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Patrick M. Harstead

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THE ELMENDORF CONFERENCE

The Dynamic Interrelationships in Social Behavior Within a Conference,
the Basic Unit, of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.
A Study in Leadership

By

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B.A., Carroll College, 1951

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA

1966

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Dean, Graduate School

MAR 8 1956
Date
DEDICATION

To my Mother

For the encouragement she gave me in writing this thesis.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a semantically controlled study of one of the most basic and common things on earth—a human group. Semantics is the science of tracing words back to their references in observed fact. A semantically controlled study is one which weds words with observations.¹ By group is meant a number of persons who communicate with one another often over a span of time, and who are few enough so that each person is able to communicate with all the others not at second hand, through other people, but face to face.² The subject group for this study is a functioning Conference, the basic group or unit of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. This Society is an international association of Catholic laymen whose formal purpose is systematic personal service to the poor without regard to race or creed.

For this study the conceptual scheme of George C. Homans, Professor of Sociology at Harvard University, has been chosen, which concentrates on certain activities and processes observable in a given small group and from these undertakes a systematic analysis of that group. This theory is expounded in his book, The Human Group, and has a two-fold purpose: to study the small group as an interesting subject in itself, but also


in so doing to reach a sociological synthesis. The author has chosen this theory because Homans is a foremost authority in the field of small group analysis, because his theory is most appropriate to the research design contemplated, and because Homans himself believes his book, *The Human Group*, will enable the student of sociology to use this same method of analysis and general theory in the study of other groups.

A Conference composed of six Catholic laymen who are members of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul will first be described in non-technical language. After the Conference has been described, this group will be analyzed in terms of the theory of Homans. This means that the group will be described twice, first in an observational report and second in an abstract analysis. Like any theoretical study, Homans begins with analysis, separating concrete observation into classes of fact. But the analysis is only a step toward an organic synthesis. The final picture of a functioning Conference of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul will be one in which all aspects of group life are mutually dependent, the mutual dependence forms a system, a total configuration, and the mutual dependence carries the seeds of emergent evolution.

Before describing and analyzing the Conference, the author will present a brief history and description of the general organization and administration of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. Also, other approaches to small group analysis will be explained in order to give the reader some insight into research work in this field.

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3 *Homans, op. cit.*, p. 6.
The Society of St. Vincent de Paul was founded when the first Conference was formed at Paris, France, in the year 1833 by eight young men. In its beginnings the Conference was a debating society, composed of students at the Sorbonne, many of whom were atheists. These eight practical Catholics among the members of the debating club rapidly developed into a group united in defense of their faith. Frederick Ozanam, generally accepted as the founder of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, organized this small group of students into a separate group called the Conference of Charity. "The time has come," said Ozanam, "to combine action with words and through works to prove the vitality of our faith. We must do what is most agreeable to God. We must do what Our Lord Jesus Christ did when preaching the gospel. Let us go to the poor."

This group of students met together and formed the first Conference, choosing St. Vincent de Paul for their model and patron. Vincent de Paul was a French priest who died in 1660. He was canonized a saint in 1737 by Pope Leo XIII, who proclaimed him patron of works of charity. The group took upon themselves the visitation of the poor and the alleviation of their sufferings as their principal work. This was the seed from which sprang the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. It was organized by young men and for young men. Frederick Ozanam was just twenty, the oldest of the founders was thirty-nine, and the others from nineteen to

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After some time, when their numbers increased, these members divided and formed a second Conference and eventually a Society was constituted with formal rules and purposes. Gradually the Society spread over France, and, in 1836, it passed the confines of that country, when a Conference was established in Rome. Early in 1844, it found its way to England and Ireland. The first Conference in the United States of America was formed in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1845.

Growth was rapid in the Society between 1833 and 1860. Not only young intellectuals but Christians of every class were eager to do something for the good of the poor. Twenty-seven years after its foundation, the Society had throughout the world two thousand five hundred Conferences embracing fifty thousand members. From 1840 to 1870 was a critical period for the Society, especially in France. Material progress accompanied by the growth of luxurious living led to a loss of fervor. The French Empire took legal measures against the Society, which they regarded as a possible focus of opposition to their rule. The dissolution, by force of law, of the Council General in Paris was followed by the disappearance of many French Conferences. Nevertheless, progress was recorded elsewhere, especially in America, both North and South.

After 1870, the Council General resumed operations and set itself

6 Ibid., p. 38.
7 Ibid., p. 53.
8 Ibid., p. 46.
to repairing the damage suffered in France and to renewing the links with other countries. Australia's first Conference came into being in 1881. The golden jubilee of the Society was celebrated impressively in 1883. The celebration in 1913 of the centenary of the birth of Ozanam afforded an opportunity for taking stock of the results achieved up to the eve of the first World War. Despite the breach which had occurred in the diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican, Pius X was represented in Paris by a Cardinal Legate. Statistics for the year 1913 showed that there were in existence eight thousand Conferences with one hundred and thirty-three thousand members and that fifteen millions of francs had been distributed to the poor.

The war of 1914-1918 provided the members of the Society with a field in which to exercise their charity to prisoners and civilians who were victims of the war. Conferences were actually set up in certain prison camps in Germany. But the sources from which members were recruited were generally exhausted and economic difficulties reduced income. In the days following the peace, the Society was faced by many ruins, particularly in the areas which had been the scene of the heaviest fighting. While engaging in the work of reconstruction the Society sought to adapt its program and methods to the new social conditions and to penetrate into regions where it was previously unknown: China, Japan, the Malayan Archipelago, Indo-China, Burma, the Indies, Ceylon, Madagascar and East Africa, where the birth and multiplication of Conferences has since been recorded. The United States of America now possess as many Conferences as does France herself.9

The centenary of 1933 was a milestone which marked the worldwide expansion of the Society. Nations from all the continents were represented at its celebration. Public authorities of France welcomed the assembled Vincentians in Paris. Government representatives also took part in the celebration in almost every other country in which the Society functioned. In most countries the Society was allowed to expand without restraint.

Recruiting for the Society was lessened by mobilization of many European countries during World War II. In the course of the fighting whole towns were destroyed by bombardment and with them the Conferences which they maintained. The Council General, because of the German occupation of Paris, was deprived of means of communication with the greater part of the world. Nevertheless, it was still able to maintain some connection with the various Superior Councils through the medium of a Vice-President General appointed to act in the free French zone.

Since 1945 the Society of St. Vincent de Paul has again been in a period of reconstruction. Some countries have given life to new sources of charity to an extent even greater than in the pre-war years. At the beginning of 1951 the Society included approximately seventeen thousand Conferences, of which more than ten thousand were in Europe; six thousand in America; five hundred and eighty-four in Australia and one hundred sixteen in the rest of Oceania; two hundred fifty in Africa; one hundred in Asia. The number of active members amounted to two hundred and five thousand Vincentians.10

10McColgan, op. cit., pp. 26-51. Further information concerning the Society may be found in "Society of St. Vincent de Paul," The
The Council General, located at Paris, France, maintains general jurisdiction over the Society throughout the world. This Council is a self-perpetuating body. Lesser Councils and Conferences in all parts of the world report to the Council General, which issues an annual summary of such reports. Once a year the President General reports to the Sovereign Pontiff on the Society's work. Conferences and Councils organized in any country, as branches of the Society, depend for aggregation or affiliation with the Society at large upon the approval of the Council General. Before such application may be made a probationary period of organization is required, which is usually one year, and the application must show evidence of a reasonable amount of work in behalf of the poor during the probationary period, as well as observance of the rules of the Society.\footnote{Ibid., II, 405.}

The subordinate administration of the Society is divided as follows: Superior Councils, Central Councils, Particular Councils, and Conferences.

The Society in several national divisions is administered under the supervision and direction of a Superior Council. In some countries, however, owing to local conditions, more than one Superior Council exists. The Superior Councils act as intermediaries between the various
divisions of the Society and the Council General. The Superior Council of the United States in New York City conducts the general administration of the Society in this country.

There are two classes of Central Councils: Metropolitan Central Councils, having jurisdiction of the Society in the territory of ecclesiastical provinces, and Diocesan Central Councils, with jurisdiction over the Society in the specific diocese in which they are organized. The Diocesan Central Councils are subordinate to the representative Metropolitan Central Councils of the provinces in which they are located, if such Councils exist, or, in the event that such Councils are lacking, to the Superior Council.

The functions of the Superior and Central Councils are entirely administrative and supervisory in character. They do not engage in or conduct works of charity, leaving those activities to the Conferences and Particular Councils.

Particular Councils are organized in cities, towns or localities, where three or more Conferences exist, to unite them in one general organization for the supervision of the Conferences and for the effective administration of affairs and work of a general character. The membership of Particular Councils is made up of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Conferences represented, the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of special works, and such additional persons as the rules may provide for the membership of the Council. Many Particular Councils include in their memberships the secretaries of Conferences.

Particular Councils are subordinate to Diocesan Central Councils if they exist, and, if not, to the Metropolitan Central Councils or, in
the absence of both, to the Superior Council.\textsuperscript{12}

The Conference is the unit of the organization of the Society. It is based upon parish lines and usually assumes the parish name for its title and limits its activity to the parish in which it is organized. The pastor, or one of his assistants designated by him, serves as the spiritual director to the group. The Conference is under the jurisdiction of the Particular Council, or, in the absence of such a Council, to the next higher Council.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., II, 412.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., II, 400.
CHAPTER II

METHOD OF THE STUDY

In much the same manner as William Whyte studied Cornerville,¹ the observer undertook his sociological research of this particular Conference by associating with it. Although he engaged in some group activities, he did not join the group as an active member. During the period this study was conducted, the observer was employed as a high school teacher and was living at Elmendorf Air Force Base, where he taught children of government personnel. For a period of one year (1961-1962) he regularly attended Conference meetings and explained to the leader of the group and the other members that he was making a sociological study. Prior to making this study the observer had known one member of the group and had been invited by him to join the Elmendorf Conference. The former declined, giving an overabundance of high school extra-curricular activities as his excuse. However, he explained to the Conference members his interest in the group, as well as his desire to make a sociological study. He was introduced to the Conference President by this friend and, because of his interest as well as his past association with the Society in Butte, Montana, where he managed a Society outlet store, he was permitted to attend the meetings.

Since the greatest portion of research work with natural groups is done by participant observers, the observer entered into the Conference

in this capacity. He did not do everything which the group did but found a role in the group which he believes did not disturb the usual group behavior pattern.

As the year progressed from his entrance into the group situation, the observer had periodic contacts with two members of the Elmendorf Conference outside its meetings. These were generally of a social nature but occasionally the observer joined the group in athletic activities. Experience in the group revealed that the more the observer participated with the Conference, the more emotionally connected with the group he became. This emotional reaction may have colored his findings.

At the outset of this research the observer endeavored, as much as possible, to approach any emotional attachment which might evolve from an objective point of view. Throughout this research he continually had to check himself for the essential objectivity which a study such as this requires.

The plan of this study involved a twofold problem area: (1) the general aim of this thesis was to apply Homans' conceptual scheme in ascertaining what made the Elmendorf Conference function, and (2) the specific aim was to determine the positions of the various members in the Conference and in so doing determine the characteristics of leadership within the group.
HOMANS' CONCEPTUAL SCHEME

Homans' principal aim in _The Human Group_ is to work toward a sociological theory which will state, in convenient and compact form, the interconnected uniformities detected in the behavior of men in groups. _The Human Group_ is largely based on intensive and systematic scrutiny of five small groups and proceeds on the assumption that close study of these particular groups will enable sociologists to more fully understand the workings of groups in general.²

Homans believes that he has accomplished two tasks: (1) the development of a general interactional theory of sociology, and (2) the illustration of the theory by the analysis of five concrete cases in terms of it: (a) the Bank Wiring Observation Room from F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson's _Management and the Worker_; (b) the Norton St. Gang from William Foote Whyte's _Street Corner Society_; (c) the Family in Tikopia from Raymond Firth's _We, The Tikopia_; (d) the Social Disintegration of Hilltown from D. L. Hatch's _Changes in the Structure and Function of a Rural New England Community since 1900_; and (e) the Social Conflict in an Electrical Equipment Company from C. M. Arenberg and D. McGregor, _Determination of Morale in an Industrial Equipment Company_.³

In _The Human Group_ Homans called attention to a different way of looking at familiar sociological data and analyzing them to the end of

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²Homans, _op. cit._, p. 19.

discovering a different kind of uniformity. His deliberate purpose is to establish, if it can be established, the kind of general statement about human behavior that can be used to form increasingly more general sociological theories. He admits that his conceptual scheme is a humble effort, since in the present state of knowledge it must focus on only a few aspects of behavior. But, though it is only a step in the right direction, it is also ambitious, since it attempts to point out the way in which further steps may be taken.

The distinctive property of interactional analysis is the utilization of some concept of system as primary for sociological analysis. The system is identified by Homans as the group. The conceptual scheme he formulates and which he believes is applicable to all groups comprises these elements: (1) activity—what members of a group do as members of it; (2) interaction—the relationship which the activity of one member of the group has to that of another; (3) sentiment—the sum of interior feeling, whether physical or mental, that a group member has in relation to what the group does, and (4) norms—the code of behavior which, implicitly or explicitly, consciously or unconsciously, the group adopts as just, proper or ideal.  

