a problem in Franklin. Asked to elaborate, he stated that his house had been broken into recently and the police had not caught the perpetrator. He wondered why this was so. He felt that people from outside the city were coming into Franklin and committing these crimes because he did not think Franklin people "would do such a thing".

He could not think of many serious problems the black community had in the town. Again, he emphasized the "good relations" in the city between races and felt that

the whites "did all they could for blacks". He stated that blacks not participating in city government was a problem about which he worried. "People just won't run," he stated, and he felt that they should. He made it very clear that he felt this was the black community's fault. "I don't blame anyone," he stated.

He emphasized the fairness of the city council and the city manager in dealing with black citizens. "They always treat us fairly," he commented. He had special praise for the mayor and city manager who were characterized as "real people" who knew the problems of the black community. The black citizens he talked to shared his views. He was very proud of the lack of racism in the town and felt that the black community and the white leaders of Franklin should take credit for this situation. He pointed to the various blacks appointed to commissions in the city as a sign of the white community's good faith in black leadership. Also, he pointed with satisfaction at the integration of schools in the city which was accomplished without incident. Franklin was placed on or near the top of small communities regarding the lack of racial problems.

The third leader labeled token is a member of the town's Redevelopment and Housing Authority. This group is appointed by the city council and thus the token label is applicable because council is a totally white group. The group was depicted by this gentleman as a "nonexistent authority" because they never met. He was not sure what

responsibilities the authority was supposed to have.

The problems this leader saw in Franklin were problems of the black community. Housing was mentioned as the most pressing problem facing the black community. He felt that the lack of housing in the city kept the black population from growing and drove the younger people away from the town. He felt he knew the reason for the lack of housing; that being that land was owned by the dominant economic family. He agreed with the first prestige leader that the family was not selling land for housing so the black population would remain static. This type of discrimination was impossible to fight because it was so difficult to prove, he said.

This gentleman spoke of the domination of the town by the dominant economic family. He felt all decisions made in Franklin were "cleared with the man" before they were acted upon by the city council. This has meant very slow progress for Franklin's black citizens because the family did not wish the community to change. He felt the family controlled who was allowed to run for city council and felt if a black, besides the mayor, tried to run he would "bring a lot of trouble on himself". Asked to explain this statement he pointed out that there were many methods available to the family to "put pressure on those who cause trouble". He was not more specific about the matter.

This leader pointed out that the only black on council, the mayor, had been hand-picked by the dominant economic family. He thought he had been picked in the same

manner as a leader who could be placed in a position without any real authority, but with a "fancy sounding name". The family allowed these unimportant positions to be filled by blacks because "it looked good to the federal government." This leader was of the opinion that the family had decided after school integration was forced on the community that some blacks had to be available to demonstrate their liberal tendencies to the federal government. He felt that after the family made this decision, the city manager and the city council began creating committees on which blacks could serve. He considered the committee on which he served to be an example of this manipulation of black leaders.

He felt that black citizens did not support the mayor as they should to advance their cause. He stated that there was no black organization in town that could bring about needed political pressure on the establishment. The NAACP was singled out as an organization that could conceivably accomplish the task of political pressure, but he felt that it was not functioning in this manner. Strong, young leadership was needed for an organization to be politically effective and this gentleman saw none in Franklin. Without this political organization he felt blacks in Franklin would not advance toward social and political equality.

These three token leaders of Franklin's black community realized they had been picked for their positions by the white elite. This fact was not considered something

which was to be hidden or not talked about. It was accepted as one of the political rules of the game for the black community. All three seemed to realize that the dominant economic family of Franklin had decided whether they would have a political appointment. This fact was accepted as the normal pattern of events in the town. The traditional manner of these decisions that had taken place in much the same way for years was not a point of contention with these blacks. They accepted their positions and were forced to accept their manner of selection.

The last two black leaders interviewed are organizers. These two gentlemen have been involved in black political activity in Franklin for several years. The first organizer is involved in voter registration in the black community and has strong ties to the state and national Democratic party leaders. He is deeply involved in political participation of blacks in Franklin. The second black organizer has been president of the local NAACP chapter for five years and through this organization has tried to help blacks politically.

The first organizer spoke of the difficulties in trying to get blacks to participate in Franklin's political process. He stated that there were many barriers to black participation and he felt these should be discussed as problems facing the city. This leader felt there was little done to encourage blacks to become eligible to vote in Franklin, and this was a form of "subtle discrimination". He pointed out that voter registration for Franklin blacks

was a barrier to participation. The registration office in Franklin is open one day a week, Thursday, from 9:00 AM to 4:00 PM. Most people work during this time and it is therefore very hard for them to register to vote. The local electoral board is an all-white group which, when asked, does not understand why these hours need to be changed or lengthened, he stated. This leader said that some electoral board members told him "voting is a privilege" meaning, if people really wanted to vote they could find the time.

This leader spoke harshly of the major economic family and its relationship with the black community. He concurred with the other black leaders that jobs for black professionals were very difficult to obtain, and saw this as an effective means of keeping new black leaders out of this community. The major corporation was seen as leading the way in this discrimination by purposely not hiring young black professionals. "Blacks can get jobs at the plant," he stated, "but the jobs they get are jobs blacks have always been given; laborer and clean-up."

He spoke of the shortage of housing as another means employed by the dominant economic family to keep blacks out of Franklin. "No opportunity in a small town" was depicted as a slogan of which the white leaders were proud. The family had decided that the means by which to keep young, educated blacks out of the city was to make them live in another community. The white leaders realized they had to hire black teachers for the public schools

because of the federal government's involvement in the school system, but by keeping the teachers' homes outside the town, their political involvement was limited.

The blacks in Franklin were rated harshly by this leader. Despite the attempts to keep blacks from equality practiced by the white leaders, this organizer felt the black citizens had aided their political enemies. Meetings the organizer had attempted to arrange were not attended by most of the black citizens and he felt a very selfish motive was the reason. Blacks were satisfied with their relative success and were not interested in advancing politically. He felt blacks in Franklin had not made the connection between political awareness and their own economic advancement. The older blacks could not imagine Franklin advancing toward political parity and this defeatist attitude made it very difficult for political organization to become a reality. He said that things were not going to change in Franklin because of this attitude of political defeatism.

The second organizer was the local NAACP president. He was the youngest leader interviewed and had a college education. He had participated in many of the civil rights protests while in college and had come back to Franklin to work. His difficulty in finding employment emphasized the comments other leaders had made about the job situation for blacks in the community. He attempted to get a job with the dominant family's corporation and was told he had not scored well on an aptitude test he had to take.

He was told although his score was too low for him to be employed in the office of the corporation, he would be able to take a laborer's job in the mill. He refused to do this and commented that the plant had hired two new white men "to work in the office" after he had been turned down. He was sure that he had been the victim of job discrimination.

