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A VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION IN A FORMAL BUREAUCRACY;
THE CASE OF THE COUNTY COUNCIL ON AGING IN KANSAS

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The revisions to the Older Americans Act of 1965 made by Congress in 1973 called for a new approach to establish and develop community aging services. The original act in 1965 had called for creation of special purpose state offices (units) on aging to administer state and federal funds for aging services. The 1973 amendments to the act called for sub-state or area agencies on aging (AAAs) to develop comprehensive coordinated plans by means of which Older Americans Act et al funds for aging would be dispersed.

In some states, AAA planning and service areas (PSAs) were small in size. In rural areas, however, they covered several counties. Title III regulations gave criteria for establishing PSAs including population density and distribution of elderly, need for services (as indicated by low income and minority elderly distributions) and state administrative considerations. In some states the entire state was covered by PSAs while in other states only the more populous areas were served.

In Kansas, an aging system covering the entire state was established primarily with federal and limited local funds. Beginning in 1973, ten PSAs were established which ranged in size from two to twenty-eight counties. In 1978, yielding to local political pressures, a one county PSA was established near Kansas

City (Johnson County) and an eleventh area agency on aging was created.

Among a number of mandates to be carried out by area agencies was that of citizen participation in planning processes. An advisory council (or councils) was to be established by means of which older participants in services and others could "advise the area agency on all matters relating to development and administration of the area plan and operations conducted thereunder (Federal Register, November 15, 1977)."

Except for this section and one other calling for a state advisory council, the federal regulations were vague regarding citizen participation in the newly developing aging system. Kansas State policy finally required that AAA advisory councils exercise policy power regarding grant funds approval. Neither federal nor state policies dealt specifically with sub-area or county councils.

Since the county is the significant sub-state political unit in rural areas, AAAs in Kansas, with encouragement from the state unit on aging, formed county-level citizen's councils. Because of the lack of specificity regarding the advisory function, a variety of ideas arose among AAAs and in local citizens' minds as to the roles of county councils and a variety of organizational structures developed. Not only were advisory functions met but advocacy for and with older people was undertaken, fund raising was addressed and in some cases, actual service delivery was carried on.

THE PROBLEM

This study examines the development of county councils on aging in Kansas. Its purpose is to describe variations in organization and style that occur in voluntary associations. These differences occur where perceptions vary as to the functions of the organization and where socio-political environments also vary. The study examines organizational development by seeking to answer a number of questions including:

What issues or purposes were the basis for forming a council on aging? Who were the most active persons or groups that led the effort to organize a council? Was it the council's intention to directly operate aging programs? How did the public view the council?

What was the basis for council membership? Did the council incorporate? What style of meetings did it practice? How did it relate to various agencies and groups? With what subjects did it deal?

With what community factors (rural/urban, Pluralist/elitist, proportion of elderly population, etc.) did different types of council structures correlate? With which different functional types (advisory, policy-setting, administrative) of councils did the organizational structures and style correlate?

This researcher and most of the literature cited tends to approach the study of voluntary associations and of formal organizations using a

structural/functional theory of human behavior. As such, it is assumed that human beings organize into groups and participate in community processes in order to meet specific needs and that such organizations serve a function in the eyes of their participants. There is no assumption that the community is inevitably dichotomized between those with power (superordinates) and those without it (subordinates) and that all community processes express either the effort of the powerful to maintain the situation or the effort of the powerless to acquire power. The community power issue is an open one that should be examined in relation to county aging councils but, will only be touched on in the present study. It is the assumption of structural/functional theory that human behavior is purposive and tends toward the preserving of the basic order that is prominent in the social system. As such, changes sought in the system tend to be incremental and gradual rather than fundamental ones (Light/Keller, 18).

Concepts for the study draw upon voluntary association and formal organization literature. The former is appropriate because of the way county councils came to be formed. They exist in relation to federally created bureaucracy but exercise local authority rather than unitary authority from the formal bureaucracy. Thus, voluntary principles apply to both the inter-organizational and intra-organizational analysis of county councils.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The literature review which follows shapes the conceptual framework of the study. The literature dealing with voluntary associations (hereafter referred to as VAs), in society includes; Olson, who describes

the mediating role of VAs between the individual and the larger society, and Rose, who notes the function of VAs in dealing with specific societal problems. The literature describes VAs in community processes. We will note the pluralist/elitist controversy over community decision-making processes. Clark, in examining this controversy concludes that different power structure arrangements exist in different communities. Freeman/Showel find that the special expertise VAs may develop contributes to their power. Fuller and Myers long ago noted that a social problem is not recognized until organized constituencies trumpet its cause (and help define its solutions). Greer/Orleans finding that variations in the parapolitical structures of VAs are related to variations in the community structure will be the basis for one general hypothesis in this study.

Sociological literature has also looked at both intra-organizational and inter-organizational aspects of groups. In the former areas, two articles are of significance in our study of county councils. Eisenstadt found that formal goals influence the internal structures of an organization. It was Simon's insight that the social situation shapes the organizational structure and function. From inter-organizational studies comes a typology of coordination and a description of what is called the "gatekeeper" role by Katz and Lazarsfeld. Warren also has described the types of community decision organizations. Turk has discussed linkage processes between organizations.

Voluntary associations play a significant role in the social organization and the political processes of our society. However, the nature of the roles voluntary associations play varies. Let us consider what has been learned about voluntary associations.

Durkheim spoke of secondary groups as serving a condition essential to the emancipation of the individual:

"Where the State is the only environment in which men live communal lives, they inevitably lose contact, become detached, and thus society disintegrates. A nation can be maintained only if, between the State and the individual, there is intercalated a whole series of secondary groups near enough to the individuals to attract them strongly in their sphere of action and drag them, in this way, into the general torrent of social life." (Olson, 1968:317-318).

More contemporary studies have also looked at the participative function of voluntary associations in pluralistic society. Olson (1968) describes a pluralistic society as follows: "A pluralistic society would contain a vast proliferation of groups, associations, and other organizations located between individuals and the national government (representing the total society). These intermediate organizations possess their own bases of power, and hence, are relatively independent of the government. . . (They) play a mediating role between individuals and the societal government" (Olson, 1968:318). He goes on to describe the mediating role of VAs as providing people with access to government elites short of mass demonstrations and of protecting people from the manipulation of elites via the mass media. Such intermediate bodies give elites a way of maintaining order and also give a point of contact for knowing opinions other than mere mass opinion polling.

In an earlier theoretical article, Arnold Rose (in Glasser/Sills, 1966:57-58) described three functions of VAs. First, Rose saw power distributed among citizen groups at the local level which allows the individual to seek and acquire as much power as his free time and ability permit. Second, through their groups, citizens come to understand governmental processes and develop an awareness of the issues at hand. They are aware of what legislation may arise that will effect them and

what changes are needed. Third, the development of VAs to deal with specific societal problems cause powerful responses. Focusing on a single or narrow range of problems, developing a special interest "constituency" and seeking to directly influence government action often gets results.

County councils on aging in carrying on their advocate/advisory roles presumably have developed a specific awareness of local aging needs and by focusing attention upon them should have helped to define aging service issues. Whether the councils use a formal process of needs assessment--service inventory--goal setting or a less formal process of responding to various information and data in defining aging problems and needs, they represent, by their united voice and focus on a specific range of problems, a special interest constituency to local, state, and federal government agencies and thus influence government services. In doing so, county councils reflect the mediating role and functions described by Olson and Rose.

Finally, William Kornhauser, in his book, The Politics of Mass Society, (summarized in Olson, 1968:326-330) has restated the crucial function of VAs and has described what a modern mass society would be like without such mediating groups. "Mass society is a situation in which the aggregate of individuals are related to one another only by way of their relations to a common authority, especially the state" (Olson, 1968:326). "The chief characteristic of mass society is isolation or atomization. People are socially isolated from one another, and interact only as segmented and highly impersonal role actors" (Olson, 1968:326).

Glaringly absent in such a vision of society are the intermediary levels of social organization that have provided the necessary ties

between individuals and the larger structures of society. Whether looking at society from something of a field theory perspective (as Greer/Orleans do--see page ten), an interactionist perspective (as Rose does), or a functionalist perspective (as Kornhauser and Olson do), mediating organizations are essential to a meaningful social structure in society. Kornhauser has theorized that family units and friendship cliques would persist but would not serve as a bridge to the larger social structure presumably because they represent too small a unit to be politically effective. Labor unions, corporations and other macro-level structures would continue also, but would be too impersonal to help the individual relate his interests or values to the social structure. As a consequence, Kornhauser reasons, society would be dichotomized into a small ruling elite and a large atomized mass subject to manipulation by the elite via the media (Olson, 1968:327-328). There would be a basic instability with the system being prone to extreme changes, either revolution by the masses or the use of totalitarian measures to prevent reaction to the ruling elite.

In contrast to the stark picture of mass society described by Kornhauser, county councils on aging may serve as mediating organizations through which the large middle class in most communities can relate to the ruling power structure at several levels to press for specific aging services and benefits. The ability of such groups to both draw together and to represent local concerns should help to prevent the dichotomy described by Kornhauser.

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN THE COMMUNITY

Having noted the place of VAs in the larger society, we will briefly note their role in the community structure.

Clark finds that VAs play a significant role in community power structures. First, they provide an integrative means by which variant views can be gathered together and expressed. "Lines of cleavage can be articulated with the political system through various integrative structures, such as voluntary organizations or political parties, performing what Almond has termed the functions of interest articulation and interest aggregation" (in Bonjean, Clark and Lineberry, 1971:82). Second, they contribute toward a pluralistic power structure. Clark specifies this in one proposition among a list of propositions regarding community structures. "The greater the density of VAs in the community, the more pluralistic the power structure" (Bonjean, Clark and Lineberry, 1971:183). Third, such integrating structures (as VAs) can be intervening variables between basic community factors and the type of power structure (Bonjean, Clark and Lineberry, 1971:83). However, such "competing power elites" as Clark calls VAs must understand and operate within the "rules of the game" in order for the conflict to be functional in the community. Clark concludes that different types of power structure arrangements have and do exist in different communities. What is needed is the ability to relate demographic, economic, political, and cultural structural characteristics to the tendency toward more monolithic or more pluralistic community power structures (Clark, 1968:34).

This study accepts Clark's conclusion in assuming that some communities are more pluralistic and others more elitist in their

decisional processes. Indeed, it is the hope of this study to relate structural characteristics of voluntary associations to the types of community power structures.

Fuller and Myers (ASR, 1941:320-327) long ago described the process by which a "social problem" comes into existence and noted that there must be widespread general awareness and that special interest groups and coalitions must arise to help define both means and ends. The rapid development of and general public support for aging services in the mid-1970s would suggest a widespread awareness of the "problem". County councils in their activities should be identifying both means and ends to specific aspects of the aging problem. In Fuller and Myers' description, these actions then will lead to governmental reform or services to deal with the problem so defined.

Freeman/Showel (in Edwards/Booth, 1973:327-343) studied a representative sample of VAs and found that some groups influence only members on political issues and others influence members and the public. The latter tend to have a special area of expertise for which they seek exclusive recognition. One surprising finding in their study was that the most politically influential VAs in the community were often those which were not organized for chiefly political purposes (Edwards/Booth, 1973:343).

County councils on aging in light of the political area they represent (county-wide) and their specific focus of interest should experience exclusive recognition and may experience significant influence both within that area and beyond it due to the recognized problems with which they are concerned if not for their technical expertise.

Greez/Oreans studied the political, or as they call it, the "Farapolitical" role (because VAs are not part of the political structure

and so become politically involved only when they choose). They see VAs as means for mobilizing political opinions and actions and as a way for norms and interests to be translated into political behavior. In fact, they see such parapolitical structures as necessary for individual concerns to be politicized at all.

"The parapolitical structure of a society allows the translation of norms, commitments, and interests, into political behavior. For the individual citizen, political information, influence, and identification require such a subset of organizations in which he may participate. His participation, in turn, allows him to be represented at the crux of decision-making" (in Edwards/Booth, 1973:132).

Greer/Orleans' study found that variations in the VA parapolitical structures were related to variations in the social opportunities structure--neighborhood vs. municipality vs. community-as-a-whole.

In the present study, a variation on the general hypothesis advanced by Greer/Orleans is taken, viz. that the more pluralistic the community political structure, the more formal the style of the county council will be. One reason for this is that in a pluralistic community, a VA will need to be well organized to present its concerns among other concerns being politically espoused. In addition, the presence of other highly formalized organizations will be a model in creating a new one. In a more elitist community on the other hand, perhaps organizational efficiency is less important than having the right ties or corrections regardless of organization.