Homans defines the group as a plurality of people in interaction. The activities, interactions and sentiments of the members, together with mutual relations of these elements when the group is active, constitute a social system. The group as a social system first forms an external system, determined by the needs of the group and the conditions

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4Homans, op. cit., pp. 24-27.
of the environment. The environment is broken down into three main
dimensions: physical, technical, and social. The external system represents the group as far as it is being conditioned by the environment. The internal system is the feelings of the individual group members toward one another which affect group behavior. The external system, plus the internal system, make up the total social system.

What the small group reveals in Homans' conceptual scheme is a social system reacting with its environment as a self-adjusting organization of response whose parts are mutually interdependent. What acts or reacts is not any single part or function of the social system, nor any combination of parts or functions, but the system as a whole, a totality whose mutual interdependence is the system. Cause and effect disappear; what must be looked for are the resultants of complexes of interacting forces. The group is a dynamic social equilibrium. This theory of Homans can best be described by pointing to its principal emphasis and calling it a theory of the dynamic interrelationships in social behavior.

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5 Homans, op. cit., p. 88.
6 Bernard DeVoto, Foreword to George Homans, The Human Group, p. xi.
OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEWING

In accordance with the methodology of Homans, the Elmendorf Conference was systematically observed in its meeting area by the observer. Normal activities were going on as were the group's social practices. Four weeks were allowed the group members to become accustomed to the observer's presence after his entry into the social situation before observations were recorded. Homans' technique is representative of the uncategorized observational system. This means that the systematic observational procedure was usually reduced to a sampling technique on a time basis. Periodically the area was scanned at each meeting and the interaction of the members noted.

The observer kept a log in which he recorded all events that happened at the meetings which he thought would be relevant to the research design. Each member of the Conference was considered separately. The observation material was examined carefully, and every entry in which a particular person was mentioned or referred to was listed under his name. The "nondirective" approach of F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson was utilized in interviewing each of the six members. The investigator made no effort to direct the conversation toward any particular topic. He assumed that the man he was talking to would choose his subjects in something like the order of their importance to him. The interviews were conducted after the meetings had adjourned and each

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7F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, Management and the Worker, "The Interviewing Method" (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939), Chap. XIII.
member was asked to describe "the happenings of his life in the Conference as he saw them." This interview material also was carefully examined, and every entry in which a particular person was mentioned was lifted out and listed under his name. Through this method of classification, the degree and kind of social participation of each member of the Elmendorf Conference became apparent.

The material listed for each member was examined for evidence of the extent of his participation. Two questions were asked: (1) To whom do this person's relations extend? Does he associate with everyone in the group, or are his social activities restricted to a few? (2) Does he enter a great deal or relatively little into social relations with the people with whom he associates?

An attempt was made to determine the kind of participation manifested by each person. Such questions as the following were considered: Does he assume a superordinate or subordinate role? Does he strive for leadership? If so, is he permitted to do so, or are his attempts in that direction opposed by other members? Are most of his social contacts related to his work in the Conference?

Each occurrence in which a member entered into association with another member was examined to see whether the relation expressed an antagonism, a friendship, or was merely neutral. 8

During the interviews each member of the Conference was privately asked to make sociometric friendship choices in order to determine clique patterns.

8Ibid., pp. 493-494.
In employing this method of classification the material was broken down by (a) persons, (b) the extent of participation, (c) the kind of participation, and (d) whether the relations between persons were antagonistic, friendly or neutral. These four correspond closely to the concepts of Homans: persons, and the three elements of their behavior: activity, interaction and sentiment.

The activity was checked from the Elmendorf Conference weekly meeting reports of charitable works accomplished; the interaction was checked by observation at the meetings, and the interviews and sociometric choices of the individual members were utilized to check sentiment.

In concluding this section on methodology the author would like to state that few persons ever acquire complete objectivity. Personal preconceptions and value judgments are often so deeply rooted that it is difficult to discern them, let alone to dislodge them. If it were not for the fact that the author is a Catholic and as such has an interest in the Society of St. Vincent de Paul this study would never have been attempted.
CHAPTER III

STUDIES IN SMALL GROUP ANALYSIS

"The greatest recent progress in methodology has been made in the study of relatively small units: of single social acts and of face to face groups."¹ Some of the most scholarly examples of social research can be found in studies of small groups. These studies have valuable implications for social experimentation and are a major avenue of empirical social science. Small group situations can often be more readily grasped and analyzed as a whole before attempting to penetrate into the intricacies of the larger group. Bales defines the group as "any number of persons engaged in interaction with each other in a single face to face meeting or a series of meetings, in which each member receives some impression or perception of each other member distinct enough so that he can either at the time, or later, give some reaction to each of the others as individuals, even though it be only to recall that the other was present."²

Study of the small group is not something new to the social sciences. A. W. Small, an early sociologist, over sixty years ago stated, "To understand what society is, either in its larger or smaller parts, and why it is so, and how far it is possible to make it different, we must invariably explain groups on the one hand, no less than the individual


on the other.\textsuperscript{3} Employing this same social-psychological orientation, Charles H. Cooley at the turn of the century remarked,

A separate individual is an abstraction unknown to experience, and so likewise is a society when regarded as something apart from individuals. The real thing is human life, which may be considered whether in an individual aspect; or in a social, that is to say, a general aspect; but it is always as a matter of fact, both individual and general. In other words, 'Society' and 'individuals' do not denote separate phenomena but are simply collective and distributive aspects of the same.\textsuperscript{4}

Contemporary sociologists recognize that there are many approaches to the study of the small group. They are generally in accord that an integrative step must be taken to increase our knowledge of this specialized area. Most believe that a synthesis must be made of formerly more or less isolated data. Social psychologists and sociologists are concerned with the individual and the problems inherent in the small group, "yet the concentration of sociologists on their narrow fields of specialization has encouraged them to turn the problems of the individual to the psychotherapist and the problems of society to society itself."\textsuperscript{5} In many group studies the analyst is so involved in observing the incidentals of the project that he never becomes able to construct the framework necessary for even the beginning of a general interpretation.

Small group analysts, generally speaking, believe there are several frames of orientation which must be taken into consideration in


any empirical study. They are: (1) Small group research involves a problem of individual behavior in a group situation. Many leadership studies are considered to be in this area. Or, (2) emphasis may be placed on the group itself as a social entity with certain recognizable properties and abilities. These two frame of reference are the social-psychological aspects and most sociologists consider them as equally important.

Another frame of orientation that is more definite considers the internal and external factors that affect the group. The internal factors are the motives, emotions, attitudes and general state of the group as well as the influence of past experience on the individual members. The external factors are the stimulus situations outside the individual, or the group.

Until recently small groups have been studied with one particular phenomenon in mind at any one time. Researchers have been concerned with such facets of group behavior as clique patterns, syntality or group togetherness, communication structure, interaction, sociometric choice and leadership. The total configuration in many instances has been ignored due to experimental concentration on only one facet of group behavior. Study of single phenomena, however, has been advantageous, for it has helped the sociologist to see all the possibilities that can be

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8Homans, op. cit., is an example of the consideration of the internal and external factors of the group.
present in one small group.

Contemporary sociologists believe that several theoretical considerations or frames of reference should be utilized in small group research. There is some overlapping of the various theories, but each is so oriented that all theories cannot be advantageously synthesized at the present without weakening the principal research design.

From its very beginnings Freudian theory has been associated with sociological thought under the common frame of reference called "a theory of action." Sigmund Freud's theory of the internalization of moral values commonly called the theory of the superego as an essential part of the structure of personality is a hallmark in the development of the science of human behavior. This theory shows that human behavior represents a compromise action between inner drives, needs, and inhibitions and impressions reaching the individual from his environment. Freud's findings on the roles of the superego, the ego, and the id are the basis for this theory. The id is the reservoir of instinctual energies; the superego is the commands and prohibitions of the parents and through them of the society which the child incorporates into itself; and the ego is the means by which the person orients himself toward reality.

Group behavior is considered to be the behavior of individuals in a process of social and emotional interaction. Freudian theory shows that group unity arises through common identification of members with one


another. Groups then are psychological wholes with structure and goals and develop through the interaction of individuals composing the groups. This theory maintains that an individual's earliest experiences in groups basically directs and colors his behavior and feeling in groups for the rest of his life. This frame of reference centers upon the group, its processes for emotional adjustment and upon the use of groups for therapeutic purposes. As regards the individual it considers his emotional and motivational relationship toward the group.  

A second frame of reference is taken by sociologists who concentrate on group organization to better comprehend the nature of leadership in formal organizations. A group is considered to be a unit consisting of a number of individuals who are aware of the unity and act in a unitary manner. An organization is a social group where the membership is differentiated as to individual responsibilities for the task of achieving a common goal. This orientation views the distribution of responsibility as far as what each member is to do and the interactional aspects of who is to work for whom. These organizationists are for the most part concerned with leadership. They define leadership as "the act of influencing the activities of an organized group in its efforts toward goal setting and goal achievement."

Ohio State University has pioneered the field in leadership studies.

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These studies are based on three assumptions: Group organization is a recognizable social phenomenon in our society; that as such it is a legitimate subject for scientific study; and finally, that the variables of organization can be defined to permit their scientific evaluation.

If a group possesses leaders, adherents of this orientation contend it is an organization. This is due to the fact that some of the members have differentiated role relations toward other members in relation to certain tasks. If the various members have differentiated responsibilities in relation to certain group goals, then the group shows further signs of being an organization. The presence of leaders and the differentiation of responsibility are indicative of organization.

A third orientation relies upon the empirical determination of the composition of groups through the technique of factor analysis. To explain the group comprehensively three panels of description are first established: population, structure and syntality. These descriptive panels are better explained as (1) the characteristics of individuals which are already molded in their make-up and brought by them into any group, such as values or attitudes; (2) structural characteristics of the group which are descriptive of the internal behavior of the group, such as role relations between members and status gradients; and finally, (3) syntality variable indicating the performance of the group acting as


a single entity, such as group decisions, completed group tasks, and
group aggression or assistance toward other groups or individuals. Pro-
ponents of this school of thought believe that these factors are exhaus-
tive categories and encompass all group phenomena.

Factor analysts attempt to describe group characteristics as
accurately as possible in order to draw a true picture of the group
during the different stages of its development. This theoretical re-
search design as well as the organizationalist frame of reference is
chiefly concerned with the problem of leadership.

A fourth approach is that of sociometry. Social scientists who
utilize this orientation believe that the free and undirected choice of
one individual for another is the basis for group limitation. The
sociometrists also are aware that some groupings are imposed by the
force of society and do not necessarily represent the free, natural
groupings which emerge as the result of individual likes. One of the
main ideas of this group of theorists is that groups which will prove
both productive and satisfying to members and society can be established
along the lines of spontaneous choice. 16

The father of sociometry as we know it today is J. L. Moreno.
His book, Who Shall Survive? first published in 1934, contains the
methodology, speculative theory and prognosis which over the past thirty
years have acquired such tremendous social significance. It was his
initial work in this field that has resulted in the sociometric orient-
ations of today. 17

1953), is typical of the application of sociometric techniques.
17 Ibid., pp. 1-39.
The sociometric theoretical research design is representative of
the subjective frame of reference. Knowledge is gained from the individ­
ual perceiving the group through his own eyes. To check this subjective
evaluation the sociometric measure is utilized. Attraction and repulsions
within a particular group are assessed by means of sociometric measure.
Each member of a group privately chooses a number of other group members
with whom he would like to participate in a specified activity. Those
with whom he would not like to participate are also recorded. From these
natural likes and dislikes natural groupings arise which will be benefi­
cial not only to the individual but to society as well.

A fifth and last frame of reference and the approach with which
this thesis is primarily concerned is that of interactional analysis.
This theory stresses the basic concepts of action or interaction. In-
teractionists believe the overt behavior of human organisms in interaction
is the "ultimate stuff" which must be observed by the student of small
groups.\textsuperscript{18} This interaction sets the limits of the group.

Interaction refers to a unit of activity which is stimulated by
a unit of activity of another, which in turn will produce an additional
unit of activity. Interaction is a continuing process. This continuous
activity may be studied as frequency. Frequency denotes number of times;
its specific application in interaction analysis will depend on the unit
of activity to be scored. As an example, frequency may be scored as the
number of times the leader interacts with any of the other group members.
There is a considerable range governing the scoring of frequency.

\textsuperscript{18} Fales, op. cit., p. 31.
Typically, a frequency score represents the total behavioral units that occurred during the course of a group meeting. Duration of interaction of the individual members or of the group as a unit also is considered. Or, the order of interaction may receive the emphasis; how does the group progress in a problem-solving sequence, or with whom does the action originate? 19

Interaction is seen as an element of social behavior from an examination of the definition and the above properties of frequency, duration, order, and intensity, and may properly be considered as a component of small group analysis.

All interactionists generally believe that the observation of social interaction and its consequences is the foundation for studying the group. They assume that all small groups are fundamentally alike in that they involve a plurality of people with common task patterns arising from relations to an outside situation and certain social and emotional relationships arising from their contacts with one another.