This gentleman spoke about problems of organizing blacks in Franklin. He had attempted organization for political purposes through the NAACP but was unsuccessful. The major reason he was unsuccessful was a lack of interest from blacks. He said the local meetings of the NAACP were poorly attended and, in fact, the chapter did not meet regularly because of lack of interest. He spoke of blatant threats which had been made against him by the white leaders as another reason political organization of blacks had been unsuccessful. He told of one meeting with the city manager in which he was lectured for distributing political pamphlets in the black community. He was told at this meeting that Franklin "didn't like that stuff" and the leader knew the city manager meant his attempts to make the black community aware of some of the problems they faced.

This leader decided a new approach was needed in Franklin. He discussed his attempts to work from "within the system" to help the black community. He stated that to accomplish needed reforms for the blacks one needed to change quietly; to work for change without drawing

attention to oneself. He intended to do this by joining civic organizations such as the Jaycees and begin letting "the white powers feel that I am not dangerous". This leader intends to build a power base for himself in the city and then run for city council. He feels the only way to get elected in Franklin is to make it appear that he is an unthreatening black so the powerful will accept him. He had given up on any immediate changes for the town and sought to work for incremental advances over a period of time. He felt he had no choice. He was using the only means available for change as a black in Franklin.

These are the views of the black leaders in Franklin, Virginia. The two prestige leaders, the three token leaders and the two organizers spoke of the problems faced by the city and its black citizens. All leaders were extremely helpful in their discussion of the town.

The white and black leaders of Franklin had some unique individual attitudes about the questions they were asked. However, some conclusions may be drawn from their answers. The two economic leaders are separated from the other leaders, white and black, by their wealth. While the other white leaders were hesitant to attack these economic leaders, they were spoken of as a separate part of the power structure. The problems these two economic leaders mentioned were concerns of a wealthy town: a bypass; planning; and the beauty of the town.

The other five white leaders were concerned with the economic and social problems of the town. Stagnation

of growth in industry; the lack of housing in the city causing property tax monies to be lost; these were the problems with which the other white leaders were concerned. There was an obvious split between the two cadres of leaders. The two economic leaders and the other five political leaders expressed some very divergent beliefs.

The split between the white leaders and black leaders was large. Housing and social issues were mentioned by the black leaders while the white leaders were less concerned with these issues. The black leaders felt there was discrimination present in the city while the white leaders denied this. There was not a single unified opinion expressed by the black leaders. (Table 4) The attitudes of the leaders will be compared to citizen responses in the following chapter.

Table 4

The Black Leaders

Leaders	Problems	Black-White Relations
First Prestige Leader	Lack of low-cost housing Lack of jobs for young blacks	Good compared to other Southern towns
Second Prestige Leader	Poor education for black children Discriminatory hiring practices Lack of low-cost housing	Poor White racism prevalent
First Token Leader	Economic problems Tight city budget Lack of low-cost housing	Blacks satisfied with local government performance
Second Token Leader	No major problems	Good
Third Token Leader	Lack of low-cost housing Economic family dominates Blacks needed in city government	Blacks second-class citizens in Franklin
First Organizer	Lack of participation by blacks in city government No jobs for black professionals Lack of low-cost housing	Good - Blacks complacent
Second Organizer	No black political organization	

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

¹Daniel J. Elazar, "The American Cultural Matrix" in Daniel J. Elazar and Joseph Ziskmund, II (eds.), The Ecology of American Political Culture: Readings, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1975), p. 22.

²James Q. Wilson, Negro Politics: The Search For Leadership, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960), p. 256.

CHAPTER IV

THE CITIZENS

The citizens of Franklin were interviewed to compare their attitudes about their leaders and their town to those expressed by Franklin's leaders. A sample of black and white citizens was drawn from the Franklin City directory at random and on two consecutive nights these individuals were telephoned. Ten callers each made 20 calls, 10 on each night, and the entire process took 4 hours to complete, 2 hours each night. It was hoped that a racially representative sample could be drawn by this method. Two hundred calls were made and out of these the callers talked to 95 black citizens and 105 white citizens. Franklin's black population is 51 percent so the black citizens are slightly underrepresented.

The citizen survey measured the views the citizens of Franklin had about their government when it was taken. (See Appendix B) Questions were asked which dealt with alienation from the local government, trust in local government, as well as questions dealing with race in local government. The citizens were also asked to list problems they felt Franklin faced. These questions were asked to compare the citizens' views of their community to their leaders' opinions.

This chapter presents the views of Franklin's citizens. The white citizens' responses will be discussed first with comparisons made to the white and black leaders' responses. The black citizens' views will then be presented and their views will be compared to Franklin's leaders' responses. An analysis of the variance among the attitudes of the 4 groups (the white leaders, the black leaders, the white citizens, and the black citizens) will be the substance of the final chapter of this study.

The White Citizens

The citizens interviewed had lived in the town of Franklin a long time. As Table 5 shows, Franklin has very few migrant citizens.

Table 5

Length of Residence of Franklin's Citizens	
Years of Residence	%
Less Than One Year	3.0
One to Five Years	18.5
Six to Nine Years	10.0
Ten or More Years	68.5
	<u>100.0%</u>

(N=200)

The length of their residence in the town cannot necessarily be equated with knowledge of the political and social nuances of the community, but these citizens all had the opportunity to observe the city and its leaders for a long

period of time, making their comments valuable.

The white citizens responded positively to the question about the importance of local government to their lives. (See Table 6) The majority of Franklin's white citizens feel local government is important in their lives. The white leaders of Franklin correctly predicted that the white citizens would respond in this manner. Asked if citizens in Franklin felt government was important, all 14 leaders (7 black, 7 white) thought the majority of the white citizens would respond as they did.

Table 6

Question: How much do you feel local government affects your life personally: a great deal, only somewhat, or hardly at all?	
Concern	%
A Great Deal	50.5
Only Somewhat	35.2
Hardly At All	11.4
Don't Know	2.9
(N=105)	100.0%

Questions dealing with trust in local government were asked of Franklin's citizens. As Table 7 demonstrates, the white citizens of Franklin exhibited a basic trust in their local officials.

Another question which dealt with the trust local citizens had in their town government was: "Would you say the government in Franklin is run by a few big interests

looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all of the people?" It is obvious that a large "big interest" response to this question would indicate distrust in local officials. Almost sixty-four percent (63.8%) of the white citizens had faith that their government was not dominated by the big interests of the community. However, a fairly large number of white citizens did not feel this to be true. Almost thirty percent (29.5%) of the white respondents felt big interests were in control of the local government at the expense of the average citizen. This response is noteworthy because none of the white leaders interviewed felt big interests were controlling. The white leaders also expressed confidence that none of the citizens in Franklin felt this was true. These responses indicate some distance between the trust some white citizens in Franklin have in their local government and what these officials believe to be the case. They also indicate that the local officials interviewed for this study may be overestimating the faith that some citizens have in the fairness of their representation.