In another community study of VAs, Rossi found that they have taken over many of the functions of social change and of marshalling community support for (or against?) such changes that are formally the

domain of local government and political parties (Glasser/Sills, 1966: 67-68). Rossi concluded that the organizational structure of the American community consists of formal local government supplemented by a number of organizations concerned with the community but with no official standing. He suggests that this may be a means for the local elites of wealth, intellect or status to maintain control of the community when an electoral system does not allow direct control (Glasser/Sills, 1966:68). Rossi's argument would be plausible though not proven should county council leaders prove to be present or past community leaders.

In summary, a number of concepts from the literature dealing with VAs are significant to our study of county councils on aging. Among these is Rose's (in Glasser/Sills, 1966) description of the societal functions of VAs, especially the recognition that VAs develop special interest "constituencies" which focus on a narrow range of problems (i.e., community aging services) and seek to directly influence government action. In community studies of VAs, Clark's conclusion (in Bonjean, Clark and Lineberry, 1971) that different types of power arrangements exist in different communities is followed, and with Clark this study maintains that a variety of community characteristics need to be related to the community decision processes. Also of significance is Freeman/Showel's finding (in Edwards/Booth, 1973) that special issue expertise can lead to political influence if it is given exclusive recognition in the community. County councils represent a special expertise or interest and may exercise significant influence. Finally, Greer/Orleans hypothesis regarding the influence of social opportunity structures upon parapolitical structures of VAs has led to a similar hypothesis in this study. It is

that the more pluralistic the community political structure, the more formal the style of the county council will be.

INTRA-ORGANIZATIONAL STUDIES

In addition to external factors that effect the structure of VAs, there are internal areas that also do so. Eisenstadt (in Etzioni, 1961:308) discussed the impact of formal goals of bureaucratic organizations. He concluded that they greatly effect the internal structures established by the organizations as well as its relations with other groups and with the social system. VAs are becoming bureaucratic the minute they formally organize. However, because the federal and state guidelines gave no specific direction regarding sub-area organizations, the purposes or goals held by county councils as they formed varied from place to place. The present study then hypothesizes that councils perceiving their role to be the direct administration of services will organize more formally than councils perceiving their role as advisory and/or policy-setting.

Rose (in Edwards/Booth, 1973:159-164) found that groups facing competition or conflict organize more formally and are more active than those not facing competition or conflict. Likewise, it would seem reasonable that county councils facing conflict or opposition would act more formally than those not facing conflict or opposition.

Simon, the organizational specialist (cited by Pfiffner and Sherwood in Glasser/Sills, 1966:146) set forth the idea that is one of the underlying assumptions of our whole study, viz. that the organizational structure and function of a group (if not dictated from a high judiciary) arises from the characteristic problems faced and choices made by a group. This certainly is in harmony with the concepts leading

to the hypothesis of Greer/Crleans and that adapted from Eisenstadt. Simon's statement stresses the collective action of the group and this is true even in situations with strong individual leadership.

INTER-ORGANIZATIONAL STUDIES

The formation and development of county councils on aging has been for the purpose of developing aging services in local communities. A highly important part of their task has been that of relating to the community power structure and specifically coordinating and integrating with other aging organizations and social service agencies in the community. We will review these findings next.

Litwak/Hylton (in Etzioni, 1961) note the dearth of studies which use organizations as the unit of analysis and study inter-organizational relations rather than intra-organizational variables. Litwak/Hylton studied the coordinating agency, i.e., a formal organization which orders behavior between two or more other formal organizations which are independent yet share some common goal that requires cooperation. Forms of coordination include communicating pertinent information, adjudicating areas of dispute, providing standards of behavior, and promoting areas of common interest (Litwak/Hylton in Etzioni, 1961:342). Litwak/Hylton hypothesized that coordination was dependent on partial interdependence by the organizations, an awareness of that interdependence, and some standard unit of gauging the coordination. They found the hypothesis supported in a study of Community Chests and Social Service Exchanges. They concluded that one factor in inter-organizational coordination is the need to maintain areas of both conflict and coordination between the same organizations (Litwak/Hylton in Etzioni, 1961:356).

This supports Clark's statement (above) re: the importance of competing organizations understanding and following the "rules of the game" if a pluralistic power structure is to occur. County councils should be most active in promoting areas of common interest and in communicating information, especially via the "gatekeeper" role which we shall note shortly.

An interesting comparison of inter-organizational leaders (defined as persons holding positions of high leadership in four or more organizations at once) and organization leaders (persons holding one high position of leadership) was made in a study of community power by Perrucci/Pillisuk (1970). Both sets of leaders were asked to identify leaders in an actual issue, potential leaders in two hypothetical issues, and those with a general reputation for leadership. In all except one hypothetical issue, inter-organizational leaders were named most frequently suggesting that an inter-organizational resource network operates to determine action on community issues and that persons bearing leadership across several organizations are in key positions of influence depending upon the issue in question. The mixture of names from issue to issue raises questions as to a single inter-organizational power elite, however. This finding is generally supported by Killacky's study (Kansas State University, 1973) of the overlap between economic and community power elites in Manhattan, Kansas.

Both of these studies point to the importance of what has been described as the "gatekeeper" role (Katz and Lazarfeld, 1955:119) between groups or organizations. It is related to the flow of communication between groups which was noted by Litwak/Hyiton above as one of the forms of coordination. Lewin (in Katz and Lazarfeld, 1955) perceived the gatekeeper as the person linking the group to other groups or to

the outside world in some specific way. The gatekeeper controlled the flow of information on a given matter to the group and as such was an originator of ideas. Katz and Lazarfeld (1955:123) cite two studies in which leaders were usually gatekeepers but it is not clear which was cause and which was effect or whether that is variable with each situation. In either event, the gatekeeping role has a strong influence upon the decision-making processes of the organization and is related to group leadership. County councils have need for multiple gatekeeping tasks as councils become the linkage between different local organizations and the county and/or AAAs as well as the whole aging network.

In a major theoretical article about inter-organizational relations published the same year as that of Ferrucci/Pillisuk, Warren (in Cox et al, 1970) describes Community Decision Organizations (hereafter referred to as CDOs) and the social organizational patterns through which they might function. Using a 'field structure' perspective, Warren applied the concept of emergence to the interaction of component organizations in a CDO suggesting that the whole is greater than the sum of the parts (Cox, et al, 1970:40). As environments become more complex, Warren theorized that CDOs arise within different areas or segments of the community to try and concert decisions and activities that affect several organizations at once. Warren contends that communities do not have one organizational structure but many formal structures within and between which decisions must be made.

Warren builds upon the earlier work of Burton Clark (1965) to describe four types of CDO patterns: unitary, federative, coalitional and social choice. Unitary CDOs typically occur as units within a larger organizational setting (e.g., city health department). They

have certain tasks to perform and the overall structure calls for a division of labor but certain norms and goals as well as a single decision-making structure is shared (Cox et al, 1970:142).

In federative CDOs (e.g., councils of churches or of social agencies) each organization or agency has its own goals but there is some formal organization and/or staff for pursuing common goals. Decision-making is within the federative structure but subject to ratification by individual bodies. Authority is basically with individual units but some commitment to the CDO is expected (Cox et al, 1970:143).

Coalitional CDOs by contrast cooperate only for specified ends (e.g., promoting industry in a community). Each unit has its own goals and cooperates on an ad hoc basis when it is beneficial to do so. There is no formal organization or staff for the CDO. Authority is clearly at the individual organization level. The only commitment is to interaction between leaders of the units (Cox et al, 1970:144).

County councils have at times had to reach community decisions with or without formal authority and to act upon the choices made. It would seem that inter-organizational collaboration might start at the social choice CDO level and move quickly toward a coalitional one. The establishment of the council as an ongoing group and formal appointment of members would constitute it as a coalitional body. The movement toward a federative level of CDO would begin with the passage of by-laws or certainly with incorporation and then would be enhanced by certain specific tasks, either the direct administering of social services or the direct dispersing of mill levy funds to groups for social services. Both structure and decision-making in these latter cases would be more extensive and significant than in the coalitional CDO setting.

Finally, in a major research article, Herman Turk deduced a theory of inter-organizational activation from a social system concept and tested it using government data from 130 urban communities. Needs are seen as demands. Supply decisions are reached by persons or organizations in a negotiated process which Turk labelled associationalism and social choice (Turk, 1973:2). This type of associationalism/social choice linkage is problem specific, temporary, voluntary and lateral among social units. Clearly, Turk's model is pluralistic rather than hierarchic in conceptualization. There are multiple decision-making linkage units in a pluralistic community. "Each area of activity tends to have its own clustering of interest organizations among which it may have resources, power and visibility" (Turk, 1973:13). Power may be temporarily granted to one unit or another due to interest or expertise, but it may be withdrawn also (Turk, 1973:8). This type of cooperative pattern parallels Warren's CDOs.

Certain assumptions stand out in Turk's theory which are largely shared by the several studies of inter-organizational relations. These include:

- 1) patterns of individual behavior stem from organizations and that organizations are the primary determinant of regularities and uniformities in human potential for such patterns (Turk, 1973:9).
- 2) organizations are the actors which comprise any large and complex structure.
- 3) populations or sub-populations have an effect through various organizations which they join and serve.

Thus, Turk treats the organization as the primary unit of analysis in studying decision-making in the urban community.

Turk theorizes that linkage develops in the course of interaction processes between organizations. "A major process of establishing linkage in the community is that of forming coalitions on the basis of compromise, sanction and bargain through which support for various interests and values may be exchanged or combined" (Turk, 1973:16). These linkages, in turn, are used for influence in bargaining, adjudication, conflict resolution and participation in alliances (Turk, 1973:12). In a decentralized community, power can only be reliably exercised through such coalitions and alliances for it is otherwise subject to challenge. Such inter-organizational coalitions determine the nature of needs for whose satisfaction community resources will be used (Turk, 1973:14).

Three major institutions make up the community decisional structure: municipal government; political parties, and voluntary associations. While government provides much of the human and economic resources for action, political parties can provide a forum where issues can be identified and contested. VAs which pursue diffuse goals and support uncontested values can provide solidary linkage in decisional processes. Such groups come to reflect common standards because of interlocking memberships and crosscutting lines of conflict and the presence of representatives of the community among their memberships (Turk, 1973:16).

The total amount of linkage in the community is likely to determine the extent to which demand in any given area of action is met by supply. The amount of linkage may also effect supply in terms of the inter-organizational capacity that linkage-production signifies is possible, for whenever something is plentiful, it is more likely to be

supplied, whatever the level of demand, than where it is scarce (Turk, 1973:18).

Turk's insight into inter-organizational relations would seem to apply to county councils on aging in urban settings or in a county where the aging services structure and the involvement of local aging groups has become quite complex. The concept of linkage as the key to inter-group cooperation relates to the coordinational role of the council.

In summary, a number of concepts from formal organization literature contribute to this study of county councils. Undergirding and supporting the study as a whole is Simon's basic description that the problems faced and choices made by a group determines the structure and function of the group. Eisenstadt's statement (in Etzioni, 1961) that formal goals affect organization structure is the basis for the hypothesis that councils directly administering services will organize more formally than those serving as advisory or policy-setting groups. Litwak/Hylton (in Etzioni, 1961) define the forms which coordination between groups takes. County councils are coordinating bodies and may especially practice the "gatekeeping" of new information between levels of the aging network. Warren's description (in Cox, 1970) of four types of Community Decision Organizations and of the ways in which inter-organizational decisions are made in each of them has helped to define the coordination variable. Finally, Turk's description of inter-group linkage in the community describes certain linkage activities that county councils carry on.

THE PROBLEM AND OBJECTIVES

In this study, we will describe the major influences that affected the way councils on aging organized.

Greer/Orleans (in Edwards/Booth, 1973) found that variations in the social opportunity structure were related to variations in the para-political structure of VAs. Following that concept, we derive the general hypothesis:

The more pluralistic the community structure is, the more formal the organization and style of the county council will be.

Eisenstadt maintained (in Etzioni, 1961) that the formal goals of bureaucratic organizations effect the internal structure of the organizations. From this insight, we have developed the general hypothesis that councils directly administering services will organize more formally than those serving as advisory or policy-setting groups.

Having stated these general hypotheses, it should be noted, however, that the study is basically a descriptive one. Variables have not been operationally defined specifically to test these hypotheses nor will extensive statistical analysis be drawn from the case studies presented. Thus, the hypotheses are being stated only to see how they generally fit the data to be gathered. If they seem to be supported by the limited number of case studies included in the study, a later statewide survey of councils on aging may formally test these hypotheses.

For the present study, we are seeking to learn which community variables are related to which definitions of function (role) and how perceived function is related to organizational structure and style. In addition, we would like to learn which variables and patterns of structure appear to lead to the strongest and most stable councils.

Overall, we will be attempting to fulfill the following objectives;

- 1) to describe the historical process of development of each county council;

2) to determine what functions were seen as most important to those forming county councils;

3) to examine what organizational structure and style was developed in each county;

4) to study how selected community factors correlated with perceived county council functions;

5) to examine how organizational structure and style are correlated with functions (roles) of councils.