Interaction will set the limits of the group. For example, if one is observing a large gathering of people (let us letter from A through Z) he might notice that A is directing a greater amount of his action toward B, C, D and E. Each in turn appears to be directing the greater amount of his action to A and the other three. Among the five there is more mutual talking, more mutual gesturing, more mutual laughing than with F through Z, who also are present. On the basis of interaction A, B, C, D and E have formed a small group. "A group is defined

19Homans, op. cit., p. 36.
by the interaction of its members.\textsuperscript{20}

Interactional analysis may be divided into two principal categories of research design. The experimental design may be conducted on either constructed groups, where variables are clearly defined and an attempt made at rigid control, or natural groups that exist freely in society where variables are recognized but difficult to measure and control.

The constructed group is considered as fabricated by the social scientist for the purpose of his study. The group meets in an experimental setting only for the time in which the research takes place.

\section*{SMALL GROUP ANALYSIS TODAY}

The present approaches to small group analysis are valid and all should be viewed as equally important because they have enabled sociologists to more fully understand the intricate and varied patterns of behavior that can be found in small groups.

Freudian theories give emphasis not only to the personality of the individual group member but also to the cohesiveness of the group as a whole. Organizational frames of reference discover the facets of various structural phenomena. Factor analysis provides three panels for categorizing the resulting data as well as directing attention to the group syntality. The sociometric approach gives a certain status to the actor-subject and provides a useful utensil, the sociometric test, to discover the place of the individual in the group. Interaction analysis provides the means of discovering organizational and structural

\textsuperscript{20}Ibid., p. 82.
data.

However, by empirical concentration on limited facets of group behavior, the group picture often has been neglected. The weakness of our present theoretical frames of reference in terms of developing knowledge of the whole group is directly related to the limited objectives of these orientations. Most contemporary sociologists believe no one theory can be found to adequately explain the present research in the area of small group analysis. They feel that even a major hypothesis with several sub-hypotheses would fail to comprehensively cover the tremendous category of data involved in total analysis. No single theory appears to lend coherence to what Strodtbeek calls "this runaway growth of activity." 21

Each theoretical orientation appears to contribute to increased overall knowledge, but standing alone each theory does not seem to embrace the total field of small group behavior. For example, organizationalists differentiate between the formal and informal organization of the group but do not pursue the effect such organization will have on the group as a single entity. Factor analysis has concentrated primarily on leadership phenomena without considering the need for expression of the individual member. Sociometrists in too many instances neglect giving complete consideration to the group but direct perhaps too much attention to the subjectivity inherent in the individual. Interaction analysis has viewed the phases of the problem-solving sequence without giving due consideration for, and comparison with, group structure

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variable.

Synthesis of existent orientations has been repeatedly attempted, especially since the middle of this century, but no conclusive, all encompassing frame of reference has been achieved.\textsuperscript{22} Social scientists today feel the work accomplished is valuable and that future research will be based on a synthesis of present theoretical approaches. There is also a great probability that new theories and orientations will be developed and integrated into the field of small group analysis.

The constructed group is employed to achieve a more definite measure of group process. It is created by the sociologist specifically as an object of observation.

The natural group is one that already freely exists in society and is functioning before the research design is placed upon it. After the experimentation the group will continue to exist. It is established for some other purpose than gaining knowledge relative to small group behavior.

The purpose of the natural group is dependent upon the wishes of the group members and the institutional authority that established the group. Natural groups are far more difficult to control than constructed groups. However, data obtained from natural groups is far more representative of society's small groups if the variables of naturalness are properly evaluated. For sociologists the natural group has a twofold purpose: experimentation and the group's reason for existence.

\textsuperscript{22}Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander (eds.), \textit{Group Dynamics} (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1953).
CHAPTER IV

THE ELMENDORF CONFERENCE

The Conference of St. Vincent de Paul to be analyzed functioned at Elmendorf Air Force Base, which is situated on the outskirts of Anchorage, Alaska. The Base was established during the early days of World War II, and the growth of Anchorage has been consonant with the growth of Elmendorf Air Force Base. In 1940 Anchorage had a population of only four thousand persons. At the time of this study (1961-1962) the city's population was approximately seventy thousand persons. Elmendorf Air Force Base has grown from a mere support field to one of the nation's largest Air Force bases with a military and civilian population of approximately twenty thousand persons. Elmendorf is primarily a jet fighter and Strategic Air Command Base for the defense of our northern areas, and an attack Base for retaliation if war should be directed by an enemy against the United States of America. All personnel, both military and civilian, employed at the Base serve to support this effort.

The Elmendorf Conference was first formed in the autumn of 1959, but due to the rotation of military personnel and civilian turnover only two charter members of the group remained in the spring of 1961, when I began my research. At this time the group consisted of six members: Chris, Aku, Brian, Jim, George, and Mark. These young men came from diverse walks of life; yet they all had in common the fact that they were employed by the United States government and were living on the Air Base. This fact of employment had an important bearing on the
formation of the group. These six Elmendorf Conference members ranged in age from twenty-two to thirty-seven. A social stratification of their family backgrounds would rank them from the lower to upper middle class. Four of the members were married men living on the Base. Two lived with their families and two lived alone. The other two were single and lived in bachelor quarters at the Air Force Base.

The purpose of the Elmendorf Conference was to afford the members by mutual example an opportunity to practice a more Christian life. This was to be done in the following manner: to personally visit poor families in and around Anchorage, study their needs, supply some of their material wants, aid them to become self supporting, and to afford them the consolation of religion.

Active membership in the Conference was limited to Catholic men living on the Base who were over eighteen years of age and wished by acts of charity to develop their Christian life.

The business of the Elmendorf Conference was handled by these six members and each had a definite title. These titles were President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian and Clothing Administrator. The Conference had a spiritual director who was a United States Air Force Catholic chaplain. The President was elected by the Conference members and he appointed other officers.

The leadership of the Elmendorf Conference was entrusted to Chris, the President, according to the formal purpose of the Conference. He directed the group, received and submitted suggestions and called special meetings, if necessary. In case of his absence, Aku, the Vice-President, took his place. The Secretary, Brian, prepared the minutes
of the meetings. He kept a register of the names, occupations and ad­
dresses of the members, as well as the telephone number of each. He
also listed the exact number of families visited. Jim, the Treasurer,
was responsible for the making and receiving of all payments by and to
the Conference and rendered an account of the receipts and expenditures
at every meeting. George, the Librarian, collected books which might
be beneficial to the Conference or to families which the group assisted.
Mark, the Clothing Administrator, collected used clothing for the poor,
from any and all sources and kept an account of them.

THE CONFERENCE MEMBERS

Chris, the President of the Elmendorf Conference, was a convert
to Catholicism. He was a single man, born in Boston, Massachusetts,
and educated in the public school system. He was twenty-seven years of
age at the time of this study, and was the son of a retired army colonel.
Chris' conversion came about while he was stationed with the United
States Army in Japan. He was an intellectual individual, given to
reading in biography and psychology. He also spent a great deal of his
time in athletic activities and regularly worked out at the Base gym.
Chris stayed in Anchorage after his discharge from an army assignment
at Fort Richardson, Alaska. He was employed on Elmendorf Air Force Base
as a draftsman in civilian capacity.

Aku, the Vice-President of the group, was employed as a civilian
on Base mechanic. He was married and was the youngest member of the
Conference. He was twenty-two years of age and a full-blooded Eskimo.
Orphaned at the age of seven, Aku was sent from his home near Kotzebue, Alaska, to the Jesuit Mission at Copper Valley, in the interior of that state. There he attended elementary and high school where he was trained in mechanics. He lived with his wife and son, and was most adept in mechanics and was respected by his fellow workers as a skilled laborer.

Brian, the Secretary, was thirty-seven years of age at the time of this research. He was a lieutenant colonel in the United States Air Force. This man was born into a Catholic family and educated in Catholic and public schools in Colorado and Texas. He was married, had two children and was attached to Headquarters Alaska Air Command as a war-planner. His duties primarily entailed appropriate actions for defense if Alaska were attacked. Three years before coming to Alaska, Brian's wife was committed to an institution in Virginia for a psychotic illness upon the birth of their youngest child. As a consequence, he was alone in Alaska as the children were living with his wife's parents in Virginia. Brian entered the Air Force at the age of eighteen and served as a fighter pilot in the European Theater of Operations during World War II.

Jim, the Treasurer, was thirty years old and was a fighter pilot stationed at Elmendorf Air Force Base. He was a native of Idaho but received his education in Catholic and public schools in Oregon. He was married, had four children, and he, as were Chris and Brian, was a college graduate. He entered the Air Force cadet program in 1955 and besides taking pilot instruction had completed a number of graduate courses while in the service. Jim was an instructor at Anchorage Community College part time, where he taught aerodynamics. At the time of
this study, he was a captain and planned on making the Air Force his career.

George, the Librarian, was a Negro Civil Service Base employee. He was thirty-three years of age and had lived in Alaska for fifteen years. He ran away from home when he was fourteen, and in the course of four years of almost constant wandering reached Alaska. He was employed in Base maintenance and worked in the steam plant as a pressure control operator. George was unmarried. He was born in Montgomery, Alabama, and educated in the primary schools there. He, like Chris, was a convert to Catholicism and joined the church while serving in the Merchant Marine. He was the extrovert of this group and spent much time relating his many and varied experiences to the others.

Mark, the Clothing Administrator, was twenty-three years of age and was stationed at the Base as a corporal in the Base personnel section of the Alaska Air Command. He was the newest member of the Elmendorf Conference, having entered just two months prior to the time this research was begun. Mark was married but his wife still lived in his home state of Nebraska. He attended the State University in Nebraska for two and one-half years before entering the United States Air Force. Mark was apparently the introvert of the group, but this might be due to the fact that all was new to him. This man also was born into a Catholic family and received his entire education in the Nebraska school system.
Figure 1. Organization of the Elmendorf Conference.
(Position of boxes indicates relative rank.)
At the time of this study, the formal organization of the Elmendorf Conference was as follows: Chris was the elected President of the Conference, and he in turn had appointed the other members to various positions; Aku, the Eskimo boy, was appointed Vice-President and Brian, the lieutenant colonel, appointed Secretary; Jim, the fighter pilot, George, the Civil Service employee, and Mark, the Air Force enlisted man, were appointed to the positions of Treasurer, Librarian and Clothing Administrator, respectively.

The accompanying diagram depicts the informal organization of the group. The diagram looks simple, but it shows two things at once. In the first place, the lines between the members of the Conference are lines of "influence." In actual behavior this means if Chris felt the group should engage in a certain undertaking he generally talked the matter over with Brian and Aku.

Since the group was small, Chris was in personal contact with all members; at any time he could influence the entire group directly. Nevertheless, Chris chose to channel his downward flow of communication through Aku and the upward flow of communication through Brian.

In the second place, the positions of the boxes in the diagram indicate the relative status of each member as will be shown. Thus, Chris was the person with the highest status, or social rank. Brian and Aku were slightly below him at about the same level and the three remaining members were at the bottom.

Chris was the elected leader of the Conference. Brian and Aku
were his lieutenants and the other three members were followers. Chris and Aku were the only charter members of the Conference and their seniority served to enhance their status. Aku occupied a unique position in the group. Because of his seniority, zeal and close friendship with Chris, he was appointed Vice-President. Nevertheless, Aku was not a leader in his own right, nor did he at first desire the office. He did not want to lead and was content with his position as Clothing Administrator (a position which he had held for two years). By nature Aku was an introvert and preferred being told what to do rather than tell others what to do. Chris was fully aware of this predisposition of Aku's and in order to increase the latter's self confidence and leadership in the group he created this artificial channeling of communication down through Aku to the group.

Although Brian came into the group only a year prior to the time this study was made, he had assumed a position of leadership. This was due to a natural ability and his executive training as an Air Force officer. He was respected by all the members of the Conference as a leader, and the fact that he was a lieutenant colonel gave added weight to this respect. His exceptional performance as Secretary had much influence in the other members letting him assume leadership.

The other three members of the Elmendorf Conference, George, Jim and Mark, are approximately equal in status. However, George seemed to be the spokesman for the follower subgroup and occupied a position which placed him as an intermediary between two distinct subgroups.

The leader subgroup was composed of Chris, Brian and Aku. The follower subgroup was comprised of George, Jim and Mark. These subgroups
were the result of lines of influence which seemed to set the real pattern of shared human behavior and, consequently, determined the relative status of each member.

The group can be said to be divided along these lines into two distinct subgroups. Chris was the elected and accepted leader of both subgroups and consequently the whole Conference.

Chris, as President, directed the group and saw that the aims of the Conference were observed. The life and activity of this group depended very much on the initiative, zeal and self-sacrifice of all its members. Nevertheless, it was a customary saying within the Conference that, "As the President is, so is the Conference." Whenever he neglected any of his manifold duties the entire group suffered. If he failed to attend a weekly meeting, as only occurred twice, it seemed to weaken the morale of the group. On the two occasions he missed the meetings, Brian took over his office. It is interesting to note that, although Aku requested Brian to do so, the other members of the group felt Aku should fulfill his elected duty and dissension arose. This dissension was the result of George's demanding Aku do his job and it was not directed against Brian.