The questions dealing with Franklin's white citizens' faith in local government generally point to a belief that the leaders are doing a good job. While a fairly large number of citizens feel the government has a bias toward "special interests", viewed in context with the other questions it does not point to a distrust in local government by the white citizens. The white citizens generally feel their local officials are doing a good job

and have faith that they will do what is right.

Table 7

Question: How much do you think you can trust the government in Franklin to do what is right: just about always; most of the time; some of the time; or almost never.

Trust	%
Just About Always	28.6
Most of The Time	50.5
Some of The Time	19.0
Almost Never	1.0
Don't Know	1.0
(N=105)	100.0%

A question was asked of the citizens to measure their feelings about treatment of the races by the local government. The white citizens surveyed felt there was no bias by local government because of race. (See Table 8) This response is consistent with what the white leaders felt about themselves. All of the white leaders expressed the opinion that there was no racial favoritism and felt the citizens would feel as the white citizens did.

The citizens were asked to comment on problems the city of Franklin faced. The problem most often volunteered by the citizens concerned the schools. Twenty-nine of the 200 respondents mentioned the schools as a big problem. A break-down of the school problems ranged from discipline, to curriculum, to administration. No other problem was mentioned a significant number of times and

forty-two percent (42%) of the respondents could think of no problem at all which the city was now facing.

Table 8

Question: Some people feel that people are treated better by the local government because of their race. Do you feel whites are treated better, blacks are treated better, or both races are treated the same?	
Treatment	%
Whites Treated Better	7.6
Blacks Treated Better	13.3
Both Treated The Same	78.1
(N=105)	100.0%

Problems mentioned often by the black leaders of Franklin were given to the citizens in order to measure how strongly they felt about these issues. The two issues mentioned most often by the black leaders were (1) lack of low-cost housing (2) no job opportunities for young people in the town, forcing them to leave to seek employment.

The majority of the white citizens surveyed did not feel that low-cost housing was a problem for the citizens in Franklin. Almost fifty percent (48.5%) of the white citizens interviewed felt that housing was "not so serious a problem" and over eleven percent (11.4%) felt it was "no problem at all". Low-cost housing for white leaders and white citizens is not a major problem.

The second problem mentioned most often by the

black leaders was the lack of job opportunities for young people in the city. This problem is not a problem of the black community alone. The survey respondents agreed with the black leaders that there were not enough jobs for young people in Franklin. Fifty-four percent (54.3%) of the white respondents agreed that the lack of jobs for young people was a serious problem. It is significant that none of the white leaders interviewed felt that a lack of jobs was a problem in Franklin. Not one of the white leaders ever mentioned this problem during the discussions. The lack of communication between the white citizens and white leaders on this problem is significant because of the majority of respondents who expressed trust and faith in their local government. The communication gap between the white, trusting citizens and their local officials is severely lacking in this instance.

The overall impressions received from talking to the white citizens in Franklin is one of contentment. The many citizens who could think of no problems faced by the city and the trust these citizens have in their officials lead one to believe the views expressed by the white leaders that citizens were satisfied with their local government are correct for white citizens. The white citizens feel these local officials do a good job and they are willing to put their trust in them. Communications could be better between the white citizens and local government, but the white citizens feel close to their government officials. When asked to agree or disagree with the statement

"I don't think public officials in Franklin care much what people like me think," only twenty-two percent (21.9%) of the white respondents agreed with this statement. Franklin's white citizens feel very positively about their local government.

The Black Citizens

There were some major differences in the attitudes expressed by the black citizens of Franklin compared to the other three groups (the white citizens, the white leaders, and the black leaders). This study deals with the relationship of black leaders to their citizens, but a comparison of black citizens' views to the white citizens and the white leaders of Franklin will first be discussed.

The survey responses indicate some major divisions between the views of the black and white citizens of Franklin. Most of the black citizens surveyed had lived in Franklin for a relatively longer period of time (80% of the black respondents had lived in Franklin ten or more years) and were in a position to express long-developed opinions about the community.

The first difference in white and black responses can be seen in the question dealing with the effect local government has on citizens' personal lives. Twice as many black citizens felt that local government had no effect in their lives. (See Table 9) This feeling of the lack of importance of local government is further emphasized by the fact that only one-third of the black respondents felt

local government affected their lives a great deal. This percentage is much lower (20%) than the white citizens who felt government affected their lives a great deal.

Table 9

The Effect of Government on Personal Lives	
	%
A Great Deal of Effect	34.7
Only Somewhat Affected	32.6
Hardly At All Affected	23.2
Don't Know	<u>9.5</u>
(N=95)	100.0%

A question which dealt with the feeling of political efficacy was: "Do you think people like you have too little political power or just the right amount?" The differences between black and white responses to this question are striking. As Table 10 indicates, the black citizens felt much less politically efficacious than their white counterparts. It is obvious from this response that Franklin's black citizens do not feel they have a large enough voice in government.

The questions dealing with trust in local government also produce some response differences along racial lines. Only twenty percent (20%) of the black respondents answered that they could trust the local government to do what was right "All the time". Thirty-nine percent (38.9%) of the black respondents stated that you could "sometimes" trust in the local government and eleven percent (10.5%)

of the blacks stated that they could never trust the local government to do what is right. If the two most negative responses are combined, white and black trust responses are very different. Twenty percent (20%) of the white citizens felt they could trust the government in Franklin to do what was right "only sometimes" or "never" while fifty percent (50.4%) of the blacks questioned gave negative trust responses for their local government.

Table 10

The Amount of Political Power		
	Black %	White %
Right Amount	27.4	58.1
Too Little	54.7	26.7
No Power At All	6.3	2.9
Depends	4.2	3.8
Don't Know	7.4	8.6
	100.0%	100.0%
	(N=95)	(N=105)

The question dealing with whether Franklin is dominated by a few big interests was asked because of the presence of the dominant economic family in the town. It was included to determine the views the citizens of Franklin have about their government and whether they feel it is dominated by the wealthy families.

The differences between white and black citizens' views on big interest domination are fairly significant. Only forty-two percent (42.1%) of the blacks felt government in the town benefited all. This response was

significantly lower than the white citizens' (63.8%). More black citizens feel that government is not equitable, but the number of white respondents who feel big interests are dominant is also relatively high (29.5%).

A question which directly relates to the effectiveness of leadership in Franklin brought different responses from white and black citizens. The respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the statement: "I don't think public officials in Franklin care much what people like me think". Forty-three percent (43.2%) of the blacks polled agreed that the leaders in Franklin did not care what they thought. In comparison, only twenty-two percent (21.9%) of the white respondents felt such distance from their local officials. These answers point to a division in faith between the white citizens of Franklin and their black counterparts.