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION

Data for this study were gathered through focused interviews (Merton and Crandall, 1946) or what Gorden (1975:63) describes as "moderately scheduled" interviews. Two persons in each of two counties from each of the ten Planning and Service Areas which cover Kansas were recommended by Area Agency on Aging (AAA) staffs for interviewing. (The concern was to learn what original members of county councils on aging had understood their purposes to be, how they had organized, and what the council had accomplished.) In reviewing council development, respondents' impressions were seen as more important than formal actions taken (Meetings, minutes, by-laws, etc.), so interviews rather than content analysis of extant materials were employed as the primary method. This followed the sociological axiom of W.I. Thomas that if people "define situations as real they are real in their consequences (1928:572)." This would seem particularly true in an organizational setting which lacks extensive precedent or clear organizational guidelines.

Initially, AAA directors were contacted, the study was described, and they were asked to designate two persons in each of two counties who might be interviewed. A letter describing the study and explaining how they were chosen was sent to each respondent. Each respondent was called and an interview scheduled. There were no refusals. A follow-up letter confirming the interview data and further describing the interview was sent to respondents.

Sample interviews were conducted in two counties and the interview guide was revised. A total of forty interviews were then conducted all across the state in respondents' homes or at places convenient to them. Tapes from four interviews were stolen from the interviewer's car in one city resulting in exclusion of one county and re-interviewing in order to include another. One other county was excluded because both interviews were almost completely unproductive. Several respondents called to reschedule interview times and all were ready at the scheduled hours.

All interviews were tape recorded except on two occasions when the recorder would not operate. On one of these occasions the respondent commented that he preferred "not to talk into one of those things anyway." Otherwise, all respondents talked freely without regard to the recorder. Two respondents needed to be reassured that the interviewer was with Kansas State University and not with the state unit on aging.

In addition to the focused interview, all respondents filled out a one page information sheet asking for background information about themselves, their community experiences and their impression of the political activities in their county. These were used in the analysis.

Following transcription of the usable interviews to manuscript, eighteen modified case studies were developed from thirty-six interviews. These were sent to the two respondents in each county for their correction and/or comment. The county case studies were then analyzed by comparison, following the major concepts and objectives of the study. Findings and conclusions were based upon the analysis and the total impressions of the researcher.

A factor of significance is the background of the researcher. He was from 1973 to 1977 the executive director of one of the Kansas AAAs. In that capacity he helped develop or expand the activity of county councils in eighteen counties. These counties ranged from rural to urban and from having almost no aging programs or services to one county with a ten year history of county-wide aging activity.

In addition, the researcher had previously worked as an activities director with both community and institutionalized senior groups in Los Angeles County, California and had previous research leading to a dissertation study of the life situations of nursing home residents. All of this influenced his awareness and perception of the situation and thus affected the research work.

THE SAMPLE

Selection of the particular counties within each AAA service area and of the respondents within each county was done by AAA staff. They were asked to select one of the counties that had had a council the longest and one that had formed a council recently. There were three criteria given for selecting the respondents. They should have been members of the original group that formed the county council, be reasonably knowledgeable about the council and its activities, and at least one of the two persons should be a member at the time of the interview. The use of all ten AAA areas for sampling purposes assured some variation in counties and yielded a mixture of rural and urban settings. The use of a "stage of development" factor yielded some counties that were highly organized and some that were just getting started.

THE INTERVIEW GUIDE

The interviewer using case studies for comparative analysis must walk a narrow line in the interviewing process between open, unstructured inquiry, on the one hand, which neither predetermines nor precludes the response of his subjects and sufficient uniformity of inquiry on the other hand, to be sure that comparable responses are received. This interviewer generally tried to follow the concepts of Merton and Crandall's focused interview (1946), but found himself frequently directing the interview with what Merton termed "Mutational" questions (1946:553). However, since the flow of feelings was less the intent of the interview than the impressions of fact which respondents held, this was felt to be acceptable.

Respondents were asked to describe the beginnings of a council in their county and specifically the first meetings that were held where the idea of a county council was discussed. This usually lengthy response easily led to probes about the purpose or purposes people had in mind in organizing the council. This was checked in terms of what action people expected from the council and what picture the public was given of the council. This usually led to probes as to what the attitudes of the public, aging groups, and specifically the county commissioners were toward the council. Cueing from earlier comments, probes were made about the general organization of the council itself and who had helped in the process. Question was raised also as to the membership and communication patterns in the council. Specific questions about the relation of the council with aging groups, AAA, county commissioners and non-aging groups were raised. Inquiry was made about the organizational style of the council. The issue of the credibility of the

initial council in the respondent's and the public eyes was raised. This often brought forth a discussion of the leadership background of council leaders. Inquiry was made as to the training council leaders received. Frequently using cues from earlier statements, inquiry was made as to the roles the council had played, their power in appointing AAA board members, seeking public funds, reviewing proposals for federal grants through the Older Americans Act, reports or requests the council made or received and specifically, what types of power they saw as most typical of the council.

The sequence of inquiry in the interview guide was deliberately set to move back and forth between impressions and factual recall. It began with a lengthy description of beginnings by the respondent and then moved through their impressions of others' views of the council to factual recall about the council style of meeting to the respondent's impressions of council leadership and finally, to the respondent's factual recall of council actions that indicate roles played and their judgement of which roles were most important. A copy of the interview guide appears in the appendix.

The interviews seldom occurred in the exact order of the guide, however, for often some areas of inquiry were covered in the opening description of the respondent or some aspects were brought out by the respondent in relation to some point other than those in sequence within the schedule. Normally, a quick check-back preceded the final section to be sure major aspects had not been overlooked. The guide, however, was used as only a general outline to the interview. A concern in several interviews was that of completing the areas of inquiry within a reasonable length of time for the interview. There were two or three interviews that

were completed in about ninety minutes. Most ranged from two to three hours. The longest lasted four and one half hours with numerous breaks while a mother tended her young children.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

In order to attain consistency, the following concepts were used as nearly as nearly as possible in the interviews and, in the case study development as they were defined:

County Council on Aging was the recognized citizens' body in each county studied that advises the AAA et al regarding aging services needed.

Area Agency on Aging (AAA) was the policy body in each geographic region which receives Older Americans Act funds to administer in developing public services for the aging in that area.

Coordination was seen as the association over time of different types of groups in the county with the county council. Types of coordination were defined by the patterns of responses received for different groups in relation to the county councils. These included active and supportive, cordial but passive, and uninvolved.

Training of county council members was seen as either formal or informal guidance (verbal or written) specifically given to persons who are members of the council.

Grant proposals were requests submitted to the county council by groups in the county for either council administered funds or for recommendation on to the AAA for federal grant funds with which to provide aging services.

AAA Annual Plan was the comprehensive document submitted annually by the AAA to the state unit on aging as a rationale for receiving federal aging funds for administration and services in the PSA.

A pluralist county political system was defined as being capable of voting Democrat in re-electing a highly popular Democratic governor (1970) and voting Republican in re-electing an equally popular Republican U.S. Senator (1972). While all counties in the sample except one voted Democrat in re-electing the Democratic governor a second time, there were seven counties that failed to join the groundswell in 1970 and voted Republican in the Democrat victory. Being unable to carry a Democrat victory in a very popular contest raises question as to the political pluralism of these counties, hence, they are considered non-pluralistic.

Formalization includes the concepts of formal structure and of group pattern. Formal structure is seen in the criteria for membership, creation of by-laws, incorporation and funds handled, the existence and extent of officers and committees on the council. Group pattern gives consideration to frequency of meetings, manner of minutes-handling (i.e., distributed versus read, etc.), use of written agenda, conduct of meetings and the manner of dealing with sticky or emotional issues. Taken together, these indicators reflect the degree of formalization in the total organizational style of the council.

METHODS OF ANALYSIS

Because of the small size of the survey, case studies were developed and only a limited statistical analysis was made. As indicated in Chapter I, two general hypotheses were checked in the overall analysis for general fit, but were not formally tested with the data received. A comparative analysis was made between all case studies on main points of each of the major variables. Based upon

this, dichotomies were created and a number of 2 X 2 tables were constructed showing the clustering of counties and the patterns or combinations of such clusters. This type of descriptive cluster analysis allowed general conclusions to be reached relative to the objectives that are set forth in the problem statement.

CHAPTER III

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter a descriptive overview of the eighteen cases will be given. The chapter explores the way in which the county councils began. A brief description of the counties will be given including rural/urban balance of the sample, political pluralism, proportion of older people in each county, and the degree of participation of respondents in their respective councils. The range of aging services and number of senior citizens groups present before council formation will be reviewed. The initial persons or groups pushing for council formation will be identified as will the initial purposes of the councils as reported by respondents. The size of the councils and the ways membership on them was determined will be discussed. The types of coordination which councils experienced with the county commissioners, AAA, aging groups, and non-aging groups will be presented. The kind of leadership the council experienced will be discussed and, related to that, the type of recognition the council received. Finally, the different measures which make up two scales that were created from the data will be described. The Index of Formalization measures the degree to which the councils formally developed. The Index of Functions measures the types of tasks or activities in which the councils engaged. These and the other variables will be used in carrying out the analysis presented in Chapter Three.

BEGINNINGS

Political Pluralism. In light of the studies by Clark (1968), Greer/Orleans (in Edwards/Booth, 1973), and Roesi (in Glaseer/Sills, 1966) of community power and decision-making, the counties represent an interesting variety in their extent of political pluralism. In this study, political pluralism was measured by the percent of voters in each county seen as "die hard" partisans. More specifically, the percent of Republican votes cast in a heavily victorious Democratic victory (Governor's race, 1970) and the percent of Democratic votes cast in a heavily victorious Republican victory (U.S. Senate race, 1972) were used as the measure of political pluralism. Kansas is traditionally known as a Republican state and these data bear that out. In the re-election of a popular Democratic governor in 1970, there were nonetheless seven counties in the eighteen county sample which still voted Republican (see Table 1). The Republican edge in these counties ranged from 49.9% (a Republican plurality of 819 votes) in Johnson County to 58.4% of the total votes cast in Marion County. This data suggests that under highly favorable conditions, Democrats could not carry seven counties in the sample. By contrast, there were no counties in the sample in which Democrats prevailed in the re-election of the popular Republican U.S. Senator in 1972 (see Table 1). Every county voted Republican for the Senate race of that year. Also by contrast, the gubernatorial race that same year was the greatest Democratic landslide in recent history, even more than in 1970. The Republicans were able to retain control in only one county although the Democratic victory in three other counties was by 5% or less.

TABLE 1

1970 Gubernatorial Elections

1972 U.S. Senate Election

K. Frizzell R. Docking

J.B. Pearson A.O. Tetzlaff

County	Total Vote		Republican		Democrat		Republican		Democrat		Republican Democrat Plurality	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%		
Atchison	6,403		2,803	43.8	3,565	55.7	762	D	2,216	34.8	2,872	R
Charitanga	1,718		980	57.0	729	42.4	251	R	1,396	79.8	1,034	R
Cowley	13,028		5,379	41.3	7,565	58.1	2,186	D	10,401	71.9	6,766	R
Douglas	17,445		6,605	37.9	10,502	60.2	3,897	D	17,179	97.5	9,208	R
Ellsworth	2,830		1,317	46.5	1,496	52.9	179	D	2,289	74.7	1,593	R
Ford	7,382		3,302	44.7	4,011	54.3	709	D	6,669	73.3	4,558	R
Franklin	7,252		3,564	49.1	3,635	50.1	71	D	6,057	73.7	4,320	R
Gove	1,564		797	51.0	749	47.9	48	R	1,232	74.0	889	R
Hodgeman	1,259		635	50.4	611	48.5	24	R	958	76.9	754	R
Jefferson	4,608		2,212	48.0	2,344	50.9	132	D	3,067	68.7	2,007	R
Johnson	68,103		31,015	45.7	33,196	48.7	819	R	77,077	97.6	58,433	R
Leavenworth	12,282		4,720	38.7	7,445	60.6	2,695	D	10,083	81.3	5,270	R
Logan	1,602		867	54.1	722	45.1	145	R	1,305	79.9	1,035	R
Marion	5,473		3,194	58.4	2,232	40.8	962	R	4,619	79.4	3,569	R
Marshall	5,655		2,781	49.2	2,831	50.1	50	D	4,262	71.9	2,830	R
Sedgwick	97,657		35,612	36.5	60,908	62.4	25,356	D	81,801	71.1	58,319	R
Woodson	1,987		1,067	53.7	907	45.6	160	R	1,513	72.8	1,021	R
Wyandotte	55,047		16,031	29.2	38,006	69.0	21,955	D	30,741	55.6	13,504	R

In the 1970 Democratic victory for governor, the lowest proportion of votes cast for the Republican contender ran from 29% in Wyandotte County through 36% in Sedgwick County and 37% in Douglas County to 38% in Leavenworth County. In contrast, during the 1972 Republican victory for U.S. Senator, the lowest proportion of Democratic votes ran from 16% in Hodgeman and Logan Counties through 17% in Johnson County and 18% in Marion County to 19% in Chautauqua County. In these five counties, less than 20% of the voters were "die hard" Democrats.