In one regard the Secretary was considered by the group as a more important officer than the President. Although the Conference might transact its business during the absence of the President, the absence of the Secretary and the Conference records almost stopped its work. Because of Brian's executive abilities, Chris chose to have all upward flow of communication come to him through Brian. In most instances Chris directed the group in a particular line of action on
advice from Brian. If they had not conversed privately, then at the meetings Chris habitually directed his questions to Brian, neglecting in many instances to bring the other four members into the conversation. During the meetings, after Chris and Brian had conversed, they routinely consulted with Aku in front of the other members to get his ideas on appropriate action. Whenever these three members concurred, the policy for the entire group was set.

Communication was evident within the entire group during its meetings but usually Chris, Brian and Aku were the more active participants and George, Jim and Mark appeared more passive. After consultation among Chris, Brian and Aku, remarks frequently were made by George. His remarks generally were but restatements of what originally had been proposed by the leaders. This procedure was typical at each meeting. Neither George, Jim nor Mark seemed to strongly affect group decisions.

In describing the organization of the Conference, observation and interview material has been abstracted. No attempt has been made to record or study every aspect of social life. Many observations and much data have been left out. In order to apply Homans' theory abstraction must be employed. Unless the material is held down in this manner, it can easily get away. Since this is a leadership study, the organization of the Conference is shown primarily along the lines of a leadership research design. Private conversations with individual members of the Conference disclosed that all members joined the Conference for one or all of the following reasons: (1) To lead a better Christian life and through helping the poor save one's own soul; (2) to make one's present life more meaningful; (3) to overcome loneliness, get outside oneself
Interviews with the individual members of the group revealed that Chris was the man who best embodied the ideals of the group. This held true in all Conference activities. He was held in esteem by all the men. Also, the others felt that Chris best lived up to the demands of noblesse oblige, which is the obligation of honorable and generous behavior associated with high rank. For example, the perpetration of offensive practical jokes or the telling of off-color stories, the others felt, were beneath him. Others violated some obligations, as is shown at the Conference meetings without much change in their positions. However, if Chris lowered himself to such levity, he would have lowered his position in the group.

In the Elmendorf Conference Chris gave each member his time and advice and each member in turn acknowledged him as leader. In all activities of the group he was always the focal point of discussion: at the meetings, in athletic competition and in social recreation. Also, Chris together with Brian associated most with leaders both on the Base and in Anchorage. Both men spent more time than the others in discussions with these leaders in order to obtain information that might be beneficial in helping the poor.

Interviews with Chris and Brian disclosed that these two men, more than the others, met and conversed with military and civilian leaders on the Base who were interested in the group’s activities. They also more frequently associated with business and fraternal leaders in Anchorage as well as the leaders of private and public welfare agencies.

The other members of the Conference felt Chris, Aku and Brian
were the most proficient in their visits to the poor. This was because they worked hardest on how the poor in their homes should be approached. These three men more than the others made reference to the fact that the poor must first be respected before they can be helped. The demeanor of these three men at the meetings appeared to be the most reverent. This was especially true of Aku's deportment and Chris occasionally alluded to him after the recitation of prayers as an example to the other members.

In conclusion, observation revealed that the other members came to these three men and especially to Chris to solve their problems. Ultimately all communication flowed toward Chris and from his position as leader he acted as both teacher and judge. It was in instructing his followers and passing judgment on their suggestions that communication flowed from Chris to the other members of the Elmendorf Conference.

NORMS

A norm is an idea in the minds of the members of a group, an idea that can be put in the form of a statement specifying what the members or other men should do, ought to do, are expected to do, under given circumstances. Norms are ideas. They are codes of behavior which, implicitly or explicitly, consciously or unconsciously, the group adopts as just, proper or ideal. Norms are not behavior itself, but what people think behavior ought to be. Once a norm is established it exerts a back effect on the group. It may act as an incentive in the sense that a man may try to bring his behavior closer to the norm. The predominant

1Homans, op. cit., p. 123.
norms of Elmendorf Conference are Christian, Catholic, the norms of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul and the norms of the Conference itself.

NORMS OF CHRISTIANITY

Christianity sets before mankind the ideal of a life based simply and solely on the love of God and man. One love implies the other, for if a man loved not his brother whom he had seen, how can he love God, whom he had not seen? And if he does not love and trust God as a father, how can he understand that all men are God's sons and his own brothers? It is the religion of those who believe, or profess or are assumed to believe, in Jesus Christ, and the truth as taught by Him. Especially is this true of those who have definitely accepted the Christian religious and moral principles of life. It is a conviction about God and a trust in the ways of God. It rests upon divine revelation and a disclosure of these ways in the history of Israel and the Church, but particularly in Jesus Christ.

Christ sums up His teachings in supreme love to God and a love for all mankind. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart and thy whole soul, and thy whole mind. This is the first and the greatest commandment. And the second is like unto it, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." This is the core of Christianity. It is a summation of all that a Christian must do in order to lead the Christian life. This is charity and charity is love. "God is love, he

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3Matthew XXII, vs. 37-40.
who abides in love abides in God and God abides in him."

To practice charity as taught by Christ is to reach the pinnacle of the Christian life since it is to participate in the activity of the living God. Christ's teaching stresses repentance, the intricacies of ritual and theology are ignored, and ancient laws which contradict the fundamental belief are abrogated or denied. Its essential characteristic is the doing of the Father's will on earth and in heaven for the love of God. In doing so man attains salvation and is delivered from sin and fear and death.

With Judaism Christianity confesses that God is one and that He is the Creator of all. Christianity differs from Judaism in its teachings of three persons in God: Father, Son and Holy Spirit. God is present and active in His creation but is neither identical with or captive within it. As the crown of God's creation, man has been endowed with a special mark of God's presence and activity, the "image of God" which reflects the mind of the Maker. Yet man's life does not conform to the will of the Creator, but is bent away from God to the service of lesser goods. This conflict between man as he is in essence (the creature of God and therefore good) and man as he is in existence (the son of fallen Adam and therefore sinful) cannot be resolved by the moral or intellectual striving of man alone. He has been alienated from the ground of his own being, has violated the law and righteousness of God, and is subject to the power of death.

Christianity teaches that the eternal Son of God, who is equal with God the Father and is truly God, became just as truly man by being

\[41\] John IV, v. 16.
born of the Virgin Mary. In order to redeem mankind in the friendship of God which had been lost by the original sin of Adam and Eve, Christ offered the perfect sacrifice of Himself to His Father. Furthermore, Christianity teaches that Christ rose again after death, and at the end of time Christ will return in visible human form and render to every man according to his work. To become again what he was intended to be, man needs the grace of God, which can break the power of death and give man a new birth. In the incarnation of His Son, Jesus Christ, God has granted this grace.

The content of Christian faith has been defined in different ways by different theologians; but the conviction that the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ are the means by which God has brought about the salvation of the world would be identified by most Christians in most centuries as the absolutely irreducible minimum of belief.

NORMS OF CATHOLICITY

Catholics are a body of Christians of whom the Pope, the Bishop of Rome, is the head. The organization of the Church centers in the Pope, who, as the successor of St. Peter, has primacy of honor and jurisdiction. Catholics believe that the Pope is the Vicar or representative of Christ on earth. After training the disciples and apostles to form the organization of His Church, Catholics believe, Christ chose Simon Peter and made him head of the Church. "And I say to thee, thou

are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatever thou shalt bind on earth should be bound in heaven, and whatever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Catholics further believe that Christ completed the founding of His Church just before His Ascension, when He said to His Apostles, "Go into the whole world, and preach the Gospel, to every creature." Also, Catholicism teaches that Christ promised to remain for all time in the Church He had founded, saying, "Behold, I am with you all days, even unto the consummation of the world." Since the Catholic Church is the largest body of Christianity, its principal norm also is charity. The doctrines of the Church are based on scripture and tradition. Superadded to these are the teachings of the Church, which include all that has been defined and decreed by the General Councils, especially Trent and the Vatican Councils, and the ex cathedra proclamations of the Pope. The distinctive doctrines of Catholicism are those of Papal Infallibility and the Immaculate Conception.

This Church has an elaborate form of liturgical worship centering about the Sacrifice of the Mass. In agreement with most Christian bodies this Church professes belief in the unity and trinity of God, the incarnation, death, and resurrection of the Savior, and the union of two natures, divine and human, in Christ. Catholics believe in Mary as the

6Matthew XVI, vs. 17-20.
7Mark XVI, v. 15.
8Matthew XXVIII, v. 20.
Virgin Mother of God, in grace, free will, atonement, the seven sacraments, transubstantiation, invocation of the saints, prayers for the dead, and in supporting religious orders of persons living under monastic rules.

Catholics believe their Church has the right to make laws from Jesus Christ. This right to make laws is exercised by the bishops, the successors of the Apostles, and especially by the Pope, who they believe is the successor of the chief of the Apostles, Saint Peter, and has the right to make laws for the universal Church. Besides belief in the Ten Commandments of God, Catholics must obey these six Commandments of the Church:

1. To assist at Mass on all Sundays and holydays of obligation.
2. To fast and abstain on the days appointed.
3. To confess one's sins at least once a year.
4. To receive Holy Communion during the Easter time.
5. To contribute to the support of the Church.
6. To observe the laws of the Church concerning marriage.

NORMS OF THE SOCIETY OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL

The fundamental idea or norm of the Conference of Charity founded by Frederick Ozanam, which developed into the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, is the sanctification of the Christian man by the practice of Charity. Vincentians believe that it is through Charity and in Charity the Christian advances. The Society seeks before everything else the individual member's progress in the love of God and of his fellow men. From the inception of the Society up to the present day this has

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9Res: Baltimore Catechism.
10McClellan, op. cit.
been done by the weekly visit to the homes of the poor and distressed. It can also be effected through every act of material help or moral support which is performed personally for those in need.

Vincentians believe that Charity may be practiced in many ways but none of them is effective without prayer. They believe that every man is the image of Christ on earth and in serving man they give glory to God. These words of Frederick Ozanam, the founder of the Society, give a valuable insight into the fundamental purpose of this organization.

The question which divides men in our days is no longer one of political forms; it is a social question. It is to determine whether the spirit of selfishness or the spirit of sacrifice will gain the upper hand; whether society will be only a system of exploitation for the benefit of the strongest, or a consecration of each one for the good of all and especially for the protection of the weak. There are many who have much and who wish to have more; there are far more who have not enough, and who have nothing, and who wish to take if nothing is given to them. A conflict is preparing between these two classes of men, and this conflict threatens to be terrible. On one side is the power of money; on the other the power of despair. We must throw ourselves between these hostile armies, and if not to avert, at least to lessen, the shock. Our youth and our moderate means make easier for us the part of mediators, which our claim to be Christians makes obligatory to us. This is the use of our Society of St. Vincent de Paul.11

The fundamental norms of The Society of St. Vincent de Paul are incorporated in its formal Rule which may be summarized:

First: The primary end or object of the Society is the spiritual welfare of its members.

Second: As a means to this end, the first and principal work of the Society is the personal visitation and relief of the poor; but no work of charity is foreign to its scope.

Third: Material relief given to the poor must always be accompanied by kindness and sympathy, and the "alms of good advice."

11Letter from Frederick Ozanam to M. Jammot, 13 November, 1936.
Fourth: No initiation fee is expected or accepted, and no assessments are levied on the members, but members should be generous in their contributions to the treasury of the Conference. Every member should be as liberal as his means permit in donating to the secret collection of the weekly meetings.

Fifth: Meetings are to be held weekly, with no suspension of activity during a summer vacation period. Each active Vincentian should deem it a duty to attend each weekly meeting. At the weekly meetings the indispensable order of business must include the recitation of the opening and closing prayers, as well as selected excerpts of spiritual reading.

Sixth: There are no salaried officers; the services of the members in visiting the poor or in other volunteer capacities are to be given gratis. This provision in no way militates against the paying of adequate salaries to full-time personnel necessary for the efficient discharge of assumed obligations.

Seventh: Politics and personal business affairs are rigidly excluded from Conference meetings.

Eighth: There are certain cases which because of their nature the prudent Vincentian may not handle; for example, young women living alone and unmarried mothers.

Ninth: In visiting the poor, members of the Society should always go in pairs, never singly. The presence of two visitors prevents the members of the Conference from becoming embroiled in relationships which might be misinterpreted.

Tenth: The Conference Officers and the Spiritual Director must scrupulously discharge their obligations.¹²

NORMS OF THE CONFERENCE

The Elmendorf Conference members valued certain kinds of behavior highly. The group as a whole desired to practice charity and in so doing served God through serving mankind. Selflessness in that each member was willing to give freely of his time and energy in helping the poor,

and perseverance in that each member have the tenacity to stick with his job were other qualities the group admired. These were the group's formal norms. The more closely a member in his activities conformed to these standards, the more popular he was and the higher his rank. Interviews with the individual Conference members revealed that the behavior of each appeared to measure up to the norms of the group as a whole according to the subgroup in which the individual was located. The degree of adherence to formal group norms varied in intensity. The intensity was highest in the leader subgroup respectively down through the follower subgroup to its newest member. The three members of the leader subgroup exercised social control over the three members of the follower subgroup because the former came closest to realizing all the group norms. The more frequently the Conference members interacted with one another, the more nearly alike they were in the norms they held.