The question of preferential treatment by local government because of race received some interesting responses. As has been noted, seventy-eight percent (78.1%) of the white citizens interviewed felt there was no bias by the local government because of race. The black citizens of Franklin feel very differently. As Table 11 indicates, not one black felt blacks were treated better.

This data is important because it points to the differences in perceptions Franklin's white and black citizens hold. With over half the black respondents citing a white government bias, it is obvious that white citizens and black citizens in Franklin feel very differently about

how their local government deals with them.

Table 11

Treatment Of Whites And Blacks By Local Government	
Whites Treated Better	51.6%
Blacks Treated Better	0.0
Both Treated The Same	<u>48.4</u> 100.0%

(N=95)

As noted in the discussion of Franklin's white citizens, housing seems to be a problem of black citizens in the community. Fifty-one percent (50.5%) of the blacks interviewed felt that a lack of low-cost housing in the town was a serious problem. This is a problem which affects black citizens more directly as they must search for low-cost housing and they are quite concerned about it.

Black citizens agreed with the white citizens that a lack of jobs for young people was a serious problem. Seventy percent (69.5%) of the blacks stated that this situation was severe. It is the black citizen who usually is out of work and the lack of jobs was seen as contributing to other problems. Many black respondents, when asked about the lack of jobs, cited the problem as a causal factor in other problems, especially crimes. These citizens felt that lack of employment forced young blacks to commit crimes they would not otherwise be tempted to do.

The responses of the black citizens are very distant from the views of the white leaders. The black citizen

responses are compared to the three classifications of white leaders: the two economic family heads, the three traditional white leaders, and the two progressive white leaders.

The two wealthy family heads and the black citizens share none of the same attitudes about themselves, their government, or race relations in Franklin. The problems expressed by the two wealthy leaders were never mentioned by the black citizens. A lack of future planning, a by-pass for the major highway, road maintenance: none of these problems were cited by any of the black citizens interviewed.

The two economic leaders felt that the black citizens were very satisfied with their position in the community and these men cited reasons why this was so. The black citizens interviewed reveal that the leaders' views are incorrect. The large number of black respondents stating there is a pro-white bias in the town (57.6%) and the lack of faith and trust exhibited by the black citizens leads to the conclusion that the economic leaders are very far removed from the concerns of Franklin's black community. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the blacks in the town feel they can trust the leaders of the town to do what is right only sometimes or never. It is apparent that the black citizens do not share the feeling of contentment the economic leaders attribute to them.

The three white leaders classified "traditional" also are very far removed from the actual views of the

black community in Franklin. The city manager expressed the opinion that the town got along with its black citizens because it cared for them. This leader's attitude could best be described as giving the black community just enough to keep them satisfied. He spoke of improvements in the black community over the years that kept trouble from erupting.

The other two traditional leaders could think of no serious problems affecting Franklin. Their views of the black citizens were of a contented, happy people who were cared for. Blacks caused no problems because they "had it good" in Franklin.

The utopian view of the community expressed by the three traditional leaders is not shared by the black citizens. They point out real problems, a lack of jobs for young people, and a lack of low-cost housing, that affect the black community every day. The three traditional leaders are not aware of any problems at all in the town, and the possibility that something will be done about the problems expressed by the black citizens seems remote because of the leaders' ignorance.

The remaining two white leaders were termed progressive because their ideas did not always mirror the ideas of the wealthy families. These two white leaders spoke with candor about serious problems with which Franklin would have to deal in the near future. However, these progressive leaders expressed no progressive views about

the black community in Franklin. Both spoke of other, more important problems and were convinced that the black community in Franklin was happy.

The first progressive councilman did point to a lack of housing as a problem in the black community. He agreed with the black citizens that housing was a severe problem and talked about ways to alleviate it. However, his main concern was fiscal, the loss of property tax revenues because people built houses outside the city limits. He was not that concerned about the problems the low-cost housing shortage had on Franklin's black citizens.

This councilman did state that some of the leaders in Franklin lacked progressive views toward the black community. He stated that trouble would be avoided within the black community because of Franklin's black mayor. Despite the other councilmen being backward, the mayor was depicted as a stabilizing link to the black citizens who could always be counted on to be a peace maker if trouble erupted.

The other progressive councilman cited a need for more low-cost housing in Franklin, but he was convinced that the city was doing the best it could. This councilman was constantly comparing Franklin to other towns and reminding the interviewer of how "good the 'colored' in Franklin had it". He mentioned none of the concerns voiced by blacks about the lack of jobs and was convinced that the black citizens were very happy in the town. This was given as the reason there had been no racial unrest in

the town.

The three types of black leaders interviewed were (1) The Prestige Leader (2) The Token Leader and (3) The Organizer. There were two prestige leaders in Franklin's black community, three token leaders, and two organizers.

The first prestige leader of Franklin's black community stressed the same problems in the community that the black survey respondents stressed. He mentioned a lack of low-cost housing and no jobs for young people as the two most pressing problems facing Franklin's black community today. Franklin's black citizens agreed with this leader as a majority of them thought housing and jobs were serious problems. This prestige leader suggested that the white economically powerful family in Franklin was well aware of these two problems and, in fact, wanted these situations to exist. He pointed out that by making young blacks leave the town to find homes and jobs, a racially segregated community was maintained.

The frustration exhibited by blacks who were surveyed was predicted by this leader. He felt that blacks were well-aware of the subtle discrimination being practiced in Franklin and that many of the black citizens were bitter about it. This frustration was demonstrated in the citizen survey by the number of black citizens who thought that "people like me have too little political power". Only twenty-seven percent (27.4%) of the black citizens felt they had the right amount of political power while fifty-eight percent (58.1%) of the white citizens

interviewed were satisfied with their political power in Franklin.

Another example of the feeling of separation Franklin blacks have from their government is seen when they were asked how much local government affected their lives. As the prestige leader predicted, a majority of Franklin's black residents interviewed had no hope that local government would help them. Only thirty-five percent (34.7%) of the black citizens interviewed felt the local government was important to them and could do something to improve their lives.

The second prestige leader felt the most pressing problem faced by Franklin's black community was education. He was a career educator and was now a member of the school board. He cited racism in the hiring of black teachers and other professionals in the town and felt this was a serious problem. He did mention the lack of low-cost housing in Franklin as one method by which the white leaders kept their domination over the black citizens. He points out that the young teachers who could stimulate social change had to live outside the city.

The frustration shown by the survey results in Franklin's black citizens was evident in the opinions of this prestige leader. He was very aware of Franklin's blacks as he pointed to their resentment of the local officials. This leader stated that every black in the town was aware of the problems faced by the black community, but they were unable to do anything about them. His

answer was education, but he admitted that to change the town, the educated blacks must return to the city. He could not foresee this in the near future.