These same five counties plus Gove and Woodson made up the seven counties which maintained a Republican plurality even under "adverse" conditions in 1970. This raises a serious questions as to the existence of political pluralism in the seven counties. If Democrats cannot carry a major election under very favorable conditions and if they shrink to about 20% of the vote in adversity, is a real two-party system operative? In addition, in five of these seven counties, at least one of the two respondents indicated on the Respondent Information form that they doubted if there was really a two-party system in their county.

For the purposes of this study, eleven counties were considered politically pluralist in make-up. The seven counties which failed to carry a Democratic victory in 1970 and in most of which the Democrats received less than 20% of the vote in the 1972 Republican Senate victory were considered non-pluralist.

Rural/Urban Setting. The sample of counties was purposively drawn from all AAA Planning and Service Areas in Kansas. Using the definition of city size followed by many federal agencies (including Housing and

Urban Development) to distinguish an urban area (i.e., a city of 5,000 or more residents), nine of the counties are defined as urban (have a city of 5,000 or more residents within their borders) and nine counties are defined as rural. This division will be used for analysis purposes.

Proportion of Older People. The percent of total population sixty-five or over (July 1, 1974 census estimate) in the sample counties ranged from 6.8 to 26.8. Six counties (all urban) had from 6.8% to 11.5% older populations. Seven counties had from 17.1% to 26.8% older populations. The remaining five counties had from 14.4% to 14.7% older populations.

In actual numbers, counties had 400, 500, and 600 older citizens respectively in three small rural counties and as many as 31,500 persons 65+ years in Sedgwick County. Although nine of twelve counties with high or medium proportions of older people were rural counties, the seven counties with largest numbers of older people (from 3,400 to 31,500) were all urban.

Respondent Participation in Council. Most respondents had been active members of their county councils. Most had been leaders in the councils or were at the time of the interview. In many cases, they were probably more aware than anyone else of how council members understood the council. They also had the prejudice of their own exercised leadership. Efforts to compensate for this were made by contrasting one respondent's answers with the other respondent from the same county. Twenty-six of the respondents were members in August, 1978. Thirteen of the respondents were council chairpersons at that time. Only four of the respondents had never been members of their county

councils, in all cases because of other leadership positions they were exercising in the aging system.

Pre-Existent Services and Senior Organizations. It would be wrong to suppose that there were no groups or services for older people before the county councils emerged. Thirteen of the eighteen counties had some services (e.g., meals-on-wheels, senior recreation programs) and some senior citizen groups before a council was ever formed. Three counties reported no services for older people. Two reported no senior groups. The two counties without senior groups had two or less public services. Two of the three counties without services had three or less senior groups. In short, there was little of special benefit to older people.¹ Only three counties reported many senior groups and many senior services as well before a county council was formed. One county reported many senior services and three counties reported many senior groups before the forming of their county councils. In addition to these, four counties reported having six to nine services (e.g., congregate nutrition sites, senior centers, transportation projects) in operation when the council began, mostly in cases where the council was late in being established.

Initial Influences in Forming Councils. What immediate factors led to the forming of councils within counties? Who took the initial lead? Who followed through? What were the immediate issues?

¹These statements, based on respondents' recall, clearly exclude small local services, e.g., church sponsored groups or activities, periodic services for older people by civic clubs, etc., which might not be widely known or remembered.

Two counties--Wyandotte and Marion--had county councils on aging before the AAA network was established in 1973. Seven other councils (labeled "self-starters," see Table 2) were started largely by local efforts with limited encouragement or assistance from AAA staff. Nine counties, one half the sample, formed county councils under the urging and lead of the AAA staff. In at least three of them, AAA staff remained the major impetus throughout the organizing stage. Two of the seven councils begun largely by local efforts were, in fact, originally started by AAA staff, but were reorganized by local citizens at a later time when the councils failed to function well.

TABLE 2

Who Took Initiative in Starting Councils	Number of Counties
Council Pre-Existed	2
"Self-Starters"	7
AAA Started	<u>9</u>
Total	18

In eight different county councils (six of which were "self-starters"), one or two local citizens followed through after initial meetings and got the councils organized (see Table 3).

As was noted above, two councils began before their AAA's did. These councils were already working to improve the situation for older people when they were asked to be advisory to the newly forming AAA's. In addition, the immediate issue in forming a council in five counties which had no services or only one or two services available was an

awareness that neighboring counties were getting federal grants and starting aging services while they were not. This desire to get organized because others were doing so seems to have been unrelated to an awareness of any over-riding particular aging need in their own county.

TABLE 3

Who Carried Through the Organizing Efforts

	Number of Counties
One or Two Individuals	8
Locals and AAA Staff	7
AAA Staff	<u>3</u>
Total	18

The most frequent pattern of events in counties, however, (seven counties, see Table 4), was the establishment of some aging service or services (transportation, nutrition site, senior center) and then taking action to secure funds for continued operation or expansion. In these cases, the council was established in order to promote a county mill levy. Local funds were necessary as a guarantee of local support (match) for the federal grant and for expansion of it. They were also a means of encouraging Older Americans Act (OAA) funds to continue to come from the AAA. In some cases, respondents understood that a county council would have to be formed if the county expected to receive federal aging funds from the AAA.

TABLE 4

What Was the Immediate Issue in Organizing

	Number of Counties
No services; saw neighboring counties getting them and wanted to do so	5
One or two services begun, needed funding to keep going	7
Awareness of multiple older adult needs	3
No immediate issue; AAA requested a council	<u>3</u>
Total	18

Initial Purposes of Councils. A variety of different purposes were recalled by respondents as the basis on which councils were formed. Respondents from twelve councils² indicated that a major purpose in forming their councils had been to either raise, receive, manage, distribute, or directly spend funds to provide aging services. These included both OAA and county mill levy funds. The twelve councils included six of seven councils in the sample which indicated that part of their purpose was to operate services for older people directly.

Respondents from eleven councils indicated that advising the AAA about the needs and services desired in their counties was a major purpose for forming the council. This group of councils included seven of the nine counties which, we noted above, had been established

²Some descriptions will total more than the eighteen county sample because responses were duplicative, not exclusive.

through primary impetus of the AAA. Twelve councils spoke of advocacy or described similar activity as one basic reason for organizing a county council.

The forms of advocacy varied, but it was a frequently used word by respondents. In some areas of the state, the AAA had called the county council an advocacy council suggesting that the general concept may have come from the AAA's. Most saw it as a local advocacy for funds and services. A few saw it as speaking out with a united voice at the local or the state level. Only six of the twelve advocacy-minded councils also cited the identification of needs and problems of older people as one of their major purposes. However, two "non-advocate" councils saw need and problem identification as important for a total of eight counties that saw this as a major purpose. Three councils saw a major purpose as evaluating aging services which existed or were initiated. None of these councils expected to directly operate services.

In summary, three purposes for organizing councils were most frequently cited by respondents. Many recognized the need to be advocates speaking out for older people. Many saw also the need to raise funds for services. The need to advise the AAA as the primary source of federal aging was recognized, especially in those councils which were formed largely through AAA encouragement. However, the fact that several purposes were identified with no apparent pattern among the counties (no more than twelve councils identifying any one purpose) suggests an absence of any uniform set of concepts or at least a lack of clarity regarding what a county council was to be in the rapidly developing aging system.

COORDINATION

Several studies have described types of inter-organizational coordination and coordinational tasks as roles between groups. Warren (Cox, 1970) described four types of coordinative patterns, three of which (coalitional, federative, social choice) might apply to county councils. Litwak/Hylton (Etzioni, 1961) described tasks that make up coordination such as communicating pertinent information, adjudicating areas of dispute and promoting areas of common interest. This study examined coordination between other groups and county aging councils in terms of the extent of contact between the groups. The more contact groups have, the more likely they are to coordinate activities. It is assumed that if a council were sought out for help or advice, some degree of coordinative authority would be imputed. If groups were supportive and active in attending council meetings, the basis for coordination was present. Likewise, if groups were cordial but passive, if they only responded when asked to do so, the extent of common goals, common staff, and common efforts would be very slight. If groups were virtually uninvolved with councils on aging, little or no coordination would occur.

Different degrees of coordination might be expected to occur between councils and different agencies. Primarily, the study inquired into the relationships with county commissioners, AAA, aging groups, and non-aging groups (service agencies), and in the latter two cases, the data deals with multiple units rather than individual groups or agencies.

Coordination with County Commissioners. The most frequent pattern of relationship between county councils on aging and county commissioners

(eleven of eighteen counties) was that county commissioners were cordial but passive. County councils tended to take the initiative in the relationship and commissioners tended to be cautious about indicating any commitment beyond that of interest and a willingness to appoint persons recommended by the council to the AAA board. In other cases, commissioners were more supportive and active. In five counties, commissioners had attended council meetings, approved funding after only one or two requests and openly supported a mill levy. In one case, the commissioners even asked for council input about what aging services to approve or fund and in another case, the commissioners promoted formation of the council and called for the organizing meetings. In one case, in an urban setting, this positive pattern was with the city commission (sponsor of the AAA) and not with the county commission. Only two county commissions were relatively uninvolved with the county councils. In one of those cases, a mill levy for aging was administered by the county commission with no input at all sought from the county council. This county council was not coordinated with any groups in their county, however. In the other case, the commissioners were plainly uninterested in the council from the first discussions about organizing it. They preferred to have as little relationship as possible and turned the mill levy when it was approved by voters totally over to the council to handle.

Coordination with AAA. The Area Agency on Aging is a multi-county administrative unit in the aging network. Decisions about federal aging grants for community services are made by the AAA board (representing each county in the area) and staff. Vertical coordination between levels in the aging network is important to the successful

functioning of the system. Relationships between county councils and AAAs (vertical coordination) were more supportive and active than with county commissioners (horizontal coordination). In eleven of the eighteen counties the AAA staff attended council meetings at least part of the time and/or the AAA board members reported back to the council about AAA board meetings. In four of these cases, the AAA did the clerical work (kept minutes, etc.) for the council at the beginning.

In four counties, the AAA role was cordial but passive. Materials (by-laws, etc.), timely information, and technical assistance (on request) were given but the council was left to develop for itself. The AAA staff had only occasionally attended meetings in these cases. In three counties, the AAA was uninvolved with the council after it got organized. In two of these cases, the AAA was the major force pushing to organize the council, but had not attended any meetings since and no persons on the council were on the AAA board (because of the intervening sub-regional council membership pattern).³ In one case because of local anti-federal attitudes, AAA staff were uninvolved with the council relating only indirectly through the AAA chairperson

³In one very large planning and service area (twenty-eight counties) four Sub-Regional (S-R) councils have been formed to do much of the AAA-related activities which occur county to county elsewhere. The S-R council elects AAA board representatives from among those named to the S-R council by counties. The S-R council also reviews and prioritizes proposals for OAA funds from the counties it represents. It is intended to be a channel for communication but the two counties studied that were under S-R councils knew little about the S-R council and less about the AAA. Their ignorance would have been complete except that one respondent was a member, elected by the S-R council, of the AAA board itself. That person, by virtue of being on the AAA board, was not a member of the county council.

who was a member of the county council. In this case, the extent to which county councils viewed themselves as a local voice was seen. Because one (of the three) communities in the county was unwilling to work in a group that seemed to be "federally funded" the council decided to soft pedal any reference to the AAA and to emphasize their role as administrators of the county mill levy.

Coordination with Aging Groups. The pattern of coordination with aging groups has varied greatly across the counties. Aging group representation on the council was encouraged for it served several purposes. It provided contact and a means of information distribution to a group of potential service "consumers". Senior or aging groups could logically be expected to be interested in aging services. Moreover, county councils, to be acceptable as advisory groups to the AAA, were required by federal regulations to be a least fifty-one percent older people.⁴ While representation from aging groups was desired and encouraged, aging group representation was the basis for council membership in only three counties, however. In other cases, no effort was made to have the aging groups directly represented.

Local senior citizen groups varied, especially in urban or metropolitan areas, but the majority of groups were fellowship and/or recreational groups with local roots. There were some nationally affiliated service groups such as the American Association of Retired

⁴The advisory function mandated by federal regulation required that no less than 51% of the members of the advisory body be older people. This was the only federal regulation applying to county councils since they were to serve the advisory function to the AAA in most cases.

Persons and National Retired Teachers Association or the National Association of Retired Federal Employees which included some degree of political lobbying in their activities. There were also aging special interest groups which were organized around specific services that had begun (transportation, senior centers, etc.) and were concerned to promote or assure funding for their projects. The majority of groups, whether publically or privately sponsored, however, were basically fellowship groups.