Among the six members each brought his own norms into the Conference. Each then seemed to work out new norms through his experience in the group. Interviews with the individual members of the Conference disclosed that the following informal norms prevailed in the group as a whole:

1. Each man should be what he seemed to be. This meant that each member should not be a hypocrite, but should practice the Christian life of charity. If he did not, he should get out.

2. Each man should do at least the minimum amount of work he had agreed to do. If it was impossible for him to fulfill his obligations he, himself, should contact a substitute within the group to replace him.
3. Leadership in the Elmendorf Conference was more a duty than a privilege. A member should not be eager for leadership unless he was willing to accept the great responsibilities that went with it.

4. The group should be democratic in every sense of the word so that each member had an equal voice in formulating group policy. Also, each man should treat every man he assisted without distinction in race, creed or color.

5. Six conscientious members are better than twelve where some are lax. A chain is as strong as its weakest link. It was best to limit membership to producers as in this manner the overall objectives of the group would best be realized.

6. Each member should be humble in the true sense of the word and realize that whatever he did for the poor was not so much his doing as God working in and through him. A corollary to this was that a member should not be ostentatious and self assertive.

7. All Conference members believed that the group should publicize its work more on the Base in order not only to receive material and financial assistance, but also as a means of obtaining new recruits who could and would live up to the high standards of membership.

CONFERENCE MEETINGS

The weekly Conference meetings appeared to be the nucleus around which all activities of this group revolved. What was said and done at these meetings laid the ground work for group action for the following week. A description will now be given of the actual happenings at these meetings.
The Elmendorf Conference met once a week in an ante-room of the Base non-denominational chapel. This room was eighteen by twenty feet in area. The meetings started at 7:30 P.M., each Wednesday, as this was found to be the most convenient time for all the members. While the members were assembling in the meeting room there was usually an interchange of friendly greetings and often playful banter and joking. After a lapse in time of approximately five minutes to allow the members to exchange greetings Chris moved toward a large armchair. The very position of the members in the meeting room seemed to be fixed by custom. When Chris sat down the other members took their positions facing him. Brian and Aku sat on a davenport to the left and directly before the President. Forming a semi-circle in front of Chris and seated in assorted chairs were George, Jim and Mark.

The atmosphere of the meetings was both formal and informal. The meetings were opened when Chris made the sign of the Cross and all members got down on their knees. He then recited a short prayer:

"Come Holy Spirit"
Come, O Holy Spirit; fill the hearts of thy faithful and enkindle in them the fire of thy love. Send forth thy Spirit and they shall be created. And thou shalt renew the face of the earth.

Let us pray.
Oh God, who through the light of the Holy Spirit didst instruct the hearts of the faithful, grant that by the same Spirit we may be truly wise and ever enjoy His consolation, through Christ Our Lord, Amen. (These were followed by other prescribed prayers).

Occasionally two members, George and Jim arrived after the meeting had begun and they usually were subjected to friendly criticism by the other members. Such expressions as, "George, you'll be late for your own funeral," or "Jim, you're about as organized as a train wreck,"
served to make the tardy perhaps more cognizant of their own tardiness.

Either Chris or Brian then admonished the latecomers that their lack of punctuality could be detrimental to the effectiveness of the group. For the most part such warnings were taken by the offenders in good spirit and without retort on their part. No matter whether a man arrived early or late the other members acted as if they were happy to see him and showed their pleasure in friendly handshakes, gentle upper arm punches or playful quips sometimes accompanied a verbal pat on the back.

It is important to note that during the year's time the observer attended these meetings four other young men periodically were present at Conference meetings. They were asked by Brian and Chris to join the group. However, not one of these new recruits persevered in his attendance for any length of time. After four or five meetings these new men dropped out. Most gave as their reason for leaving the great demand in time and energy that the work of the Conference required.

When Chris was leading the group in prayer an aura of serious attentiveness and joint participation seemed to permeate the group. Prayers appeared to be the prelude to the Conference work which followed. A portion of some pious book selected by the President was then read. Each member in turn was called upon to perform this duty. The prayers and reading were done with the most serious attention. Prayer appeared to be an essential portion of the business of the meeting and it is one of the distinctive characteristics of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

From the observer's first entrance into the group situation
during meetings, he has been aware of two facts which were further substantiated as the year progressed. They were (1) the general atmosphere of conviviality and happiness that seemed to permeate the group during its meetings, and (2) the seriousness and sincerity of the group as a whole when it was engaged in prayer or in its business of assisting poor families.

The reading was followed by a short exchange of views. Usually George or Aku had some comment on the reading. Brian, the Secretary, then read the minutes of the preceding meeting. Each member was at liberty to make observations upon them. Brian had been present at every meeting which the observer attended and, generally speaking, his minutes were not encumbered with details but seemed to accurately reflect the character of the previous meeting.

Jim, the Treasurer, then announced the state of the group's funds and the amount of the collection made at the close of the preceding meeting. This was done so that each member might proportion his demands for relief to the resources of the Conference.

Each member was called upon in turn by Chris to state what he required and for how many families. Each member gave, when asked, detailed information about these families. As the visits to the homes of the poor were the fundamental work of the Elmendorf Conference, the greatest part of the meetings was given to the needs of the poor.

For the most part the Conference served poor families living in a shanty section of Anchorage, approximately one mile south and east of the city. This area was mostly inhabited by native Aleut or Indian families with a mixture of some Russian blood, poor whites, and a
smattering of Eskimo and Negro families. This particular area is the result of a native culture lag which is found to a great extent not only in Anchorage, but in Alaska as a whole. Peculiar to the dynamic, technological Alaskan society is the social disorganization produced by unequal rates of cultural change. The native Eskimo and Aleut peoples of the state in many instances have been unable to adjust to the demands of the American twentieth century culture which has been forced upon them.

A report which a member made on the condition of a family was viewed by the Conference solely to lead up to the granting of assistance. It appeared to be a call for the active assistance of everyone present in the solution of concomitant problems the family might be experiencing. Each member contributed what he could; his experience from past case work, his knowledge of other social organizations both public and private, his personal contacts and his prayers and sacrifices. Chris' report concerning five abandoned children is representative of the many problems with which the group was concerned. On a Sunday evening an Aleut woman informed Chris that he should investigate an old dilapidated house on the outskirts of Shantytown. Chris contacted Brian and forty-five minutes later the two arrived at the house at eight o'clock in the evening. The month was February, and the temperature hovered around twenty degrees below zero. This was Chris' report:

When we entered the shack we were immediately aware of the fact that it possessed no heat whatever. A little native (Aleut) girl about ten years of age opened the door. Visibility was poor but we could see that there were five children in the room. It was dinner time and three of the children, all younger than the ten year old girl, were seated around a rickety table. Crawling on the floor in filthy and unkept clothing was a year
old baby. The baby had a club foot and he, as were two of the other children, was coughing strenuously. There were no other chairs in the room. Brian and I stood by the table and watched the children as they prepared for dinner. The ten year old girl went to the cupboard and took from almost bare shelves a giant sized box of Kelloggs corn flakes. She placed four cereal bowls on the table and filled each with the corn flakes. The girl then took each bowl to the kitchen sink and filled it with water from the tap. When all bowls were filled and watered the ten year old then sprinkled sugar over each portion for each younger brother and sister. That was their evening meal, nothing more than this, because there was nothing more in the house. The children continued coughing and the noses of the three youngest were running. We asked the children where their parents were and the ten year old informed us that they had not been home for over three days. When the children had finished eating the corn flakes we immediately wrapped them in whatever apparel was available and took them to Providence Hospital. Brian phoned a physician who was a close friend of his. The doctor arrived twenty minutes later and admitted all five children to the hospital. I next informed the police who, after surveying the children at the hospital, arrested both parents in an inebriated condition on Anchorage's Skid Row.

Having completed his report on the five children, Chris immediately informed the other members what help was needed. Since at the present time the hospital was providing food and shelter for the children, Chris requested that the Elmendorf Conference provide new clothing and toys for the youngsters.

After a brief discussion the group agreed that clothing and toys should at once be taken to the hospital. It was agreed by all present that the case should be handled exclusively by Brian and Chris and all follow-up made by them. The members appropriated fifty dollars with which to buy the children new clothing and the toys were issued by Mark from a collection which the Conference had gathered at Christmas season.

Jim recommended that either Brian or Chris talk with local welfare authorities if this had not already been done. Brian informed the group that the case was now in the hands of these authorities. George
continued the discussion by requesting what detailed information Chris had in regard to this family. Neither Chris nor Brian has any information to report on the parents. George therefore requested that the parents who were still in jail be visited and a follow-up conducted if and when the children were returned to their parents.

The next evening clothing and toys were taken to the children at the hospital. The children remained in the hospital approximately one week. During this time Chris and Brian visited them three times. These two members also visited the parents who were in jail. Chris, during this period, stayed in close contact with the local welfare authorities. When the children were released from the hospital, welfare authorities stepped in; the children were taken from their parents and placed in foster homes throughout Anchorage.

This particular case is illustrative of the close harmony which had developed between public and private authority and the Elmendorf Conference. It further reveals the influential relationships of Chris and Brian with organizations and individuals outside the Conference. Chris was notified by the Aleut woman to investigate a particular home in Shantytown. This woman must have been familiar with Chris or the work which his group performed. Furthermore, she must have felt that appropriate action would be taken to help these children. The Sisters of Providence also were familiar with the activities of the Elmendorf Conference and when the children were taken by Chris and Brian to the hospital, these children and the men were received by the hospital authorities with no misgivings as to need. A local physician was administering to the children within twenty-five minutes from the time Brian
telephoned him. When Chris informed the police, he was talking to men with whom he had previously dealt in other cases. These facts reveal the influence these men had with organizations and individuals outside the Elmendorf Conference.

The importance of the work of the Conference many times lies in the fact that it was in close contact with poor families it was serving. The weekly visitations to these poor families put the members in a position where the poor might be too proud to let their plight be known to outsiders would inform these men. In this particular case of the five children, the old Aleut woman who informed Chris was the grandmother of the children. She had been threatened by her son-in-law not to go near his house or inform authorities. The man had a criminal record and had previously been jailed for child neglect. In this case public welfare took over and the Elmendorf Conference, outside of bringing the case to the attention of local authorities, had little follow-up.

At the weekly meetings the members became accustomed to acting together. They were also bound by mutual obligations. The members went in pairs when visiting poor families. Chris and Brian made up one team, George and Jim another, and Aku and Mark the third. In their experiences together there were many occasions when one member was called upon to help the other, and the member who was aided appeared to want to compensate. Examples of this mutual help were evident in such instances where Brian took over for Chris at the weekly meetings and Chris reciprocated by taking Brian to the Base movie; where Aku volunteered to take Jim's visitation to a poor family and Jim later had Aku as his guest at the Officers' Club; or where George, remembering Mark's birthday, presented
him with a surprise cake at one meeting and Mark, in turn, helped George obtain equipment for a new hi-fi set. Strong intragroup loyalties seemed to be supported by these reciprocal, and sometimes left-handed, activities. As the year progressed visiting team members were interchanged so that the newer members could learn from the older and more experienced, and this also appeared to strengthen intragroup cohesiveness.

From what is said and done at the weekly meeting, it is possible for the observer to draw some definite inferences. Chris and Brian, on many occasions, made frequent remarks to the effect that they had eaten dinner together, drunk coffee or beer together at the Base Exchange or Civilian Club and attended movies together. During the course of different meetings they asked Aku to join them in having a beer after the meeting but usually he refused. In anything that concerned the work of the Conference Aku appeared always ready and willing to lend a hand, but in outside recreational activities he seemed to have the least social contact of all the members.

In much the same manner as Chris, Brian and Aku, the other three members frequently associated together. Jim and George drove to the weekly meetings together. For the greater part of the year they visited poor families together. At the meetings the three, George, Jim and Mark, sat together. Jim had both George and Aku to his home. George had taken both Jim and Mark in his Jeep station wagon on hunting trips. Once the three went fishing together at Valdez, Alaska.

At the meetings when there was a lull in the pertinent business before the group, bull sessions commenced. These bull sessions centered around an interchange of Base news, joke and story telling, women and
sports. During the winter meetings much talk was directed toward skiing. Brian, Chris and Jim were the only skiers in the group. On one occasion the three went skiing together at Mount Aleeska and before one meeting spent a full fifteen minutes relating the experiences of their skiing adventures to the other three members. The Elmendorf Conference also formed a volley ball team. George was the team's mainstay. Next to George, Chris and Brian scored the most points for their team. At the close of the volley ball season the Conference placed second in a league of ten teams. Much of the talk during the volley ball season was concerned with good natured kidding and the athletic abilities and inabilities of the various members. In their discussions concerning sports of all kinds, as well as their other activities, a positive group consciousness seemed to exist that promoted solidarity.

During most of the year each team of visitors worked with five poor families. As one family began to require less help another was taken on. No family was considered for help by the Elmendorf Conference without a previous statement of its wants made by a member of the group. Before the Conference decided, every member might make any remark upon the case he thought useful. Experience taught this group that care must be taken not to adopt too many poor, regard being made to finances and the limited number of visitors.

The Elmendorf Conference, since its establishment, had fully accepted and worked in close harmony with other social welfare agencies, both public and private. Chris' comment at one of the meetings bore testimony to this fact.