This leader felt black citizens were very aware of the methods being used against them by the white leaders. This bitterness and distrust of the local government is very evident in the sample of black citizens surveyed. The trust in government responses are a signal to local government officials that black citizens have no faith in them.

The two prestige leaders are very aware of the feelings of distrust and resentment of local government that are prevalent in Franklin's black community. These leaders have close contact with this separate community daily and know how the citizens feel. In comparison, the white leaders have no idea how black citizens feel in Franklin because they never talk to them. Their only contact with the black community is through its spokesman, the mayor.

The first of the token leaders is the mayor of Franklin. He was chosen to be the black of the city council many years ago and has recently been selected by the all-white city council as mayor.

This leader spoke mainly of economic problems faced by the city government. He stated that people wanted more and more from city government but did not want to pay for the new services with taxes. He stressed an overview of the city government and was reluctant to discuss specific

needs of black citizens.

This leader felt the black citizens of the city were satisfied with their local government. He agreed that a lack of low-cost housing was a problem in Franklin, but he saw no effort by white landowners to maintain this situation. He felt the lack of black representation on city council was another serious problem for the black community and felt that the community was responsible for this situation. He felt no blacks had enough desire to get involved with the city government to try to solve its problems.

The mayor and the black citizens are very far apart in their perceptions of the local government. The mayor felt that there was no reason for the black citizens not to trust the government of the town. Only twenty percent (20%) of the black citizens interviewed agreed with this statement. He also expressed the view that the dominant economic family was not given special treatment by the local government. Thirty-two percent (31.5%) of all Franklin citizens interviewed disagree with the mayor's view. They felt big interests in Franklin dominated the local government.

The mayor's attitude that black citizens can get whatever they are willing to work for is simply not shared by the black community. The survey indicates over half the black respondents (51.6%) feel that whites are treated better than blacks by the local government. This attitude is not shared by the mayor and this fact points to

the misunderstanding he has about the views of the black citizenry in Franklin. Black citizens in the town do not feel they are treated equally by the local government, so they do not feel they can get anything for which they are willing to work.

The black mayor of Franklin has become separated from the black citizenry. He does not express the views the black citizens hold about themselves or the other leaders of the town. His view of fiscal problems being important is simply not shared by Franklin's black citizens. The mayor has been the recognized leader of the black community for years, but he is not expressing the concerns of the black citizens. He has become isolated from these citizens and does not hear the same things the other black leaders do. The black citizens do not tell him their concerns and if he is the recognized spokesman for the black citizens in Franklin's city government, realistically they have no voice.

The second token leader interviewed expressed no major concerns about blacks in Franklin. He spoke of "fairness" by the city manager and the city council in their dealings with blacks. He stated that the black citizens of Franklin were satisfied with their lives and with their place in the community.

This black leader is very distant from the feelings of the community he leads. The survey data indicates that blacks in Franklin are not content with their treatment by the city leaders, in fact, feel no affinity with their

government. Only twenty-seven percent (27.4%) of the black citizens felt they had the right amount of political power. It can be observed from this low figure that blacks in Franklin are not satisfied with their place in the community. As for the "fairness" of the city government, the black citizens interviewed disagree with the views of this black leader. Twenty percent (20%) feel they can always trust the local government. Like the mayor, this leader has little knowledge of the views of the black citizens in Franklin.

The third token leader, the Redevelopment and Housing Authority member, expresses the views of the black citizens. He mentioned housing as the most pressing problem facing the black community and the black citizens agreed with him (50.5% stating the lack of housing was a serious problem). This gentleman also spoke of the domination of Franklin by the economic family and he felt that the city government was operated by the family head. Fifty-one percent (50.8%) of the citizens in Franklin interviewed who agreed with him on big interests in the local government were black.

This token leader mirrored the views of the black citizens. One reason for this could be that his position in the city government has not made him become separated from the view of the black citizens. He still works daily in the black community and the only opinions he hears are those of black citizens. Franklin is still segregated residentially and all the people this leader interacts with

are black. Unlike the mayor, who is surrounded by white leaders whenever he goes to a city council meeting, this leader is still expressing the views of the black community because he is still a part of it.

The last two black leaders interviewed are organizers. The first organizer expressed the concerns about Franklin that the black citizens expressed. He spoke of the attempts by the white leaders of the town to keep black citizens from registering to vote and of the housing problem. He spoke of the lack of young black leaders in Franklin and stated this situation was a result of direct pressure on local businesses not to hire young blacks. The pressure came from the dominant economic family in the town.

The second black leader echoed the views of his counterpart. He was a young man who had been the target of severe harassment during the decade of the sixties in Franklin as he tried to organize NAACP meetings. He pointed to the difficulty in finding jobs and threats made against his organizing efforts by the white power structure in Franklin.

These two organizers are very close to the black citizens. They expressed the views the black citizens held and they were well aware of the problems the community faced. Over fifty percent (51.6%) of the black citizens were convinced there was a pro-white bias exhibited by the government officials and the incidents cited by the young black organizer indicate how Franklin's black citizens

developed these views. Both organizers were very familiar with the views Franklin's black community holds. They realize the difficulty of improving a community which has been without effective leadership for a long time. These two leaders have decided to work within the local government for change and they hope to convince the black citizens that they can advance by political means in Franklin.

Several observations can be made about Franklin's black community. The most vital of these observations concerning the local political leaders is that the black citizens do not trust the local government. They feel a great distance from the town government and do not think it has their best interests at heart. Secondly, the black citizens in Franklin feel this alienation because they do not have a voice in decisions made by the town government. Many blacks feel the local government is run for the benefit of the big interests in Franklin and does not care about their views. The black citizens feel strongly that a lack of housing and a lack of jobs are serious problems in the town but they have not articulated their views to the white leaders in Franklin. The black mayor was not convinced that there was a great need for low-cost housing in Franklin. Communication between the citizens and their leaders is very poor as no white leader felt there was a feeling of racial animosity in the town, while over half of the black respondents felt white citizens received preferential treatment by the local government.

These are the views of Franklin's black citizens with comparisons to black leaders, white leaders, and white citizens. The final chapter will analyze these differences of views and draw some conclusions about the state of black leadership in Franklin today and the future of these leaders and their community.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The study of black leaders in Franklin, Virginia indicates that leadership may not reflect the views of the black citizens. This situation benefits the white citizens of the community who have long been the privileged, but for the black citizens attempting to achieve equality, it is harmful. No black leaders are attempting to aggressively change the political balance between blacks and whites in Franklin, and for this reason, equality in its full political and social meaning is not going to come quickly for the town's black citizens.