Ten councils had all or most aging groups in their counties directly represented on the council in a supportive and active way. This included two metropolitan counties in which there were many aging groups. In one metropolitan county every aging group was urged to join the county council and 60 or more had done so. In the other metropolitan county, every aging group was urged to belong to a long-standing Inter-Group Council to whom the county council gave periodic reports on service developments and plans. Senior groups, themselves, were not directly represented on the council, however.

In three counties with several aging groups, the groups were actively courted to assure that they were, in fact, represented on the council even though the formal mechanism of appointment was by elected officials. Likewise, in five counties with only two or three aging groups, each group was encouraged to be represented through a persons appointed from their community to the council.

In two councils there was a cordial but passive attitude from the senior groups toward the council. Persons from the councils in both cases had spoken to the groups and urged them to participate but the groups were chiefly fellowship and recreation groups and most had

not been interested. In one county, some members of the largest active senior group were very negative toward the council initially and only after repeated appeals to the group over a length of time did acceptance of the council develop.

In four counties, there was no formal tie or contact between the council and the aging groups. Some were represented on the council by coincidence of local individuals that are members of the council. In all four cases, the clearest criterion for memberships appeared to be geographic representation. In three cases, persons were appointed by elected officials. In one case, senior groups or local people were encouraged to nominate three persons to the county council, and the council elected one member to serve. Local senior groups had not been related to the council in this case.

In two counties, there were no formal senior groups with whom the council could relate. In one case, the only group became the county council. In the other case, only one aging service existed, and it was represented indirectly on the council.

In summary, the most common pattern of coordination between the county councils and aging groups was that of active participation between the groups and the council (ten counties). However, other councils ranged from cordial but passive (two cases) to uninvolved (four cases) to no real groups to coordinate (two cases).

Coordination with Non-Aging Groups. The pattern of coordination between county councils and non-aging groups (service agencies of different kinds) varied even more widely than that with aging groups. In four counties, from two to five public and private agencies had helped to establish the council and continued to attend the meetings

regularly. In some cases, the agencies had absorbed some of the initial clerical expenses. In others, they simply were enthusiastic and regular in attendance. Some of the agencies carried on regular aging services. Others were broadly interested in the public welfare including that of older people. Agencies actively participating included: county health, extension, SRS, community recreation, mental health, private colleges, civic clubs and churches.

In nine counties, non-aging groups were basically cordial but passive. In many cases, they had attended initial meetings and given their support to forming a council but did not attend except when asked to give information or to do something specific. In several cases, the agencies are considered technical advisors and not voting members of the council.

In five counties, there was no relationship between the county councils and non-aging agencies. Social service may be aware of the council but, respondents indicated that no relationship had developed with them. In one case, the agencies served as a separate committee of technical advisors to the service providing agency in the county which was separate from the county council. In one case, the SRS worker promoted formation of the council, but was transferred away at the time of formation and no new SRS worker (or other agency personnel) had worked with the council.

The respondents in nine counties reported that one or more public or private groups had requested council input regarding aging services. Council members had spoken before public housing and other city and county officials and had responded to Chamber of Commerce and private service agencies or groups. In several cases, the request by

the outside group was probably due to the prominence in community affairs of council leaders. However, in all cases, such requests initiated by non-council members indicated a level of awareness of the council. It also suggested a broad coordinative function i.e., that of speaking for the varied aging interests in the county. The nine councils whose input was requested were about equally divided between cases in which respondents felt the image of the council was that of "experts" on aging, and those which were not so perceived.

One way of conceptualizing the coordinative relationships of county councils on aging is in terms of ties with groups on a horizontal plane and ties with groups on a vertical plane. Horizontal ties are relationships with groups serving the same city or county-wide area. In the present study, horizontal ties include relationships with county commissioners and with non-aging (human service) agencies. Vertical ties, i.e., those between levels of the aging system, include relationships between the council and AAA and the council and aging groups.

Some note has been made in formal research (Warren in Cox, 1970; Litwak/Hylton in Etzioni, 1961) of coordination between different agencies within a community. In the present study, horizontal ties tended to be cordial and passive while vertical ties tended to be active and supportive (see Table 5). Eleven of eighteen county council/commissioner ties were cordial but passive as were nine of eighteen ties with non-aging groups. At the same time, eleven of eighteen county council/AAA ties were active and supportive as were ten of eighteen ties with aging groups.

TABLE 5
 Coordination Patterns of Councils

County Commissioners			Area Agency on Aging			Aging Groups			Non-Aging Agencies/Groups		
A/S	C/P	UN	A/S	C/P	UN	A/S	C/P	UN	A/S	C/P	UN
5*	11**	2	11	4	3	10	2	4	4	9	5
						None existed-2					

A/S - Active/Supportive

C/P - Cordial/Passive

UN - Uninvolved

- * (one city commission rather than county)
 ** (two city commissions rather than county)

The meaning of this difference in coordinative patterns is not clear. It is possible that the common element of aging as the sole concern between vertical coordinative units makes the difference in the degree of involvement while aging is only one concern among many for units on the horizontal plane. It is possible that programmatic or financial inter-dependence between groups on the vertical plane may be greater than on the horizontal plane. Only two of the nine counties that have approved mill levies reported an active and supportive relationship with commissioners. This suggests a minimal inter-dependence despite a necessary economic tie horizontally. It is possible that the value of coordinative activities such as described by Litwak/Hylton (in Etzioni, 1961)--relaying pertinent information, setting standards, promoting common concerns--is greater between units on the vertical plane than it is between units on the horizontal plane. A detailed study of differences between coordinative patterns on the

vertical and the horizontal planes would be a valuable area for further study of county councils.

In summary, coordinative activities involving county councils and other groups have been variable. County commissioners and non-aging groups have generally been cordial but passive. This has been true of commissioners even after counties have passed mill levies. At the same time, relations with AAAs and with aging groups have generally been active and supportive. Overall, coordinative patterns by counties revealed no predominant picture. Five councils had active ties within three of the four areas of coordination studied. Two councils had passive ties within three of the four areas of coordination studied. Others were a mixture of active and passive. Eight councils had active ties with two or more kinds of groups. Seven councils had passive ties with two or more kinds of groups. Occasionally, some group or area was uninvolved with the council altogether. One council basically had no ties within any of the four areas studied, raising serious question about the effectiveness of such a group. That council was in a county in which commissioners directly administered an aging mill levy with no planning or input from the council. The two counties which had councils before AAAs began working had clear coordinative patterns. Wyandotte County had a large, active council representing nearly every aging group and organization in the county and serving chiefly as an information dispersing advocacy body. Marion County had developed a two-level coordinative pattern. Through formal merger of the council and the County Golden Years organization, a unitary relationship with the older senior citizens' groups existed, and a coalitional relationship

(cf. Warren, pp. 17-18 above) with the new service interest groups which looked to the council for mill levy funds existed. There is no doubt that administering mill levy funds effected coordination in many counties. As was noted, the local nature of councils was seen in the county which, to keep peace at home, ignored ties with the AAA and stressed its role in regard to the county mill levy.

RECOGNITION/LEADERSHIP OF COUNCILS

The credibility of the council in the eyes of the respondents (what it was that made them feel the council was going to be worthwhile or successful) was related, in most cases, to their perception that many council members were community leaders. At least ten councils' respondents indicated that the presence of local community leaders or the high quality of members was a basis for their confidence in the council. In two of the ten cases and in one other, respondents perceived some council members as "doers" (evidently people with a reputation for action) and felt the council would be worthwhile. In addition, a dozen or more individual reasons were given for respondent confidence in the councils. These ranged from the regular attendance and interest of members to the fact that ministers and other of community status supported or were on the council.

The credibility of the council, in the eyes of the community, respondents indicated, was due to much the same reasons. In nine cases, the respondents indicated that the presence of local leaders gave a positive image to the council. In one of these nine cases and in two others, council public credibility was seen as related to the success of aging services developed before the council began. This

would seem to parallel the concept of being "doers" although only one of the three counties was one where the "doer" reputation had been cited.

In three cases, respondents also felt that public credibility was high because the council was dealing with needs that were recognized as real problems for older people. In addition, several other reasons were cited for public confidence ranging from good publicity to commissioner support to general respect for the AAA.

While the councils in the study were all constituted by a majority of older people, this was not generally seen as a factor in public credibility. All councils were also constituted to provide geographic representation and that was seen as necessary by definition, to be a county council, but it was not seen as a major factor in establishing public or respondent credibility in most cases.

FUNCTIONS OF COUNCILS

A number of items of inquiry in the interviews were grouped together to make up two scales or indexes. One of these is a Range of Functions Index. It indicates the types of tasks or functions councils have undertaken, from very broad to very specific. The variables that make up this index will be briefly discussed and the Guttman Scale of Functions (see Table 6) which they form will be described.

Every council in the sample saw one of their tasks as being a general advocate for older people (right hand column of table). As noted earlier, some AAAs called the county councils "advocacy councils" so the concept may have come initially from the AAAs. As also noted earlier, eleven of the councils originally saw this as one of their

Guttman Scale of Functions

COUNTIES	Adm. Aging Services	Sets Aging Policy	Elects AAA Board Members	Reviews OAA Proposals.	Advices AAA	Initiates Aging Planning	Advices County Commissioners	Advocates For Elderly	Score
Atchison	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8
Cowley	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8
Franklin	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8
Marion	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8
Marshall	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8
Cove	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	7
Jefferson	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	7
Johnson	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	7
Logan	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	7
Sedgwick	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	7
Leavenworth	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Chautauqua	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	5
Ellsworth	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	5
Ford	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	5
Wyandotte	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	5
Douglas	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	4
Hodgeman	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	4
Woodson	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	4
	13 N 5 Y	6N 12Y	4 N 14 Y	3 N 15 Y	2 N 16 Y	2 N 16 Y	1 N 17 Y	0 N 18 Y	

Coefficient of Reproducibility = .9167
 Minimum Marginal Reproducibility = .8403
 Percent Improvement = .0764
 Coefficient of Scalability = .4783

purposes. By August, 1978, however, all eighteen councils considered this one of their functions.

Seventeen of the counties also saw their tasks as including advising county commissioners about aging needs. One council did not, largely, because the service provider council which had preceded the advocacy council in their county provided the commissioners with whatever data or information they wanted.

Sixteen councils in the sample had taken initiative on one or more occasions in beginning planning for some particular service for aging in their county. In some cases, they had worked with other groups or agencies in developing the plans. In other cases, the plans had been developed primarily within the council itself.

Sixteen of the councils also advised the AAA in one way or another as to the needs of older people in their counties. Some councils did so through the persons representing their counties on the AAA board and most of them did so through the developing or submission of proposals for CAA grant funds to the AAA. One council only reviewed CAA proposals and did not consider that as advising the AAA per se. One council had nothing to do with advising the AAA or with any CAA proposals arising in their county because of the anti-federal attitude in parts of their county.

The above council and two others did not review proposals for CAA funds that were going to the AAA. In one case, the small rural county had had only one proposal develop since it had been formed and the council encouraged the proposal but did not review it. The other case was a metropolitan county where proposals for funds were handled by professional staffs and agencies and the council was more a general

advocate to urge such agencies to act than it was an advisory review group. In the other metropolitan county in the sample, the council reviewed OAA proposals after they were initially approved by the AAA, but was active in reviewing requests for renewed funding of grants.

A large number (fourteen) of the councils either directly elected the county representatives to the AAA board or nominated persons whom the county commissioners, in fact, appointed to the AAA board. This function provided direct voice and leverage upon the AAA, and the AAA level is where decisions about OAA funds are made for each planning and service area of the state. Four counties did not, in any way, decide who would be members of the AAA board from their counties. These are all rural counties and, in two cases, the councils were quite new in 1977 and had not yet had the issue arise.

In twelve counties, respondents felt that the council was making decisions that were de facto policy decisions regarding aging services in their counties. In most cases, the respondents felt that function was expected of them by public officials. In some cases, however, because of limited reporting to county commissioners, it was not clear as to how widely such policies would be known or applied. In one urban and one metropolitan county, the council plainly did not set policy about aging services and in four other counties (in three of which the council was less than a year old in August, 1977) respondents did not feel the council was seen as a policy-setting body.

A function which only five councils had undertaken was the actual administration of one or more aging programs. These included: transportation services; equipping senior centers; legal assistance; information and referrals; and home health care. Usually, the service

would be administered by hired staff who were directly accountable to the county council. In some cases, the council administered three or four different aging programs; in some cases, only one or two. Two other counties indicated that they intended to administer aging services directly, but had not begun to do so in August, 1978. However, eleven councils had no intention of directly administering aging programs. Separate agencies in their counties would do that. To directly administer aging services is clearly the most visible function of those studied. In many cases, it may be a way of wielding the greatest influence regarding aging in the county as well.