We are completely aware that our best efforts are inadequate to meet the growing demands for our assistance. This is due to
our lack of sufficient membership and finances. What we must
strive for is quality in our work and leave quantity to others
besides ourselves. We are but a small portion of a greater
picture but to be effective we must be an integral part of
that picture. It is essential that we maintain close cooper­
ation with any and all organizations engaged in helping others
to help themselves.

During the year the observer was in the group situation, the
greatest portion of each meeting was given to individual reports on
visitations to the poor in their homes. Also, considerable time was
spent in the group's passing upon the reports and authorizing assistance
to those in need.

Aku's report was typical of these visitations made to the poor
families which the Elmendorf Conference served.

On Monday evening Mark and I made called at four homes
which we previously had contacted. We first called at Mrs.
F's. Mrs. F. and her family of seven children are doing very
well, all things considered. As you know she is widowed and
we have been assisting her regularly the past six months.
She is no longer receiving public welfare. She requested
that it be stopped. Her two oldest sons are now both out of
high school and both are employed. The seventeen year old
daughter was married last week. Her ten year old boy is now
a permanent patient at the Alaska Native Hospital, where he
has been committed with T.B. This leaves only Mrs. F. and
five children at home; and two of the five children are work­
ing. Mrs. F. herself works at home sewing and at times baby­
sits for Marie S. who lives next door. During our visit Mrs.
F. asked if we had any extra blankets, as two of hers were
threadbare, and also if we had any girls' coats sizes twelve
and fourteen. The family seems to have enough to eat in the
house but for the most part they are eating only the cheaper
cuts of meat. The house is reasonably warm but the roof is
leaking over one of the bedrooms. Mrs. F. said one of her
sons planned to fix it the next day.

Since all the Conference members were acquainted with the problems
of the F. family, little time was spent in discussing Aku's request.
The group agreed to give her the two girls' coats, which were issued
from a recent collection gathered from Base families. Three heavy
blankets also were given to her from a large number the Conference had
acquired at the Base surplus store.

Aku continued his report:

After we left Mrs. F's, Mark and I drove over and saw old Jim J. He is still living alone and mad as ever at the world. We always stop by and see him when we are in the vicinity. Jim is eighty-one and is a blind Negro. He lives by himself in a battered duplex next door to the M. family. If you remember last month he was having that awful trouble with an infection in his big toe. Well, the day before we talked with him, he took a small hatchet and, intending to cut off the infected big toe, swung and cut off the two toes next to it. Lucky for him his hollering brought a neighbor kid, who ran and got a doctor. He almost bled to death. He still is in terrible pain. Jim says to say hello to Chris and Brian and thank them for the help they gave Mrs. T., who is a friend of his. We talked with Jim for almost a half hour and when we were leaving he asked if we'd do him a favor. Could we bring him a heavy warm sock for the wounded foot and could we get him a pipe and some tobacco? It seems the two smoking pipes he owns are in bad shape. One is burned out at the bottom and the other is chewed up at the stem.

In quick order the Elmendorf Conference agreed to give Jim two
pairs of woolen socks and a new Wellington pipe with a pound of Prince Albert tobacco.

Aku went on with his report:

After leaving poor old Jim we drove over and brought the bedding and clothing to the southern family that moved into K's empty house last week. We left them four blankets, shoes and overshoes, and the trousers and jackets which the Conference issued last week. They are a fine family but have been down on their luck since they arrived last month from Georgia. The father hasn't started to work yet but hopes to next week. They seem to have enough to eat in the house. They are Baptists and had never heard of our organization before. But both the mother and the father were appreciative and thanked us for what we brought them. I think the kids could use some more winter clothing and after the meeting Mark and I plan to go over to the Clothes Room and get some extra clothing for all of them.

Since there was an abundant supply of apparel in the Clothing Room all members present concurred with Aku and the clothing was taken to the family that evening.
The report was concluded by Aku with the following visit:

We ended up the evening with another call at Mrs. B's home. Mrs. B. is still working as a waitress at the L's. Her ex-husband still is not paying her any support. She has a hard time of it trying to raise three kids. The oldest boy, who is mentally retarded, makes it that much harder for her. The two younger boys, who are nine and eleven, have to watch him all the time while the mother is working. Mrs. B. was glad to see us and asked us to come in. She thanked us for the books and toys which we left the last time and told us that things seemed to be going much better for her. She has received a raise and her tips recently have improved. We asked her if there was anything else we could do and she said only to remember her in our prayers. When we were leaving she told us to come back anytime as she knew few people living around her and that both she and the boys were glad to have company.

From what is observed at these Conference meetings, the group leaders, Chris, Brian and Aku, seem to have the best results in their visits to the homes of the poor. George, Jim and Mark periodically encounter difficulties and appear to rely upon the advice of the leaders, especially in how they are to approach the poor in their homes. The following brief conversation answered Jim's question on how best he might improve his own visitations:

Chris: What really counts in our approach to these poor families is what comes from the heart. I think you know just what I'm talking about, Jim. It's the smile, the words of affection, the warmth we infuse in those we visit because we love them.

Brian: What you say is true, Chris. Each one of us must make the weekly visit an act of love, and not a duty to perform. We must want to make the visit, this is the secret. Do you agree?

Aku: More than that, Brian, we must try to enter into the lives of the poor, to understand their needs, their sufferings and their joys.

Such brief discussions as this seemed to reinforce the entire group in its convictions and motivate them from one week until the next.

At some of the meetings reference was made to the fact that almost all of the members were attending the evening Mass on Sundays at the main
Base chapel. There was much mutual kidding over this in that the group as a whole were staying out late Saturday nights and into the early hours of Sunday mornings. Saturday night was the one night most members reserved for recreation and nearly all slept until the noon hour on Sundays.

On a number of occasions George and Mark were admonished by Chris for their poor attendance at the weekly meetings. Observation revealed that Chris, Brian and Aku, at the close of the year, had the best attendance records. Mark, George and Jim fell considerably below the leaders in meetings attended. The record of attendance over the one year period was as follows: (1) Brian had been present at all meetings; (2) Chris missed two meetings; (3) Aku was absent during three meetings; (4) Mark missed five meetings; (5) George was absent during seven meetings, and (6) Jim missed ten meetings. The fact that Jim missed so many meetings was because he was obliged to stay at home with his children when his wife was ill; this happened quite often. Also, on other meeting nights he had duty at the Air Force Base.

At these meetings Chris and Brian appeared to be the most considerate members of the group. Whenever they were asked for advice, no matter how often they had explained a similar question before, they replied with a kind answer. Also, if it was impossible for any one of the group to make his weekly visits to the poor, it was usually Chris, Brian or Aku who volunteered to do it for him.

Typical reports on Conference visitations to poor families have been related; however, in order to more fully explain that no work of charity was foreign to this group, George's report at one of the weekly
meetings is here related.

George had been notified by a man whom he had previously assisted that an Indian family was stranded about twenty-five miles from Anchorage and might be without food. Eight members supposedly were in the family and they had no means of transportation into the city. George and Jim volunteered to go out the next morning and bring the family in. George worked night shift at the power plant and it was Jim's day off.

The report was not given by George until the following meeting but it went as follows:

I picked Jim up in the 1950 Ford Vanette at 9:00 o'clock in the morning. I borrowed the old Vanette from a friend as we were just not positive how big a load we would have to bring in. We drove south on the Seward Highway twenty miles and then turned off at Birchwood. We proceeded along a snow covered road and then, following directions given to me, took another road that wound up the mountain. We followed this road another two miles until the snow got so deep it was impossible to go any further. We both checked a map of the area and reached the conclusion that we were about a half mile from the stranded family. Leaving the truck we began walking up the road through knee-deep snow. After an hour had elapsed we realized we had gone over a mile before we spotted a small cabin with smoke coming up from its stack. As we approached the cabin two young Indian boys ran toward us. They directed us to the cabin. Inside the cabin were six other people. Hanging from the walls and stretched across the room on clothesline rope were dozens of pieces of dried moose meat. There was a terrific stench within the cabin. I asked the father of the four young children if we could take the family into Anchorage. He gratefully accepted. He informed us that he and his brother had been cutting log poles in the area and that the work had run out. A week before the brother had taken his pickup truck into Anchorage and no one knew where the brother was.

The father, his wife, and four children and his wife's two parents were living in this one room cabin. For the past three weeks they had had nothing to eat except the dried moose meat. The kids looked hungry and the two grandparents were sick. In short order, perhaps mostly due to the terrible stink, we helped the family gather all their belongings and we piled the belongings outside the cabin. The old grandfather insisted on taking the moose meat. We went back into the cabin and helped him untie the ropes from the walls.
In single file we marched through the snow, over a mile back to the truck. We must have made a strange sight. Jim led the procession carrying a wash tub filled with assorted paraphernalia. The grandfather was next with the father following carrying the moose meat. The four children were in the center of the file carrying the family's bedding and meager pieces of furniture. Behind the children marched the two women carrying pots and pans and various cooking utensils. I brought up the rear carrying the family's prize possession, an old rocking chair.

Having loaded the Vanette truck to its full capacity we drove the family into Anchorage. The Indians had no money and no place to live. After trying three houses for rent and speaking to the owners to no avail, we were about ready to give up. We then drove to Dixie's house, who owned two vacant houses next to where he lived in the center of Shantytown. We convinced Dixie that he would be performing a true humanitarian service if he would rent one of his vacant houses to the family. He agreed at a cost of twenty-five dollars a week rent. We told Dixie that he would get his money.

We moved the family into a three room house. The only furniture in the house was an old double bed. We spent the remainder of the afternoon scouring up old mattresses—we obtained three double mattresses which we spread on the floors throughout the house. Jim went down to a nearby grocery store and purchased food sufficient to last the family for three days. The family asked us to stay for dinner but we declined. When we left the house, the old grandfather had a hammer and nails and was stringing up the dried moose meat across the living room.

After George had completed this report and after the laughter had subsided, Brian informed the group that he had visited the family the day of its arrival. Dixie, the owner of the house, when he saw the moose meat hanging in the living room had tried to evict the Indians. With much persuasion Brian convinced Dixie to let the family remain for a week and paid him the twenty-five dollars rent. That same evening Brian and Chris took extra blankets to the family. The next day Brian contacted the head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and this case was immediately taken over by the Bureau and the family was transported to the original village from which it came within a week's time.

George's report reveals his comical behavior at these meetings. The others might laugh but he was not always appreciated by the group.
for it. In order to attract attention to himself he tried to be funny. Whenever he could, he seemed to play down the religious significance of his visits to the poor. This was further evidenced in his deportment at the weekly meetings, where he often related an off-color joke, sometimes at the most inopportune occasion. The group appeared to put up with this behavior, realizing that it was not easy to teach an old dog new tricks.

On many occasions Chris would go out of his way to give Aku an important function to perform at the meetings. This was done by having him lead the spiritual reading, seeking his advice before the group and asking him if he would relate a past case history which might be beneficial to the new members. Frequently George might interrupt Aku in his explanation and Chris would admonish him to wait until Aku had finished whatever he was doing.

The weekly meetings varied in length according to the business before the group. They usually averaged one and a half hours. As has been shown they were characterized by few of the formalities which are found in many fraternal and legislative organizations. The meetings appeared to be more of the nature of a social or friendly gathering where the members assembled not only for mutual companionship but also with a steadfast purpose of rendering aid to poor families.

At the close of the meetings and before the final prayers, the Treasurer, Jim, made the collection, to which each member contributed an offering but always in secret.

The meetings always closed with Chris leading the group in the following prayers:
For Benefactors

O most loving Jesus who has promised a hundredfold reward and a heavenly kingdom to those who do works of mercy in Thy name, grant, we beseech Thee, Thy grace to the benefactors of the poor.

R. Amen

We fly to thy patronage, O holy Mother of God; despise not our petitions in our necessities, but deliver us from all dangers, O thou glorious and blessed Virgin.

R. Amen

And may the souls of the faithful departed through the mercy of God rest in peace. Amen.

The Prayer to St. Vincent

V. Saint Vincent de Paul,
R. Pray for us.
V. Saint Joseph,
R. Pray for us.

Let us pray

Most gracious Jesus, Who didst raise up blessed Vincent to be an apostle of thy most ardent charity of the Church, pour forth upon thy servants that same fervor of charity, that, for love of Thee, they may with a most ready heart bestow their goods upon the poor and spend themselves for their souls: Who with God the Father livest and reignest in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God, world without end.

R. Amen.
CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

INFLUENCE OF THE ENVIRONMENT

Using the conceptual scheme of Homans an analysis will now be made of the Elmendorf Conference. Since leadership is well developed in the group, special attention will be given to its characteristics.

The stringent procedure of Homans requires that we begin with the environment and its influence upon the group. The effect of the environment in increasing interaction is the starting point for the formation of the Conference. The environment may be broken down into three main aspects: physical, technical and social. These aspects often overlap one another and for purposes of this study should not be considered as entirely distinctive.¹

The Elmendorf Conference meetings were held in an ante-room at the main Base chapel on Elmendorf Air Force Base. The geographical position of the men within the room helped determine the social organization of this group and distinguished one clique from another. The members on their visitations to poor families worked in a shantytown section of Anchorage, Alaska, and this environment, like the weekly meetings, tended to increase and maintain interaction among them.