There is a difference in black leaders in the town. The old leaders and the young leaders are different in the manner in which they view themselves and their community. The three older black leaders of the community constantly viewed events and conditions in Franklin in comparison to other towns and the past. While one of these men was upset at conditions for blacks in Franklin, he kept saying that the town treated its blacks better than most places. All of the older leaders spoke of events that had taken place years ago and stated that those things did not happen any more.

One of the older black leaders interviewed was so

impressed with the positive changes he had seen take place for blacks in Franklin that he had nothing but praise for the town. He had difficulty advancing one problem the black community had today. It should be remembered that these were black men who had lived in a small Southern town through the worst possible time for blacks. They witnessed almost no social or political advances for their entire lives and in the last decade they have viewed enormous changes. In their eyes, swift advances have taken place.

These three older black leaders of Franklin are not pushing for change in the town. They have never initiated change and have always been content to respond to the white leaders upon request. The importance of tradition was quite evident when talking to the older leaders and "the way things are done here" seemed as vital as what was done. The mayor is included in this group of older leaders although he has an active role in the local government. He stresses the slowness of change and the importance of patience, and he does not initiate much local legislation.

The older leaders are satisfied with the changes they have witnessed in the last decade. School integration, laws barring housing discrimination, a ban on job discrimination; these are the old barriers these leaders have seen destroyed in their lifetimes. The schools in Franklin are now integrated with black teachers; there

are black police officers; these are changes these older black leaders view as great advances. These men have a tradition of not pushing too hard for changes and with these advances, they are now not pushing at all.

The survey of Franklin's black citizens indicates that the black community is not as satisfied as the older black leaders with the changes that have occurred. These citizens do not trust their local officials to do the right things. They also feel they have a very small voice in the local government and they think the local government favors the white citizens. These citizens may be happy with the advances they have witnessed, but they are not content with their positions. The blacks in Franklin are frustrated with their town government and feel alienated from it.

The younger black leaders expressed some harsh views about their town and its white leadership. These leaders were not satisfied with their positions in the town and felt blacks were treated as second-class citizens. The men pointed to political domination of the town by the major economic family and were bitter when they spoke of the grip it held on the black community. These men realize the problems facing Franklin's blacks while the older black leaders do not. These younger leaders speak of the low-cost housing and the lack of jobs for the young blacks of the town. They know the citizens are concerned about these problems, but they do not know how to

get the people in power to solve them. The young leaders are still close to the black community and see the problems daily.

The younger leaders have no single solution to these problems. They all agree the overriding problem which spawns all others is racism. One leader suggested changing the community through formal education, another suggested electing more blacks to local offices. Other leaders suggested other methods, but it is clear: they do not know how to fight the racism they feel exists in the community. There is no active NAACP chapter in the town, nor any other active body which meets in the black community to discuss black problems.

The seven leaders interviewed are not a unified group with one perspective of the town. The older leaders are satisfied with the progress the black community has made and the younger leaders are not. The members of these two classifications of black leaders do not agree on the problems the black community faces, or the solutions to these problems. What is present in the town is a black community which is frustrated by the racism it confronts and has no leaders to which it can turn.

The question of co-optation of the black leaders by the white power structure is addressed in this study. It can be stated that the black leaders in Franklin all have been co-opted into the white power structure. However, there is not one method of co-optation. The mayor, one of the older leaders, has been co-opted in the

traditional sense. The white leaders realized a few years ago that they needed a black government official and asked the mayor to run for city council. He agreed and they have since placed him in the non-voting position of mayor. He expresses the views of the white leaders and feels the black citizens have every opportunity to help themselves. He is a black who is proud of his position in the town and realizes who gave him that position. The white leaders spoke of the mayor as "level-headed", a man who could be counted on to "not stir up trouble". In his present position, the mayor will not push for advances in the black community.

The other two older leaders have been co-opted by the white leaders. One of these older leaders is completely satisfied with the advances blacks have achieved in his lifetime. He has also been co-opted in the traditional sense. He could mention no problems, and he thought racism was not present in the town. He was on a board in the town with whites and he felt all of these leaders had the black community's interests at heart. This black leader has supplied the white power structure with what they desire to maintain: control. He has a position he is satisfied with and he does not ask for changes. He is a man proud of the position in which the city council placed him and he does not want to harm that situation.

The third older black leader has also been co-opted by the white rulers of Franklin. He is unlike

the other two older leaders because he recognizes and speaks of the fact that whites placate the black community by placing blacks in unimportant positions, but he still cooperates with this system. He believes that the black citizens should accept any position offered to them because it will give them the opportunity to learn about local government and eventually attempt change. He does not recall any time he has witnessed a black member of a commission in Franklin change the minds of the white members.

These three older leaders have been co-opted by the white leaders into not acting on behalf of the black citizens. While the one older leader realizes what is being done to him, the fact that he is doing nothing to try to change this situation hurts his status as a leader and helps the white leaders maintain control over the black community. The young black leaders of Franklin have also been co-opted by the white leadership of the town. The co-optation is of a different nature than that of the older leaders, but it is just as damaging for the black citizenry. The young leaders realize the problems of the citizens and they hear their complaints daily. These leaders have not been removed from the black community by their positions and their views about problems were very similar to the views of the citizens. The young leaders are bitter over inequalities in education, housing, jobs and other material items and they realize the white leaders are

utilizing a very effective force against them. These leaders speak of the dominant economic family with bitterness and they realize this family has played a major role in the repression of the black community for years. These leaders realize all of these things and yet attempt to do nothing about them. They feel that protest is an ineffectual weapon against such a dominant force so they speak of other means to attempt to change the community. They discuss education and other long-term forces to change attitudes in Franklin.

These young leaders have been co-opted into the prevailing social and political order in Franklin because they have a stake in that order. These young leaders have good jobs in the town and they realize that they might lose these jobs if they attempt to initiate social and political change. Two of these leaders work directly for the major economic family's business, and they must constantly measure their political initiatives against the family's views. This pressure is not overt in most cases; no one tells these men that they will lose their jobs if they do not relax on a particular issue; rather it is something they all feel is there. They all spoke of the possibility of losing their jobs because of their political activities. This type of indoctrination by the white leaders eliminates the need for overt pressure because the blacks never act against the white standards they feel are present. This is the worst form of co-optation because these leaders are the only hope for change the black citizens in Franklin

have. These leaders are not satisfied with the way things are in Franklin, and they realize what is being done to the black community. However, they have a place in the system and if they lose it, they will have nothing. The white leaders realize this and give blacks minor political positions to maintain this appearance of racial parity, while both sides know it does not exist.