The eight variables just reviewed taken together form a Guttman Scale of Organization Functions of county aging councils. In an analysis of the Scale it was found that the Scale was reasonably predictable (coefficient of reproducibility .9167). The extent to which the scale seems truly uni-dimensional and cumulative is not as strong (coefficient of scalability .4783) as it could be. It is unclear as to how effective a Guttman Scale the index constitutes. Larger sample tests would help to indicate this.

FORMALIZATION OF COUNCILS

In addition to the Functional Index, a Formalization Index or scale was created. Eight items from respondent interviews were included. The Scale gauges the extent of formal organization and style followed by the councils in the sample ranging from very basic (minutes of meetings are kept) to more complex (a written agenda is followed in meetings). The response to the indicators in the Scale

will be briefly reviewed and the Guttman Scale of Formalization (see Table 7) which they form will be discussed.

All eighteen counties in the sample reported that minutes of meetings had been kept from the beginning. One county indicated that for a few months, due to a lack of persons willing to take the minutes, no record was kept. That was the only known exception.

Sixteen of the counties had passed by-laws. In many cases, these were adopted from sample materials received from the AAA. Only two counties did not have by-laws in August, 1978. They were both in the process of being written (with AAA help) and were expected to be adopted soon.

Some variation between counties was found in the respondents' recall as to whether or not there were definite ideas (criteria) by which members were recruited.⁵ Fourteen councils indicated there were certain criteria they tried to follow. In four other cases, there were no real criteria. Recruitment was just a matter of who was available or interested.

Thirteen councils had a clear means of designating who were members (official appointment, election by council, etc.) from the beginning. Five councils had no such clear pattern for designating or distinguishing members from non-members. None of the five counties lacking membership designation, however, were among the four counties lacking membership criteria.

In a majority of the counties (eleven), not only were minutes of meetings kept, but they were duplicated and distributed. Only two

⁵It is assumed in all cases that a majority of council members had to be older people and by definition, a county council had to have some sort of geographic representation.

Guttman Scale of Formalization

COUNTIES	Written Agenda Used	Group Incor- porated	Committees Used	Minutes Distributed	Clear Des- ignation of Membership	Clear Criteria in Seeking Members	By-Laws Passed	Minutes Kept	Score
Cowley	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8
Marion	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8
Kyandotte	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8
Atchison	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	7
Franklin	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	7
Marshall	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Sedgwick	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	6
Woodson	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Ford	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	5
Gove	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	5
Douglas	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	4
Logan	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	4
	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	3
Ellsworth	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
Hodgeman	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
Jefferson	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	3
Johnson	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
Leavenworth	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
	12N 6Y	12 N 6 Y	10N 8Y	7 N 11 Y	5 N 13 Y	4 N 14 Y	2 N 16 Y	0 N 18 Y	

Coefficient of Reproducibility = .8750
 Minimum Marginal Reproducibility = .7361
 Percent Improvement = .1389
 Coefficient of Scalability = .5263

of the four counties where AAA clerical assistance was provided were among the counties that duplicated and distributed minutes.

In only eight counties were committees used within the council to help do council work. In seven of the eight cases, committee authority was limited to information gathering and approval by the council was required before action could be taken. In one county, the respondent indicated that a transportation committee had authority to make changes in the county system and report these to the council at a later meeting. In ten councils, however, committees are seldom used at all. In most of these cases, the council size was small (five to ten), so the use of committees might seem unnecessary. In the cases of some small councils, individuals did information gathering and reported back to the council, performing part of the function committees would serve.

One-third of the councils (six) were incorporated and one other was in the process of drafting incorporation papers, but was not yet incorporated in August, 1978. Of the six incorporated councils, four were directly administering aging services while two were not. The council seeking incorporation was preparing to directly administer services. The two other direct service administrative councils were in counties where the county treasurer handled the funds, but services were directed by the councils.

One other indicator of formalization was the use of a written agenda for council meetings. Such a step requires beforehand planning by chairpersons and tends to create a more formal atmosphere than meetings conducted without written agendas. A written agenda, distributed to members in most cases, was used in six councils. Five of

these six councils were the same ones which were incorporated. The one council not incorporated that used a written agenda was a metropolitan area council with a busy work load.

Guttman Scaling places the items in an ascending order according to response patterns of counties (see Table 7). The order seems reasonable as a cumulative indication of degree of formalization. Scale analysis suggests that the Formalization Index is approaching predictability (coefficient of reproducibility .8705). The several items appear to score as uni-dimensional and cumulative (coefficient of scalability .5263) to an extent that approaches significance. In a similar way to the Functional Index, a larger sample test of the scale might increase both predictability and scalability.

CHAPTER IV

INTRODUCTION

While Chapter III presented a profile of the individual variables as seen in the councils, Chapter IV examines the associations between different variables. The "impetus" variable is discussed first as a basis for understanding how the councils got started. A lone variable, recognition/leadership, is reviewed next. Then the other major variable associations are presented and analyzed. Finally, the two hypotheses in the study are tested. A number of tables are included in order to visually reflect the patterns of associations.

IMPETUS AND PURPOSE CORRELATED TO OTHER VARIABLES

One premise of the study was that the initial purposes of the councils should greatly influence the form of organization and the management styles of councils. The impetus for organizing councils, whether AAAs or local people, should have an influence upon the purposes councils adopted. "Impetus" was related to three different variables. In the relationship between Impetus and advisory role as well as between Impetus and direct service delivery, it was seen that impetus and organizational form were specifically related. In fact, in the paired relationship between impetus and the advisory role and between the advisory role and direct service delivery, a chain of association from Impetus to purpose to council action was seen.

There were five types of purposes identified by respondents as the basis for forming county councils. Only one of these, advising the AAA, related to other variables in the study. The advisory function was associated with those councils which received strong encouragement and help from the AAA in getting started (see Table 8).

TABLE 8
ORGANIZING IMPETUS BY ADVISORY ROLE (PURPOSE) OF COUNCILS

Purpose	Impetus		
	AAA	Self	
Advisory	7	4	11
Non-Advisory	2	5	7
P = .1674 ¹	9	9	18

Seven of the eleven advisory-oriented councils were begun by the AAA. At the same time, five of the seven non-advisory-oriented councils were self-started. The AAA used county councils to fulfill the federal requirement that older people have input into aging service decisions. Seven of the nine AAA-organized councils in the sample saw their advisory relationship to the AAA as a major task while only four of nine self-started councils saw the advisory role as a major one.

Impetus was associated with the proportion of older people in the counties (see Table 9). Seven of nine self-starter counties had high proportion of older people while six of nine AAA started counties had low proportions of elderly. There may have been a greater awareness

¹The Fisher Exact Probability Test was run on each table. Levels of .10 or less are considered significant.

of the problems confronted by older people in high proportion elderly counties than in low proportion counties so that little outside (AAA) effort was needed to generate interest in forming a council on aging.

TABLE 9
ORGANIZING IMPETUS BY PROPORTION OF ELDERLY
Proportion of Older Americans

Impetus	High	Low	
AAA	3	6	9
Self	7	2	9
P = .0767	10	8	18

Impetus was also associated with whether or not a council directly administered aging services (see Table 10). Five of seven direct service councils were self-started while seven of eleven non-direct service councils were AAA started. Furthermore, seven of nine AAA started councils were not direct service providers. The AAA stressed the planning and advisory roles and not the direct administration of services.

TABLE 10
DIRECT SERVICE BY ORGANIZING IMPETUS

Direct Services	Impetus		
	AAA	Self	
Direct Services	2	5	7
Non-Direct Services	7	4	11
P = .1674	9	9	18

Impetus related to both the functional level and formalization variables as well (see Tables 11 and 12). As the tables indicate, the

self-started councils were more highly functional and more formalized than the AAA-started councils. This association is partially due to the

TABLE 11
FUNCTIONAL LEVEL BY ORGANIZING IMPETUS

Functional Level	Impetus		
	AAA	Self	
High	3	7	10
Low	6	2	8
P = .0767	9	9	18

TABLE 12
FORMALIZATION BY ORGANIZING IMPETUS

Formalization	Impetus		
	AAA	Self	
High	2	6	8
Low	7	3	10
P = .0767	9	9	18

differences in purpose between most self-started councils (direct service providers) and most AAA-started councils (advisory). Differences in purpose led to different intended functions and to different degrees of formalization. This is in harmony with Eisenstadt (in Etzioni, 1961:308), who maintained that different goals within organizations cause different organizational structures (see Chapter I).

Councils that saw a major task as advising the AAA tended to be in counties with a low proportion of older people (see Table 13) while non-advisory councils tended to be high in proportion of older people (six of seven cases). As will be noted later, high and low

proportions of elderly were strongly related to rural and urban settings. The advisory function tended to occur more in urban than rural settings. This may be partially because there were more agencies and public officials to advise in an urban than a rural area, and the concept of organized advisory groups of citizens may be more widely understood in urban communities.

TABLE 13
ADVISORY ROLE (PURPOSE) BY PROPORTION OF ELDERLY
Proportion of Older Americans

Purpose	High	Low	
Advisory	4	7	11
Non-Advisory	6	1	7
P = .0566	10	8	18

The same reasoning may help to understand the association between advisory councils and pluralistic counties (see Table 14).

TABLE 14
PLURALISM BY ADVISORY ROLE (PURPOSE)

Pluralism	Purpose		
	Advisory	Non-Advisory	
Pluralist	8	3	11
Non-Pluralist	3	4	7
P = .1012	11	9	18

Eight of eleven pluralistic counties identified the advisory role as a major task while four of seven non-pluralistic counties were also non-advisory in their identification of council purposes. A pluralistic

county may be more oriented to the use of advisory groups for various tasks than a non-pluralistic one. Probably an urban county, with which pluralism is associated (to be examined shortly), is more familiar with advisory groups than a rural county.

There also was a moderate association between advisory councils and non-direct service councils. Eight of eleven non-direct service councils were advisory councils (see Table 15). These were not necessarily urban councils only for there were no relationships formed between rural/urban location and direct service by councils.

TABLE 15
DIRECT SERVICES BY ADVISORY ROLE (PURPOSE)

	Purpose		
Direct Services	Advisory	Non-Advisory	
Direct Services	3	4	7
No Direct Services	8	3	11
P = .1012	11	7	18

In summary, several variables were associated with the patterns of who started the councils and whether councils initially identified their roles as advisory. Direct Services and a higher level of function and greater degree of formalization characterized the self-started councils. Councils which stressed an advisory role tended to be in counties with a lower proportion of elderly and in more pluralistic settings. Advisory councils also tended to be non-direct service providers. There were at least two tendencies among counties. One of these was the tendency of councils to see their roles as advisory and

not be direct service oriented. The other was to see their roles as direct service and to formalize and seek to function at that level.

RECOGNITION/LEADERSHIP

There were no patterns of relationship between the Recognition/Leadership variable and other variables. As indicated in Chapter III, respondents stated that for their own sense of confidence and for public confidence in the councils, the fact most significant was that many council members were recognized local leaders and (in some cases) were known as "doers" in the community. This indication occurred without pattern among respondents in several counties.

One item in the interviews asked whether the council had been sought out by groups or officials in the community for input on aging issues. The types of requests councils received varied, but nine councils had been sought out for information or opinions about aging issues (see variable summary table in Appendix). However, responses to this variable also failed to be related to any other variables. There was no pattern of relationship with rural/urban, pluralism, formalization, functional level, age of council, etc. In some cases, council leaders were community leaders and their influence was the basis upon which council input was sought. In other counties, the visibility of the council in promoting a mill levy or other aging issues led different groups to approach them.

Seven counties' commissioners had given clear recognition to county councils in delegating authority² to them to administer the mill

²In many counties of the sample, official recognition of the council had not even been formalized in a resolution by the commissioners until after the mill levy was passed.

levy. It was, of course, tacitly subject to commissioner approval.

One notable association was that between the policy-setting of councils and the coordinative relationship of councils and commissioners. Respondents from twelve counties indicated that their councils were policy-setting. However, seven of the twelve councils also had passive ties with their commissioners. The policy-setting council-passive commissioners pattern was the most common single response. Chapter III noted that the passive relationship with commissioners raises question as to how much policy-implementing or enforcing power councils had. Many of these councils were apparently trying to fill a vacuum in aging policy. Whether such challenges will come later remains to be seen.

In summary, the recognition of county councils varied widely. Recognition was often related to the leadership reputation of persons who were council leaders or to visible action councils had taken in promoting mill levies. Confronted with the lack of precedent to citizen policy-setting, councils had experienced few challenges to their decisions and frequently had found commissioners willing to delegate authority and ignore the council. Lacking formal legislation and frequently lacking even written county resolutions or guidelines setting forth their authority, councils exercised an uncertain power of policy-making which rested mainly upon the informal support of the public and of elected officials. Such authority, while it was in some counties significant, is certainly subject to change.