Environmental influences which affect the Conference were many

and varied but here we are considering the principal aspects which affect all the group members. The formal purpose and rules of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul had an important influence on each member. The men, it is true, had voluntarily entered into the Conference but the formal purpose and rules of the Society required that the members adhere to them and that the Conference members accomplish results of a certain kind. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul has an organizational plan for reaching these results and its method of repayment is the happiness the individual member obtains in developing his own Christian life. The formal purpose and norms of the Society set limits on the behavior of the Conference members. The Conference would have fallen apart if it had not conformed to the Society's norms at least to a certain degree.

Another important influence came from the other members within the Conference. All were Christian and Catholic and the influences and norms of a Christian and Catholic sub-culture had certainly permeated this group. The unique environment of Elmendorf Air Force Base itself tremendously influenced this group. All of the members lived on a Base in a strictly military atmosphere. The groups on Base in which the men associated in their everyday work, their membership in their own families and those living near them certainly had a direct effect on their behavior, particularly in their motives for joining the Conference.

The City of Anchorage and the State of Alaska are other environmental aspects that influenced the Elmendorf Conference. Both the city and state are products of our twentieth century highly mobile
and technological society. The individuals who people these areas, the
work that they do, the weather they are exposed to, the ways that they
recreate, their customs and mores; all these aspects of environment have
tended to throw the Conference members together and keep them together.

Finally, the Elmendorf Conference members are Americans. They
are products of our American culture. The group existed within the
framework of American values and norms which are the progeny of many
diverse, ancient and cosmopolitan cultures, and from these the Confer-
ence, in interaction, formed its own norms as has been shown. All of
these environmental aspects have influenced and limited the group and
have helped determine the relationships within the Elmendorf Conference.

THE INTERNAL SYSTEM: THE GROUP AS A WHOLE

The main outlines of the Elmendorf Conference as a whole will
first be considered. Differentiation will then be made of the behavior
of subgroups and individuals within the Conference.

The Elmendorf Conference members met and worked together. They
interacted frequently with one another. The Conference may be defined
by its repeated social contacts. The observation of social interaction
and its situations was the common starting point in analyzing this
group. The Conference involved a plurality of people with common task
patterns arising from relations to an outside situation, and certain
social and emotional relationships arising from their contacts with one
another. The interaction that developed in such a situation was social
behavior which developed a social structure. Social structure may
arise out of the interaction, but once formed by it the structure
constitutes a part of the framework within which further interaction proceeds. Bales found "in a similar manner personality is formed by interaction and becomes part of the framework for further interaction and change." In order to understand the social structure and personality within the Elmendorf Conference it is necessary to analyze interaction. This particular group may best be seen as a dynamic system of action, "action determined by a complex of interdependent or interacting factors."

Frequent interaction within the Conference was associated with sentiments of liking for one another; all six members of the group were friends. Some members of the group interacted with high frequency and were especially friendly. For example, Chris and Brian spent a great amount of time together; they interacted frequently at the weekly meetings, during visitations to the poor families in Anchorage, when on occasion they dined together, and when they attended movies or drank beer together. However, when the Elmendorf Conference was assembled at its weekly meeting every member of the group to some degree interacted with every other member, and observation showed that all in outward appearance were friendly.

Frequent interaction in the Elmendorf Conference seemed to generate frequent interaction outside it. This is particularly true in the relationship of Chris and Brian, the group leaders. Both men spent much

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time in business and social discussions with military and civilian personnel living on the Base, as well as with social welfare, civic and fraternal leaders in Anchorage. Because of their membership in the Conference, George, Jim and Mark tended to frequently interact outside their own group but to a lesser degree than the leaders. Aku, the Eskimo boy, of all the members, appeared to have the least social contact other than his own immediate family.

Sentiment requires the aid of activity. Comradeship was expressed within the Elmendorf Conference in mutual aid and the giving of one's time and experience. Habitual assistance given over the course of months appeared to link the individual group members together. To the analyst this is seen as a surrendering of a member's self interest for the good of another member, for the good of the poor families to be aided, for the norms of the Conference, and consequently for the good of the group. Especially was this exemplified in Aku, who held his high status among all members because of his great ability to give of himself and his time.

Other Conference activities seemed to link the individuals together. Among these are bull sessions, exchange of Base information and news, interchange of visitors when making calls on poor families, hunting and fishing, skiing, the Conference volley ball team, and going to the Civilian Club or Base Exchange for coffee or beer. All these activities bolstered interaction and the activities in turn were motivated by it.

Activity, interaction and sentiment created a dynamic relationship. In this relationship the observer was able to follow a process
of elaboration or "build up" in the internal system. In building up or elaborating their activities the Elmendorf Conference appeared to be making them customary. Because of this elaboration the group as a whole imposed many of its own rules. Also, the process of standardization was evident. The Conference members tended to fall into a routine. On Wednesday evenings they attended the weekly meeting. On another week day evening they made their visits to poor families, and on Sunday evenings most of the members were present at the evening Mass held at the principal Base chapel. Each member of the group seemed to want to be present to interact with the others, not only on their meeting night but also at group social and athletic functions. To the extent an individual member failed to interact with other members, to that extent he appears to be less a vital member of the Conference. Observation showed that, within the group, interaction on any level with the other members appeared to be beneficial to each and every member, and failure to interact, or social isolation, injurious. As an example, when Jim failed to interact with the group, either at its meetings or visitations, it was injurious to him in that it took him a certain degree away from the group. This held true even when domestic or military obligations demanded his presence elsewhere.

This routine of the Elmendorf Conference seemed to imply a control; and once the routine was effected and made habitual the individual member seemed to depart from it at his own social risk. The failure of George and Mark to attend the weekly meetings regularly and their negligence in making visits to poor families tended to alienate them from the

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group. The fact that Chris recurrently brought up the fact of their omissions at the weekly meetings greatly influenced the other members. Duty and punctuality were so stressed by Chris at the meetings that, generally speaking, among the members of the Elmendorf Conference, the fear of group disapproval in breaking away from the group's routine caused them to abide by it and by their action they helped to establish this routine.

"Custom and control grow up together. Which comes first we cannot say, but the interplay between the two may bring it about that a group left to itself will maintain fairly rigid routines. These dynamic balances are the steel of society." Routine in the Elmendorf Conference helped the individual member to locate his brother member, to act intelligently, constructively, and sometimes decisively and to do this with the least expenditure of time. "Many wise men have pointed out that people are lost without some framework of expected behavior." The Elmendorf Conference revealed to the observer a definite framework of expected behavior and a definite routine. By acting on one's expectations the members were helping create the routine on which their future expectations are based.

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5Ibid., p. 178.
DIFFERENTIATION WITHIN THE GROUP:
MUTUAL DEPENDENCE OF ACTIVITY AND SENTIMENT

The Elmendorf Conference members evaluated a man's behavior by certain norms. He was expected to be religious, charitable, selfless to a degree and be ready to meet his obligations. No matter how a man may feel interiorly or how cold an Alaskan night, when poor families were concerned the member was expected to be there. Outside of immediate pressing familial or business obligations, the obligations the member assumed when he entered the Conference came first. A man was expected to do his job. He was expected to make a sacrifice. The more closely a man conformed to these standards the higher was his social rank and with this his popularity. Homans gives the name of rank to the evaluation or prestige aspect or the sentimental aspect of status in the human group. 6

In the Conference, individuals and subgroups coming closest to achieving these norms were also those holding the highest social rank. We have seen this in the case of Chris and Aku, both of whom were charter members of the group. Brian, next to these two men, best lived up to these norms and consequently these three members not only individually but collectively in the leader group held the highest social rank. This correlation was seen not only in the matter of charitable works performed for the poor of Anchorage but also in their group activities. In the conduct of the weekly meetings, these members were the most active participants, in relations with those outside the group

6Ibid., p. 140.
and generally speaking in everything the group did.

The other three members of the Conference, Jim, George and Mark, appear to fall into a lower category individually and as a subgroup. This is simply because they do not come as close to achieving the group norms as the former three men. There is a relation between rank and efficacious visitations to the poor and it is one of mutual dependence. There is also a relation between rank and meeting attendance. Proficiency in visits seemed to give a man a high social rank, but the very fact of his high social rank seemed to give the individual proficiency in visits. A man in this category was expected by the others to excel, he had confidence, and the other members seemed to back him up and propel him ahead. The members of the leader subgroup had the best attendance record at the weekly meetings.

It is interesting to note that the type of relation that existed between rank and visitations also held for all six members in their other activities. The leaders, Chris, Brian and Aku, were the most persevering visitors; they were also good in other activities. The leaders gave more of their time and energy to the various works of the group. Generally speaking, Chris and Brian were the most considerate of others and tended to be fair in their decisions. Chris, the President, seemed to best realize all the norms of the Conference.

In the Conference a high social rank was not predicated upon excellence in only one activity. Among the members, George lived up to the norms of the group in the matter of visitations to the poor but not in his religious obligations. Also, his inappropriate off-color story telling at the meetings caused him not to conform with the group
standards. Nevertheless, George was leader of the follower group and his very presence at the meetings served as a bridge between the subgroups. If George's over-all behavior had improved at the meetings, his social rank would probably have risen.

Homans discovered from his analysis of the Bank Wireman that the closer an individual or a subgroup comes to realizing in all activities the norms of the group as a whole, the higher will be the social rank of the individual or the subgroup. This finding definitely seems to be substantiated by the data gathered on the Elmendorf Conference. Social rank and the degree to which the individual member lives up to the norms of the group are definitely correlated.

In the observer's study of the Elmendorf Conference it becomes clear that the sentiments of Chris and Brian, the leaders, appear to carry more authority than those of the followers in establishing a social ranking. The sentiments of these two men were transmitted to the other four members; and when Chris and Brian had established a ranking, they took action to preserve it. An example of this is when Chris and Brian felt that Aku was faltering in group decisions and leadership at the weekly meetings. They tried by personally encouraging him and seeking his advice before the group to bring him into a position of leadership. And when George on occasion tried to supersede him, they proceeded by "cutting him off" to keep him down.

\[7\text{Ibid., pp. 126-127.}\]
MUTUAL DEPENDENCE OF SENTIMENT AND INTERACTION

Analysis of the lines of influence within the Elmendorf Conference shows that the higher a man's social rank, the larger will be the number of persons that originate interaction for him, either directly or through intermediaries. Among the Conference members individuals tended to approach either Chris or Brian in order to get their advice or to assist them in a particular undertaking. Chris was approached due to the fact that he was President, understanding and popular. The members contacted Brian because he was considered wise and was recognized as a leader. What popularity he had was not so much due to his being liked by the group as a whole as it was his administrative ability and talent for getting things done. Some members went directly to Chris with their suggestions for the Conference as a whole. In some instances members went to Brian or Aku as intermediaries to Chris. The leader subgroup tended to maintain its higher social ranking and the follower subgroup tended to remain at its lower level. Follower subgroup members appeared to seek others rather than be sought by them.

Interaction is a two way process. Interaction flows toward the persons of higher rank but it also flows away from them. Chris, as President, started action going for the group. If Mark or Jim, for example, had a plan for assisting a particular family in need, they proposed their plan to Chris directly at the weekly meeting, or what generally happened, they informed George, who, as spokesman for the members of his subgroup, told Chris individually, or the entire leader subgroup collectively. Chris might reject the plan and the chain of
interaction ended there. However, if he accepted the idea, he would, after rehashing the matter with Brian and Aku, transmit the idea to the group as a whole and the group consequently would act on the matter. In most instances, ideas originated with Brian, who conferred with Chris, and the consensus of the two was passed down to the group, who acted on it.

It can be said that the higher a man's social rank, the larger the number of persons for whom he originates interaction, either directly or through intermediaries.

In the case of Chris and Brian this pattern of interaction definitely appeared to confirm their rank. Interaction flowed toward these men due to their high social rank, but it is also a fact that these men held their high social rank because interaction flowed toward them.

Some theorists have tried to define the position of the leader by saying that he is a man who originates interaction for several persons at once, as when an officer gives an order that is carried out by his assembled soldiers. Jim in transmitting his idea to Chris might interact with George individually, and George with Brian individually, and Brian with Chris individually, but Chris, if he accepted the idea, might pass it on to the rest of the group immediately. In the Elmendorf Conference this generally was not the case. Chris, in a personal conversation, passed his ideas on to Aku, and Aku, in turn, informed the rest of the group. This served not only to bolster Aku's social ranking and prestige among the members and maintain him in the leader

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group, but it gave Aku psychologically a certain amount of confidence in himself. It is interesting to note that Chris preferred the upward flow of communication to come through Brian, not only to reinforce Brian's position as a leader but also to utilize his executive talents.

Homans believes that it is better to define the leader, as far as interaction is concerned, by his position at the juncture of channels of interaction rather than by the condition, which does not hold always, that the leader originates interaction for many others at the same time.  

Within the Elmendorf Conference, because of its small membership, a large span of control certainly was open to Chris. By a large span of control is meant a large number of subordinates reporting to any single leader. Nevertheless, Chris had chosen to have the upward flow of communication come to him through Brian and the downward flow through Aku. Why he did this will be explained as this analysis progresses.