The study of black leadership in Franklin does not allow one to reach the same conclusions that some other community power studies have reached. Robert Dahl's study of New Haven concluded with pluralistic ideals being prevalent in the town. A look at a town with a large black population, such as Franklin, was not attempted by Dahl, but the contrasts between the studies are useful. Dahl found pluralism to be the guiding force in the political system of New Haven with different groups rising and exerting pressure on the political system at different times and then dropping from view. Dahl found no evidence of a rule by economic notables in New Haven.

Unfortunately, the New Haven ideals do not apply in Franklin. Although blacks have various positions on commissions and governing boards, as well as a black as the mayor, the political system is not pluralistic in any sense. Different interest groups containing black citizens do not rise to speak on issues that affect them. Despite the fact that 51 percent of the citizens in the town are black, they do not participate equitably in the

political process in the town and feel very alienated from that process. The leaders do not organize various groups to fight for issues because these leaders have no unified positions themselves on any issues.

The study of Franklin offers some support for the hypotheses of Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz. In "Two Faces of Power", these men suggest that Dahl studied issues which did not affect the economic notables in New Haven and this is why he found no interference from them. Further, they suggest that if the economic elite of a town are threatened they can and will act as the force to control the decision in which they are involved. The political climate in Franklin allowed the ideas of Bachrach and Baratz to be tested because of the existence of the dominant economic family. The dominant economic family in Franklin participates in and controls the decision-making process whenever it so desires. The leaders of Franklin told of new corporations being kept out of town because they could find no land on which to build, attempts by the family to "buy off" the black community by building a recreation center, and other forms of direct participation by the dominant economic family. The smallness of the town allows the family to control it to a large degree and one of their major concerns has been to maintain Franklin at its present population. This assures the dominant economic family the control over decisions which Bachrach and Baratz suggest.

The influence the dominant economic family exerts on the political leaders of Franklin is very similar to what Bachrach and Baratz define. These writers state some proposals may never arise in a community because the economic elite may be against them. They further suggest that Dahl's study of New Haven does not examine this possibility. An example of the situation Bachrach and Baratz describe is found with the lack of low-cost housing in Franklin. The citizens of Franklin feel that low-cost housing is needed in the city and many of the leaders agree. Yet, there is no public demand for such housing because the leaders realize the dominant economic family is against it. Several leaders stated this and others spoke of "no land on which to build these houses" as the reason they do not exist. This "no land" reason is another way of saying that the dominant economic family is against low-cost housing because the family owns all of the land on which the houses could be built. So the issue never comes before the city council; there is no need because it has already been vetoed by the dominant force in the community.

Heinz Eulau and Kenneth Prewitt developed their typology of city councils to explain why these councilmen make certain decisions. It can be said that the black leaders of Franklin are "political" in the sense Eulau and Prewitt describe. They define the "political" style as one where advantages are gained from going along, and this is the situation with black leadership in Franklin.

These black leaders have positions in the town which give them prestige and they are not willing to risk these positions for the benefit of the black citizens. This fact overrides all other considerations for the black leaders and thus stagnation of full equality for blacks in Franklin has taken place.

The Barth and Aba-Laban study described a black "sub-community" with dynamic leaders involved in group protest. They compared these findings with those of Floyd Hunter who found the black leaders in Atlanta, Georgia to be complacent and contented with their positions. Unfortunately for the black community in Franklin the picture Hunter defines also describes Franklin's black leaders. While some realize the problems they face, there is no active attempt at change like the one Barth and Aba-Laban found in Pacific City.

It must be remembered that Hunter's study was completed over twenty years ago, before the political and social changes which took place for blacks in the decade of the sixties. Yet, even after these advances, the black leaders in Franklin are acting like the leaders Hunter described twenty years ago. It is evident from the study of Franklin that change is not taking place rapidly in some areas for black citizens. Also, it is evident that local officials, despite changes in federal law, can and do maintain control over a black community.

Aaron Wildavsky studied Oberlin, Ohio and like

Robert Dahl in New Haven, found a pluralistic community. Wildavsky stated that leaders respond to pressures they feel from their citizens and, because of this, Oberlin has a pluralistic form of government. The black citizens do not pressure the black leaders in Franklin to represent their demands. The black leaders in Franklin have done nothing to make their citizens feel they could help them. They do not demand changes for the black community; they do not initiate any organizational efforts to find out what the black citizens want. The black citizens of Franklin feel terribly distant from their local government because they view it as a white government, supporting white causes at their expense. If such a situation exists in a town that has a black mayor and a black population of 51 percent it is obvious that these citizens do not feel they have effective black leaders. They do not exert the pressure Wildavsky finds in Oberlin because they do not feel it would do any good. The citizens Wildavsky describes are citizens who feel their ideas will be acted upon if they express them. There is no such feeling in Franklin among the black citizenry. Franklin's blacks feel their voice means little to the leaders in the community and they do not articulate their views to anyone. This is a condemnation of Franklin's black leaders because if they were serving their people as they should, the black community would not have such feelings of despair about the local government.

The study of Franklin is comparable to Vidich and Bensman's study of Springdale, New York. These authors stress the importance of unanimity in the town's decision-making process. Dissenting voices are suppressed in Springdale for the sake of unanimity. Dissenting voices are not present in Franklin so unanimity is present in the town. It is interesting to note that the small town unanimity Vidich and Bensman discuss seems at first to be admirable. A town is depicted as arguing out its differences and coming to a decision with which the dissenters agree. This system is admirable only if the people of a community can participate in the bargaining process. This democratic ideal of a community does not exist in Franklin. Blacks do not participate in decisions made which affect them and black leaders in positions of authority do not advance the concerns of the black citizens. Small-town unanimity may be very beneficial to the citizens of Springdale, New York, but to the black citizens of Franklin, Virginia, it means they are eliminated from the discussion. The white leaders in Franklin stated that the black citizens were content because they did not protest their decisions. How could they protest? Their leaders are ineffectual and they are not united. An absence of dissent does not automatically mean that the citizens of a town are happy with their treatment by the local government.

Daniel J. Elazar's description of the traditional political culture certainly applies to Franklin. Elazar's

traditional culture contends that government should play a limited role in the community. The role government does play should be in maintaining the existing social order. This is the prevailing attitude of the white leadership in Franklin. These leaders do not attempt to initiate changes in the social order and those that have occurred, such as the integration of public schools, have been pushed on the town by the federal government.

The traditionalistic culture affects black leaders because once they become involved in the local government, they tend to accept the normal methods of doing things. This means that any change is accepted grudgingly and those that push quickly for change will not long be a part of the government. This situation strengthens the position of those who already possess the social and political power of the community at the expense of those who have no power. In Franklin, the elite whites prosper at the expense of the black citizens and the new black leaders perpetuate this arrangement by going along with it.