PLURALISM RELATED TO OTHER VARIABLES

The pattern of political participation as measured by partisan political party support was used as a measure of pluralism (see Chapter III). Pluralism was related to rural/urban setting, proportion of elderly, size of council, mill levy and formalization, each of which will be presented below. There was a strong association between pluralist and urban counties. Eight of eleven pluralist counties were urban while six of seven non-pluralist counties were rural (see Table 16). Only one of nine urban counties was not pluralist indicating that urban settings strongly support a multi-party political system.

TABLE 16
PLURALISM BY RURAL/URBAN SETTING

Pluralism	Setting		
	Rural	Urban	
Pluralist	3	8	11
Non-Pluralist	6	1	7
P = .0249	9	9	18

One characteristic of gemeinschaft society is the tendency to personalize all events. Consequently, rural voters tend to identify with candidates in elections and to switch parties in voting for widely popular candidates. Winners in the two races used for creating the pluralism categories were both very popular incumbents. In the gesellschaft urban society, people more frequently vote a straight party line. This partially explains the strong association between rural/urban and pluralism variables.

PROPORTION OF OLDER ADULTS RELATED TO OTHER VARIABLES

The proportion of total population that is older in rural counties has been higher than in urban counties for many years. This pattern was supported in the present study. Eight of nine rural counties had a high proportion of elderly people while seven of nine urban counties had a low proportion (see Table 17).

TABLE 17
PROPORTION OF ELDERLY BY RURAL/URBAN SETTING

Proportion of Older Americans	Setting		
	Rural	Urban	
High	8	2	10
Low	1	7	8
P = .0076	9	9	18

Fifteen of the eighteen counties in this sample fitted into just two cells of the table. This was one of the two strongest associations found in the study.

In recent years, large numbers of younger people have left rural areas to find work in urban areas. At the same time, migration studies of the elderly indicate that the most frequent patterns of movement are less than fifty miles from the location of employment, frequently in rural areas to a nearby community that has most medical and shopping services. With the out-migration of the young and the short distance migration of older people, rural areas tend to acquire high proportions of elderly. The study strongly supported this.

A second pattern grows from the strong association between pluralism and proportion of elderly variables with the rural/urban variable. Pluralism was slightly associated with the proportion of elderly (see Table 18).

TABLE 18
PLURALISM BY PROPORTION OF ELDERLY

Pluralism	Proportion of Older Americans		
	High	Low	
Pluralist	5	6	11
Non-Pluralist	5	2	7
P = .2783	10	8	18

Six of the eight low proportion of elderly counties were pluralistic counties. These six counties are, in fact, urban counties because seven of the eight low proportion counties were urban.

There was no indication in the study or in studies of elderly political habits that older people were anti-pluralist. To the contrary, they tend to vote the political views that they have held over the years and to be above national averages on voting habits. The association of pluralism with low proportion of elderly was due to the rural/urban and pluralism associations.

In addition, other variables associated with the proportion of elderly in counties included the existence of mill levies, direct service delivery, and the functional level of councils. These will be assessed shortly.

SIZE OF COUNCIL RELATED TO OTHER VARIABLES

The size of councils varied from seven members to sixty or more members. In the study, small councils had ten or fewer members and larger ones had eleven or more. There was a moderately strong association between council size and the rural/urban variable (see Table 19). Small councils tended to be in rural counties and large ones in urban counties.

TABLE 19
COUNCIL SIZE BY RURAL/URBAN SETTING

Council Size	Setting	
	Rural	Urban
Small	6	8
Large	3	10
P = .0767	9	18

Six of eight small councils were in rural counties and seven of ten large councils were in urban counties. Four of the five largest councils were in urban counties including the two metropolitan counties in the study. Urban settings require a wider range and number of groups to be represented in a council on aging while the smaller rural county has fewer groups (see Chapter III).

The rural/urban pattern partially explains the strong association between council size and pluralism. This association ranked with the pluralism-rural/urban association as the strongest ones in the study. Nine of eleven pluralist counties had large councils while six of seven non-pluralist counties had small councils. Fifteen of the eighteen counties were in these two cells of the table (see

Table 20). While the rural/urban factor explains part of the relationship, part of the relationship can be seen as the result of the "rules of the game" in a pluralist setting. Many groups and viewpoints are solicited to participate in special interest groups in order to reach a wide segment of the community. As was noted above, four of the five largest councils were in urban settings which were pluralist in nature, so the combined effect of population and political pattern explain the strong association between pluralism and council size.

TABLE 20
COUNCIL SIZE BY PLURALISM

Council Size	Pluralism		
	Pluralist	Non-Pluralist	
Small	2	6	8
Large	9	1	10
P = .0090	11	7	18

MILL LEVY RELATED TO OTHER VARIABLES

The presence or absence of mill levies in counties, often the first fruit of county council labors, was weakly or moderately related to several variables. Interestingly, it was not related to rural/urban settings at all. It was, however, related to the pluralism variable. Six of ten pluralist counties had passed mill levies while five of eight non-pluralist ones had not (see Table 21). This association takes on added significance when it is noted that two or three large urban counties had not passed mill levies because there was sufficient urban renewal, community development, or special city tax funds to provide aging services without a special tax.

TABLE 21
MILL LEVY BY PLURALISM

Mill Levy	Pluralism		
	Pluralist	Non-Pluralist	
Mill Levy	6	3	9
No Mill Levy	4	5	9
P = .3186	10	8	18

Another association with the mill levy variable was the proportion of older people. Six of ten high proportion of elderly counties had passed mill levies while five of eight low proportion of elderly counties had not (see Table 22). Here, as above, part of the pattern is understood when it is remembered that two or three of the largest urban counties have not passed mill levies and, of course, they have a low proportion of elderly. Allowing for that factor, the table suggests that high proportion counties tend to pass mill levies. As noted above, there was no relationship of rural/urban with the mill levy variable, but the proportion of elderly is related to it.

TABLE 22
MILL LEVY BY PROPORTION OF ELDERLY

Mill Levy	Proportion of Older Americans		
	High	Low	
Mill Levy	6	3	9
No Mill Levy	4	5	9
P = .3186	10	8	18

DIRECT SERVICES RELATED TO OTHER VARIABLES

Three variables showed some association with whether or not a council directly delivered aging services. Unexpectedly, the rural/urban variable was not associated with service delivery. Four rural and three urban councils directly operated services. Five urban and six rural councils did not operate services.

However, whether or not councils delivered aging services was strongly associated with the proportion of elderly. Six of seven direct service councils were in high proportion of elderly counties and seven of eleven non-direct service councils were in low proportion counties (see Table 23). This relationship accounted for thirteen of the eighteen counties.

TABLE 23

DIRECT SERVICES BY PROPORTION OF ELDERLY

Proportion of Older Americans

Direct Services	High	Low	
Direct Services	6	1	7
No Direct Services	4	7	11
P = .0566	10	8	18

Rural/urban setting was not significantly related to service delivery, but a trend in that direction can be detected. From Table 17, it can be seen that eight of ten high proportion elderly counties were rural and seven of eight low proportion elderly counties were urban. Given the pattern of Table 23, it is clear that four of the six direct service-high proportion counties must be rural and six of the seven non-direct service-low proportion counties must be urban. That, in

fact, was the rural/urban pattern on direct services. It was not significant, but a trend can be detected. The rural/urban variable was then a part of the pattern of association between proportion of elderly and direct services.

The data suggests that rural counties with high proportions of elderly are likely to have councils that directly deliver services while urban counties with lower proportions of elderly are less likely to do so.

There was a weak relationship between service delivery and council size. Five of seven direct service councils were large in size while six of eleven non-direct service councils were small (see Table 24). The strength of this association as seen in the table is attenuated because urban councils tend to be larger in size, yet do not deliver services. The five large non-direct service councils are all urban counties.

TABLE 24
COUNCIL SIZE BY DIRECT SERVICES

Council Size	Direct Services		
	Direct	Non-Direct	
Large	5	5	10
Small	2	6	8
P = .2783	7	11	18

The basic association was supported in other relationships in the study, especially in Hypothesis Number 2 which predicted that the administration of services would lead to the formalization of councils. Formalization often is accompanied by increasing size in organizations.

Hence, the larger county councils would occur in direct service situations.

There was a moderately strong relationship between mill levy and direct service counties. Five of nine mill levy counties had direct service councils while seven of nine non-mill levy counties did not have direct service councils (see Table 25). In the latter case, as noted above, several large urban counties had not passed mill levies because of other funds which were available. These counties also tended to have many service providers so that county councils did not consider being direct service providers.

TABLE 25
DIRECT SERVICES BY MILL LEVY

Direct Services	Mill Levy	
	Mill Levy	Non-Mill Levy
Direct Services	5	2
No Direct Services	4	7
P = .1674	9	9

COORDINATION RELATED TO OTHER VARIABLES

Only two variables were related to coordination. These were the rural/urban variables and the mill levy variable. Pluralism, which would seem to urge active and supportive coordination between groups, was not associated in any significant way with coordination.

The urban counties were more coordinatively active and supportive than the rural counties. Five of eight active coordinative councils were in urban counties. Five of seven cordial but passive councils were in rural counties. Three counties were mixed in

coordination (one rural, two urban) so no coordinative pattern was clear. However, ten of fifteen councils were covered in these two patterns suggesting a moderately strong relationship (see Table 26). The classifying of active and passive coordination was based upon relations with four types of groups in the county. Urban councils were somewhat more active in coordination relationship than were rural counties.

TABLE 26
COORDINATION BY RURAL/URBAN SETTING

Coordination	Setting		
	Rural	Urban	
Active	3	5	8
Passive	5	2	7
P = .2415	8	7	15
No Response	1	2	3

One interpretation of a pattern that can be seen is that urban councils are seldom (three times in nine) direct service deliverers but are active coordinators (five times in seven) and advisors to AAAs (seven times in nine). By contrast, rural councils are more often direct service deliverers (four times in nine) and less active coordinators (three times in eight) or less often AAA advisors (four times in eleven).

The other moderately strong coordinative relationship was with mill levy counties. With just fifteen councils responding, five of eight councils that had active coordinative ties had passed mill levies as well. Six of seven cordial but passive coordinative councils were in counties that had not passed mill levies. The passage and administering of a mill levy by county councils (four of six cases)

often led other groups in counties to more actively participate with the councils in their work. Such a pattern is suggested by Table 27.

TABLE 27
COORDINATION BY MILL LEVY

Coordination	Mill Levy		
	Mill Levy	Non-Mill Levy	
Active	5	3	8
Passive	1	6	7
P = .0839	6	9	15
No Response	3		

The coordination of aging efforts in counties was a major variable in the study. There were several points of coordination faced by each council. While a majority of councils had experienced active and supportive coordinative ties, there was no direct relationship between these patterns and most other variables in the study (pluralism, proportion of elderly, council size, service delivery, functional level).

FUNCTIONAL LEVEL RELATED TO OTHER VARIABLES

A number of types of council activities were combined to create a functional scale or index. Council scale scores ranged from four through eight. Functional level was associated with two variables--proportion of elderly and mill levy. In addition, an inflated association appeared with a third variable--service delivery.

A relationship was found between functional level and proportion of elderly. Seven of eleven high proportion elderly

counties had councils with high levels of function. Councils with low functional levels were divided between high and low proportion counties (see Table 28).

TABLE 28
FUNCTIONAL LEVEL BY PROPORTION OF ELDERLY

Proportion of Older Americans

Functional Level	High	Low	
High	7	3	10
Low	4	4	8
P = .3522	11	7	18

An analogous but reversed relationship was found between functional level and mill levy counties. While high functional councils were in high proportion elderly counties (see above), low functional councils were in non-mill levy counties (see Table 29). In this case, five of seven mill levy counties had high functional councils while six of eleven non-mill levy counties had low functional level councils.

TABLE 29
FUNCTIONAL LEVEL BY MILL LEVY

Mill Levy

Functional Level	Mill Levy	Non-Mill Levy	
High	5	5	10
Low	2	6	8
P = .2783	7	11	18

Some councils, through leadership and inter-organizational encouragement, were, in fact, highly functional from the beginning and the passage of a mill levy may or may not have been one part of that effort. Other councils were scarcely organized when a mill levy was passed in their counties and the council was expected to function at a high level, enough to administer the mill levy. There was no uniform pattern in the development of function. Overall, the passage of a mill levy caused most councils to increase their functional level of activity, however, and to become more formalized as will be noted shortly.

There was a third variable with which functional level appeared to be associated. A moderately strong association was found between functional level and the direct delivery of services. This association was exaggerated, however, since one of the eight indicators functional level was whether or not a council directly delivered services.

In summary, factors associated with functional level created in their counties optimal conditions for active councils. A high proportion of older people increased visibility and general awareness of the elderly and their needs. The promotion of a mill levy by newly formed councils or their precursors found public support and with passage, councils found themselves propelled into significant administrative roles. This sudden acquiring of power was due in several cases to county commissions who were impressed by voter support for the mill levy, but not aware of aging needs sufficiently to want to administer the funds directly. In these cases, county councils experienced a high functional level either by choice or by necessity.