Chris, Aku and Brian, the President, Vice-President and Secretary respectively, were all members of the leader subgroup and they interacted with one another at a high frequency. They saw one another often; they associated together. George, Jim and Mark, the Librarian, Treasurer and Clothing Administrator respectively, were all members of the follower subgroup and they also interacted with a high frequency.

The conference, then, as has been shown, was composed of two distinct subgroups. The leader subgroup was headed by Chris and the follower subgroup by George. These subgroups were composed of members who were particularly friendly and interacted to a high degree with an

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9Homans, op. cit., p. 183.
individual subleader. Scrutiny of both the leader subgroup and the follower subgroup disclosed that a high degree of interaction was recurrent. It can be said that within the Conference the more nearly equal in social rank the members were, the more frequently they reacted with one another. This fact held true on the strength of the social organization of the Conference. It was sufficient to over-ride the fact that in the leader subgroup there existed a civilian, a colonel and an Eskimo, and in the follower subgroup a Negro, a captain and an enlisted man.

Contrary to what Homans found in the Bank Wiring Group, the Elmendorf Conference leaders did not avoid associating with members of the lower group. This was because Christian, Catholic, Societal and Conference norms were predominant in the Elmendorf Conference and these norms mitigated such segregation. Also, the leaders were secure in their own ranks socially, because the group as a whole felt leadership entailed such great responsibilities. This gave them a greater mobility than leaders in most organizations.

In the Conference the individual members interacted most often with group equals and not equals by force of military rank, professional, civilian or other status. The formal organization of the Conference plus its rigid norms enabled this group to overcome otherwise disruptive influences that often are generated in similar groups with such cosmopolitan membership.

Brian's status in the group was primarily the result of his conformity to group norms. Nevertheless, the fact of his high military rank bolstered his status and gave him a certain distinction and authority which none of the other members possessed. The generalization, "the
higher a man's rank, the larger the number of persons that originated interaction for him," was especially true of Brian.

When an individual member originated interaction for a person of higher rank within the Conference there was a tendency for him to do so with a member of his subgroup who was nearest him in rank. We have seen this in the case of Chris, Brian and Aku in the leader subgroup and George, Jim and Mark in the follower subgroup. Often, because of the limited membership and equality in group status, there was a cross-cross or leap-frog horizontal flow of interaction and not the vertical ascending interaction along a rigid chain of command so typical of large organizations.

Interaction usually went directly to Chris from each member during the informal portions of the meetings. The relative frequency of interaction with immediate superiors and consequent interaction with Chris was extremely low. Artificial channels of interaction had been structured by Chris during the formal portions of the meetings and at no time did he seem to be overburdened with interaction. In having interaction flow upward through Brian and downward through Aku, Chris further reinforced his own position before the entire group. The downward flow of interaction from Chris to Aku bolstered the latter's position of Vice-President and tended not only to increase Aku's prestige in the leader subgroup but also enabled Aku to gain self confidence. In having interaction flow upward through Brian to the President, Chris best utilized the Secretary's abilities and talents. This artificial channeling of interaction by Chris had its obvious weaknesses; it might strengthen Aku's position of leadership but it weakened Brian in the
Examination of the leader subgroup in the Elmendorf Conference revealed that all interact frequently with one another. Chris and Brian were leaders in their own right, and Aku held his leadership partly on his own merit and partly because of the influence of Chris. Aku, the Eskimo boy, was in a unique position in the group. He was in the leader subgroup because he was a charter member of the Conference. Furthermore he associated with the two leaders, Chris and Brian, and lived up to the norms of the group. Aku was not a leader in his own right but as an intimate of men of rank he had a rank of his own. In the Conference, leaders tended to interact with leaders and this process gave the group much of its cohesiveness.

Homans implies that in establishing a man's high social rank a number of factors are important, not any single one: his leadership, his association with other leaders, and the degree to which in his activities he lives up to the norms of the group. "If his rank is to be unshakable he must score high in all these factors."  

Finally, Chris and Brian had broader associations than the other members with other organizations, both on the Air Force Base and in Anchorage. They also had more social contact with the leaders of these organizations. This fact also contributed to the leaders' high rank. Within the Elmendorf Conference it appeared that the higher a man's social rank, the more frequently he interacted with persons outside his own group.

10Ibid., p. 185.
The Conference had developed on a small scale the same sort of chain of command that we find on a larger scale in other military or business organizations. The chain of command was not as regular as it might be in these large organizations, but even in them the actual channels of interaction were not as regular as the official channels shown on the organizations' charts. Within the Conference this chain of command was specifically structured to establish effective communications for achieving group purposes through stringent norms. But the Elmendorf Conference owed its real existence to the dynamic interrelationships between its norms, activities, sentiments and interactions.

MUTUAL DEPENDENCE OF INTERACTION AND ACTIVITY

The position of the leaders of the Elmendorf Conference in the chains of interaction within the group and outside the confines of the group enabled the leaders to control and supervise the behavior of the Conference. Because interaction flowed toward them, they were better informed concerning particular problems or wishes of individual members than were any of the followers and, therefore, better able to decide on appropriate actions the group should take. Also, since they were in closer contact with other leaders and groups outside the Conference, they were better informed than their followers about conditions both on the Air Base and in the City of Anchorage.

In their position at the focus of the chains of interaction, the leaders were better able to relay to the group the decisions that had been reached. In this manner the leaders exercised their control in external and internal affairs. They decided what the Conference was to
do and from this focal point they attempted to maintain the established social ranking of the followers. The high social rank of Chris and Brian presumed that their decisions would be accepted, but their decisions still must conform to the norms and meet the desires of the Conference.

The decisions of the leaders were carried out only so long as these decisions were accepted by the group. A decision must result in satisfaction to the group, or the next decision might not be followed. Within the Elmendorf Conference the high social rank of the leaders helped necessitate that their decisions were followed. But decisions, if successful with the followers, seemed to strengthen the leaders' rank.

REACTION OF THE INTERNAL SYSTEM ON THE ENVIRONMENT

The Elmendorf Conference did have an effect on its environment. The effect in particular was evident in the Shantytown section of Anchorage where for the most part the group carried on its operations. Many families and individuals living in this area were assisted by the Conference. They, in turn, told others and by means of word-of-mouth advertising many persons in need availed themselves of the services of the group. Generally the Conference purchased its emergency food orders in two grocery stores in Shantytown. Members of visiting teams periodically patronized a small cafe and adjacent to it a tavern, both of which were frequented by the neighborhood inhabitants.

The Conference to a lesser degree had an effect on its environment both at Elmendorf Air Force Base and in the City of Anchorage.
All the members patronized the Base Exchange, the Civilian Club, the Main Base chapel and the Base movies. Some members patronized the Officers' Club and the Airman's Club. Although this group was unostentatious in its charitable activities, nevertheless, people living on the Base, both civilian and military, were aware of the group's activities to some extent. The norms of Christianity to a certain degree were effected in persons who gave clothing or money to assist the group in its work.

This applied also to certain public and private organizations as well as individuals in Anchorage, who engaged in similar charitable endeavors. Observation showed that these organizations and individuals cooperated as much as was possible in assisting the Conference in its work of helping the less fortunate. A "gentleman's agreement" appeared to have been struck between the Conference and these organizations and individuals. This was primarily due to groundwork in public relations laid by Brian and Chris. Because of the similarity in purpose the Conference also had fully cooperated with these organizations and on no occasion was there evident a conflict of norms.

LEADERSHIP IN THE ELMENDORF CONFERENCE

A study of leadership involves a consideration of many complex variables. It is exceedingly difficult to deal simultaneously with all or even some of the variables that operate in an interaction situation involving leadership. This analysis has attempted to depict leadership in the Elmendorf Conference. It has primarily been concerned with the Conference members and their various positions within the group.
Homans' conceptual scheme of the elements of behavior revealed that leadership was well developed in the Elmendorf Conference. This analysis has shown that Chris, the leader, was not an isolated individual, but was involved with the other group members in a structure of personal interactions, activities, sentiments and norms. This analysis further reveals that leadership in the Conference resided not merely in Chris but also in Brian and, to a lesser extent, in Aku. George's role as a leader of the follower subgroup was based chiefly on his spirit of competitiveness. He was not accepted as a leader of the whole group because he lacked the essential qualities of leadership. Also, this analysis shows that the performance and effectiveness of the leaders conditioned to a high degree the performance and interactions of the other members of the Conference.

Chris, Brian and Aku, the leaders of the Conference, were the members who came closest to realizing the norms the group valued most. Their realization of these norms gave them their high rank, and their high rank consequently attracted others to them, both Conference members and those outside the group. Chris, because he was the leader of the Conference, was the man other men approached. The scheme of interaction was centered on him. Simultaneously, his high rank carried with it the implied right and duty to assume control of the Conference, and the exercise of control itself helped maintain the leader's prestige. Chris' high rank also helped him, as has been shown, to excel in many group activities. The opinion of Chris was the most important single factor in determining the other members' standing in the group. The Conference as a whole expected him to be the most dependable man and
it was partly because of this "great expectation" that he was. He gave most in time and energy. Chris, with the advice of Brian and Aku, made the decisions. He started the ball rolling and the other members expected this because of his high rank. As has been shown, Chris' decisions often were channeled through Brian and Aku. This channeling proved advantageous to Aku and disadvantageous to Brian, as was explained. Nevertheless, Chris' channeling of communication, even if artificial, increased his own prestige.

Chris controlled the group from his position at the apex of the chain of command or interaction. He was better informed than the other members and he had more channels for issuing orders. From his apex of interaction and coupled with his embodiment of the group norms Chris, more than any other member, tended to thwart any disruptive influences that might create disharmony in the Conference.

In conclusion, all the elements of behavior in Homans' conceptual scheme come into leadership. All affect one another, each is a resultant of the others, the operation of all conditions, the working of all. The resultants of complexes of interacting forces determine leadership. Dynamic interrelationships in social behavior have established the position of the leader in the Elmendorf Conference.
SUMMARY

Some confusion may result to the reader in Homans' conceptual scheme explaining the interdependence of the elements of human behavior. Many social scientists believe that a scientific attitude rests upon one, and only one, fundamental article of faith—faith in the universality of cause and effect. Social research is an orderly, logical method of studying, analyzing and interpreting group life "in order to extend, correct, or verify knowledge, whether that knowledge aids in the construction of a theory, or in the practice of an art." 11

Homans as a social scientist firmly believes in cause and effect. In his conceptual scheme Homans does not start out to prove, but rather proceeds to learn causal relationships. However, the study of small groups is exceedingly complex. The simplest associations of men involve so many actions, relationships, emotions, motives, ideas and beliefs, and there is so much interpenetration and interdependence, that it is impossible to take account of them all. Underlying the whole of Homans' theory is his sustained practice of systematically analyzing small groups in terms of specific variables and their mutual relations, rather than presenting an assortment of proven disconnected facts.

Interdependence not only characterizes the relationship of variables within a group, but also the relations of that group to its social environment. Homans studies not all the factors in a group one by one,

but the relation of each to the other. The relation is such that the parts make a whole, the elements make an organism. By recognizing this fact Homans has escaped the tendency to consider small groups as though they were composed of independent parts and isolated from their environment.

Application of Homans' theory to the Elmendorf Conference revealed that the elements which he isolates (activity, interaction, sentiment, and norms) are useful concepts for the analysis of behavior in the small group. It was through mutual dependence of these elements that the underlying relationships, or analytical hypotheses, could be formulated.

This analysis of the Elmendorf Conference has not pretended to tell the whole story of the group. Many additional hypotheses are necessary for a comprehensive analysis of the Conference. Nevertheless, these hypotheses are statements of uniformities underlying the superficial differences in behavior found in this group based on a leadership research design. The Elmendorf Conference differed in the degree to which it possessed elements present in Homans' analysis of his five groups. The big difference was in the value of the elements entering into the hypotheses.

Within the Conference the values of the elements of behavior were initially determined by the "given" factors in the circumstances in which the group was placed. These factors were: the Conference's unusual social and physical environment; the small size of the group, consisting of only six members; its composition, which included the formal and informal organization as well as the religion and sex of the group; and finally, the past history of the group, which determined its
traditional norms.

In the Conference the values of the variables entering the hypotheses were initially determined by factors given by the circumstances in which the group was placed. The Elmendorf Conference did not adhere entirely to the relationships between the members established by the "given" factors, as Homans discovered in the more stable groups which he analyzed. On the basis of these relationships within the Elmendorf Conference new factors emerged and reacted so as to change the "given" factors. As an example, the Conference had to adapt to the military life at the Air Force Base as well as adapt to the customs of Alaska and Shantytown. Furthermore, the Conference functioned within an area where public and private welfare agencies performed similar tasks. The Conference's propensity to operate under changing conditions far greater than similar conferences in the Society of St. Vincent de Paul made the value of the factors entering into the hypotheses unique for a group such as this.

The positions of the various members within the Conference were determined by the mutual dependence of Homans' elements of behavior. However, the rigorous code of behavior of the Conference set limits on the behavior of its members not found in any of the five groups which Homans analyzed. Leadership emerged in the Elmendorf Conference by the processes described in the analytical hypotheses. It developed in the Conference not only in the frequency of the leader's origination of interaction but especially in his embodiment of all the group norms.
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