Franklin has a scarcity of black leaders for many reasons. The most important of these is that the young, educated blacks who were children in Franklin do not return as adults. These people cannot find jobs in Franklin so other black communities benefit from their talents. No black professionals come into the town to work because there are also no jobs for them. This is one more reason for the lack of black leadership. Kenneth Prewitt and Alan Stone's description of the difficulty in becoming

one of the ruling elite also applies in Franklin. Blacks in the town are the poor citizens and Prewitt and Stone describe the difficulty in achieving a position of community leadership when one has to be concerned about the basic necessities.

Despite these obstacles and the segregationist tendencies of the white political leaders in Franklin, it appears that changes will eventually take place in the black community. The most important change will take place when the dominant economic family begins to lose its grip of power in Franklin. Evidence that this may be starting to happen can be seen by the careful student of Franklin. The dominant family head has suffered some recent setbacks. His sister sold land to a developer for a shopping center project to which he was opposed. The center has recently been completed, but the family still argues about it. There is speculation that a low-cost apartment complex may be built on land the family does not control. Young white couples with different attitudes from their parents are starting to question the existence of segregated facilities in the town.

Another important force which will push Franklin toward slow change is the presence of the federal government. Funds the federal government makes available to localities have strings attached which force towns such as Franklin to choose between their old segregationist ways and new ways. This will bring about gradual changes in housing patterns and social changes will eventually follow.

These funds will also make the town less dependent on the dominant economic family's generosity.

Black leadership will eventually change the black community in Franklin. The black leaders interviewed for this study will not change the community, but as more young blacks move into the town, new leaders will be developed and take an objective view of Franklin's political institutions. As the dominant economic family gradually loses its hold in Franklin, the town will move towards a pluralistic community governed more equitably.

These changes will not take place quickly. The first change which must take place is the development of more industry. Franklin is not a bad location for industry, with major railines, access to a port in Norfolk, and good weather which reduces fuel costs. As the dominant economic family loses its grip on the town, more industry will move into Franklin.

More industry in the town will bring in more young blacks to demand changes for their community. These young blacks will make Franklin their home and will be willing to invest the effort in the community it will take to change it.

This scenario will not take place overnight. The control held on the black community by the dominant economic family and the other white leaders of Franklin will take years to break. The black leaders in Franklin today will not change the social and political patterns of the community. They are not trying to do so. The black

citizens in Franklin, while discontent and bitter about their position in the town, will continue to accept that position for years to come. Until new leaders come into Franklin's black community, the second-class position of black citizens in the town will remain firm.

APPENDIX A

Leadership Interviews

1. Begin by explaining who you are, and what you are doing (Interest in town government and work being done on Master's Thesis).
2. Do not mention any personal factors if possible; this delays the interview.

Questionnaire

1. Could you tell me a little bit about yourself: how long you have lived in Franklin; your education, etc.
2. Why did you become interested in local government? Tell me a little about Franklin; how would you describe the town?
3. In your opinion, what are the biggest problems facing Franklin today? Do you feel that the citizens of Franklin would agree with you in these choices?
4. How do you intend to try to solve these problems? Would you think that the citizens of Franklin feel this is the proper way to solve the problem?
5. Are the citizens of Franklin satisfied with city government in Franklin? If not, why? If yes, why?
6. As Franklin is divided almost evenly between white and black citizens, do you feel that both groups are properly represented in city government? Do you think the citizens (white and black) feel as you do?
7. If a group is not represented as well as you think it should be, what can be done to correct the problem?
8. Do you feel that the citizens of Franklin tell the people in city government how they feel about issues? If not, why?
9. If you could attain one goal as a leader of your community, what would it be? Why?
10. If the city of Franklin could attain one goal, what would you like it to be?
11. What role do you feel local governments should play

APPENDIX A

Leadership Interviews (continued)

in the community? Should local government lead the community towards desired change, or should it simply react to the views of its citizens?

12. How do you view your role as _____?

APPENDIX B

Phone Interview of Franklin Citizens

Status of Interviews: Completed
 Partial Interview
 Refusal
 No Response
 Call Back at _____

Hello, my name is _____ and I am taking a public opinion poll for a study that is being done at the College of William & Mary in Williamsburg. I'd like to ask you a few questions about local government in Franklin.

1. Are you 18 years of age or older?

YES <input type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>
Go to question 2	Is there anyone 18 or older who lives here?

2. Is this your permanent place of residence?

YES <input type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>
Continue Interview	Terminate Interview

3. How long have you lived in Franklin?

a. less than one year
 b. 1 to 5 years
 c. 6 to 9 years
 d. 10 or more years

4. Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about government in Franklin. What would you say are the two most important problems facing Franklin at the present time?

a. _____
 b. _____

5. How much do you feel local government affects your life personally- a great deal, only somewhat or hardly at all?

a. a great deal
 b. only somewhat
 c. hardly at all
 d. don't know

APPENDIX B

Phone Interview of Franklin Citizens (continued)

6. How much do you think you can trust the government in Franklin to do what is right- just about always, most of the time, some of the time, or almost never?
- a. just about always ()
 - b. most of the time ()
 - c. some of the time ()
 - d. almost never ()
7. Do you think people like you have too little political power or just the right amount?
- a. about the right amount ()
 - b. too little power ()
 - c. no power at all, none ()
 - d. depends ()
 - e. don't know ()
8. Would you say the government in Franklin is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all of the people?
- a. for benefit of all ()
 - b. few big interests ()
 - c. depends ()
 - d. don't know ()
9. How much difference do you think it makes to people like you what the government in Franklin does: a good deal, some, or not much?
- a. good deal ()
 - b. some ()
 - c. not much ()
 - d. don't know ()

Now I'd like to read some of the kinds of things people tell us when we interview them and ask you whether you agree or disagree with them. I'll read them one at a time and you just tell me whether you agree or disagree.

10. People like me don't have any say about what the government in Franklin does.
- a. agree ()
 - b. disagree ()
 - c. don't know-depends ()

APPENDIX B

Phone Interview of Franklin Citizens (continued)

11. I don't think public officials in Franklin care much what people like me think.
- a. agree ()
 - b. disagree ()
 - c. don't know-depends ()
12. Some people have mentioned that the amount of low-cost housing is a problem in Franklin. Do you consider the amount of housing to be a serious problem, not a serious problem, or no problem at all.
- a. serious problem ()
 - b. not so serious problem ()
 - c. no problem at all ()
13. Some people have mentioned no job opportunities for young people as a serious problem in Franklin. Do you consider this to be a serious problem, not so serious a problem, or no problem at all.
- a. serious problem ()
 - b. not so serious problem ()
 - c. no problem at all ()
14. Some people feel that people are treated better by the local government because of their race. Do you feel whites are treated better, blacks are treated better or both races are treated the same?
- a. whites are treated better ()
 - b. blacks are treated better ()
 - c. both treated the same ()
15. Is your race white or black?
- a. white ()
 - b. black ()

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