FORMALIZATION RELATED TO OTHER VARIABLES

Eight indicators of organization and style were combined to create a formalization scale or index. The scores (maximum score = 8) ranged from three to eight. The formalization variable was associated with four other variables in the study, viz. rural/urban setting, coordination, mill levy, and council size.

Some association was found between rural/urban settings and formalization. Five of nine urban counties had highly formalized councils and six of nine rural counties had low levels of council formalization (see Table 30). The general strength of the pattern was similar to council size in rural/urban settings. Urban councils were large and rural councils were small. Given a lack of other influences, these patterns are typical of rural/urban differences. It partially is due to life style differences in gemeinschaft/gesellschaft settings. The differences in council size and formalization is also partially due to the inevitably larger and more complex setting of urban industrialized society as reflected in urban Kansas counties.

TABLE 30
FORMALIZATION BY RURAL/URBAN SETTING

Formalization	Setting		
	Rural	Urban	
High	3	5	8
Low	6	4	10
P = .3186	9	9	18

A strong association existed between formalization and coordination. Using data from twelve councils (six councils had mixed reports on coordination and no conclusion was reached), five of seven councils with active coordinative relationships were highly formalized. At the same time, four of five councils with passive relationship with others were not highly formalized (see Table 31).

TABLE 31
FORMALIZATION BY COORDINATION

Formalization	Coordination		
	Active	Passive	
High	5	1	6
Low	2	4	6
P = .1212	7	5	12
Mixed Patterns (no coordination type determined) = 6			

The pattern shows that councils which are actively coordinated with other groups in the county are more formalized than less coordinated councils. A part of formalization (clear means of appointing members, by-laws developed, written agenda used) makes the operation of a group clear and understandable as well as indicating its stability. A part of formalization also enhances communication (minutes of meetings kept, duplicated and distributed) and cooperation (committees used in councils) between members. These characteristics enhance coordination between members and groups as well. The functional level and coordination thus are strongly associated in organizational processes.

A moderately strong relationship also occurred between formalization and mill levy counties. Six of nine mill levy counties had highly formalized councils. Seven of nine non-mill levy counties had low levels of formalization in their councils (see Table 32).

TABLE 32
FORMALIZATION BY MILL LEVY

Formalization	Mill Levy		
	Mill Levy	Non-Mill Levy	
High	6	2	8
Low	3	7	10
P = .0767	9	9	18

As was true with coordination, the increased demands made upon councils led them to increase their formal style and structure. Coordination and mill levy variables also were moderately strongly related (see Table 26). Whenever the responsibility of administering a mill levy or of coordinating actively with different groups increase the level of formalization is likely to increase.

One other moderately strong relationship was that between formalization and council size. Six of ten large councils were highly formalized councils while six of eight small councils had less formalization (see Table 33). One principle of organization is that as size increases in a group, formalization increases. That is supported in this relationship. However, both formalization (as already suggested) and size of council may be the product of increasing responsibilities. If active coordination is sought with different groups, one way to accomplish it is to increase council size and formal organization. If

mill levy work increases the tasks faced by councils, one way to handle it is to increase council size and formalization. Council size and formalization are associated and will tend to co-vary with active coordinative efforts or with mill levy responsibilities.

TABLE 33
FORMALIZATION BY COUNCIL SIZE

Formalization	Council Size		
	Large	Small	
High	6	2	8
Low	4	6	10
P = .1573	10	8	18

FUNCTIONAL LEVEL AND FORMALIZATION

The indicators of both indices formed cumulative patterns with the sample counties suggesting that two scales had been created. In order to learn the extent to which the two scales overlap or duplicate each other, an analysis was done and a correlation coefficient for the two scales created. The correlation coefficient of the two scales was .4465 and the probability .032 suggesting a model of interdependence.

HYPOTHESES

Two general hypotheses were developed for the study. The first dealt with political pluralism and organizational structure. Clark (1968:34) concluded that, with differing power structures in different communities, what was needed was to relate different structural characteristics to the more monolithic or more pluralistic community power structures. Greer/Oreans (in Edwards/Booth, 1973) maintained

that the parapolitical structure of a society (interfacing of official and unofficial groups) allow individual interests to be translated into political behavior. They found in their research that variations in the parapolitical structure were related to variations in the social opportunities structure. A general adaptation of these ideas relative to county aging councils led to the hypothesis: The more pluralistic the community power structure is, the more formal the style of the county council will be.

In the study, political pluralism was operationally defined in relation to the proportion of die-hard voters in a losing campaign by party (see Chapter III). Eleven pluralist and seven non-pluralist counties were defined in the sample. All eighteen counties were scored on eight indicators of formalization and received a formalization score. The association of the variables is seen in Table 34.

TABLE 34
FORMALIZATION BY PLURALISM

Formalization	Pluralism		
	Pluralist	Non-Pluralistic	
High	6	2	8
Low	5	5	10
P = .2783	11	7	18

A weak relationship is seen between pluralism and formalization. Six of eleven pluralist counties had highly formalized councils while five of seven non-pluralist counties had councils that were not highly formalized. Hence, eleven of the eighteen counties supported the hypothesis. However, in comparison to other variable associations with

formalization, such a pattern is not significant. Rural/urban settings were as strongly associated with formalization as pluralism. Council size and the presence or absence of a mill levy was more strongly associated with formalization than pluralism. Coordinational activities was very strongly associated with formalization. While there is some support for the pluralist hypothesis, it did not appear as a strongly associated variable in the study.

A second general hypothesis grew out of a theoretical article dealing with intra-organizational concepts. Eisenstadt (in Etzioni, 1961) concluded that the formal goals of an organizational greatly effect the internal structures established by the organization as well as its relations with other groups and with the social system. From this was derived the hypothesis: councils perceiving their role to be the direct administration of services will organize more formally than councils perceiving their role as advisory and/or policy-setting.

In the study, three sets of relationships were used to test the hypothesis. Administration (or delivery) of services, setting of policy, and advisory to AAA were all examined in relation to formalization.

The advisory role of councils, while it related well to other variables (proportion of elderly, pluralism, delivery of services) showed no relationship to formalization. This suggests that being an advisory body does not encourage a council to formally organize in a significant way.

The policy-setting variable showed a moderate relationship to formalization. Seven of twelve policy-setting councils were highly

formalized while five of six non-policy-setting councils were not highly formalized (see Table 35).

TABLE 35
FORMALIZATION BY POLICY-SETTING

Formalization	Policy-Setting		
	Yes	No	
High	7	1	8
Low	5	5	10
P = .9204	12	6	18

This pattern indicates that policy-setting councils are often more formally organized than non-policy setting groups.

The strongest association with formalization in the study was by the service delivery variable. Five of seven councils that were involved in the direct administration (delivery) of aging services were highly formalized groups. At the same time, eight of eleven councils that were not involved in service delivery were not highly formalized. Thirteen of the eighteen councils supported the hypothesis that service delivery councils will organize formally (see Table 36).

TABLE 36
FORMALIZATION BY DIRECT SERVICES

Formalization	Direct Services		
	Direct Services	No Direct Services	
High	5	3	8
Low	2	8	10
P = .0882	7	11	18

Comparing the three variables just reviewed, it is clear that the study showed support for the second hypothesis. Five of seven direct service councils were highly formalized. Seven of twelve policy-setting councils were highly formalized. Five of eleven advisory councils were highly formalized. Eight of eleven non-direct service councils were not highly formalized. Five of six non-policy-setting councils were not highly formalized, and four of seven non-advisory councils were not highly formalized.

In summary, there was limited general support for the hypothesis that political pluralism in counties leads to the formalization of county councils. Other associations were stronger than pluralism. However, there were strong consistent indications of support for the hypothesis that direct service councils will organize more formally than advisory or policy-setting councils. Overall, the study suggests that certain types of purposes or activities (coordination, administration of mill levy, direct delivery of services) are associated with formalization among councils and other types of purposes or activities (advisory role) are not associated.

CHAPTER V

REVIEW OF STUDY

This study examined the development of county councils on aging in Kansas. Its purpose was to describe variations in organization and style that occurred in these special purpose voluntary associations. The overall objectives of the study were:

1. to describe the historical process of development of each county council;
2. to determine what functions were seen as most important to those persons involved in forming county councils;
3. to examine what organizational structure and style was developed in each county;
4. to study how selected community factors related to perceived county council functions; and
5. to examine how organizational structure and style were associated with functions (roles) of councils.

The literature on voluntary associations and formal organizations guided the conceptual development of the study. Durkheim, Kornhauser, Olson et al have described the functional roles which voluntary associations play in the mass society. Among others, they provide an organized means by which older people can effect the kinds of aging services that are made available to their communities. They also provide individuals with a means of understanding issues and expressing their positions. Studies of community power suggested that different types of power structures exist in different communities (Clark) and what was

needed was for different local area characteristics (variables) to be related to community power structures. This the study did in relating the political pluralism variable to other variables.

Greer/Orleans in a Minneapolis study found that variations in the parapolitical roles of groups in a community were related to variations in the overall social opportunities structure of the community. In this study, that led to the proposing of a general hypothesis: the more pluralistic the community political structure, the more formal the style of the county councils will be. Eisenstadt argued that the formal goals of an organization greatly affect the internal structures that are established by the organization. Furthermore, Simon, the organizational specialist, had set forth the idea that the organizational structure and function of a group arises from the typical problems faced and choices made by the group. Based upon these ideas, a second general hypothesis was developed, namely that: councils perceiving their role to be the direct administration of services will organize more formally than councils perceiving their role as advisory and/or policy-setting.

A small number of researchers had studied inter-organizational relations. Litwak/Hylton identified typical tasks of the inter-agency coordinating agency--such matters as communicating pertinent information to different groups, adjudicating disputes, and promoting common interests. Warren described four types of inter-organizational relations in community decision organizations. From this research came the concept of coordination as a functional variable in county councils on aging. Katz-Lazarsfeld described the "gatekeeper" role of leaders in relating an organization to the community. From that came ideas about

county council leadership patterns. Turk proposed a model of inter-organizational activation describing linkage processes and coalitions between organizations from which ideas for the study were drawn.

Data for the study was gathered through focused interviews with thirty-six persons in eighteen counties of Kansas. In addition, each respondent filled out an information form about himself (summary in appendix). Eighteen case studies were compiled from the interviews and other data.

The analysis of the data focused upon associations between variables and related these to the development of the councils. As stated at the outset, the study was descriptive in nature. However, two general hypotheses were developed and tested for general fit in the patterns of relationship. A controlled study in which other factors were held constant in order to test the effect of one variable on another was not undertaken. Because of this study, however, further studies testing specific hypotheses about organizational relationships are possible.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The greater numbers of older people (3,400 to 31,500) tended to be in urban counties, but higher proportions (17-26%) of elderly were found in rural counties.

There were significant aging services before county councils were established. Thirteen of eighteen counties had some services and some senior citizens' groups. Only three counties had no services and only two had no senior citizen groups before a council was formed.

The pressure to form a council came in nine cases from the AAA and in seven cases from local people. In two cases (Marion and Wyandotte Counties), the councils existed before the AAAs were established. The most frequent pattern of beginnings was the establishment of some particular aging service and then the formation of a county council to be sure federal or local funding would be assured to continue the service.

Coordination patterns tended to vary along a "horizontal" and a "vertical" line. Ties with county commissioners and with non-aging groups (horizontal) tended to be cordial but passive. At the same time, ties with the AAA and with aging groups (vertical) tended to be active and supportive. Vertical coordination was more extensive than horizontal coordination. Council functions were scaled along several indicators. These included advocacy, advising county commissions, initiating aging planning, advising the AAA, reviewing proposals for aging funds, electing AAA board members, setting county aging policy, and administering aging services. Most councils were quite functional. However, only five of eighteen councils directly administered aging services.

Formalization of councils was also scaled along several indicators. These included minutes of meetings were kept, duplicated and distributed, by-laws were passed, clear criteria for council membership existed, council membership was clearly designated, councils were incorporated, and written agendas were used in meetings. Eight councils used committees in their work. Only six were incorporated or used written agendas. Only about one-third of the councils were highly formal in their procedures.

In the present study, five strong associations between variables were found. These included a strong relationship between pluralism and rural/urban setting. With one exception, urban settings were uniformly pluralistic while rural areas varied but were mostly non-pluralistic. Rural/urban setting was strongly associated with proportion of older people. Population studies for several years have found as this study did also, that rural areas have much higher proportions of older people than urban areas. The size of councils was strongly associated with pluralism. This was supportive of the general assumptions of the study about the effect pluralism should have on a community. Council size was expected to be larger and formalization greater in pluralist counties because of the presence of competing views or varied interests to be represented on the councils. As will be noted shortly, the formalization effect was slight. However, the association of council size with pluralism was to be expected.

Another strong association of significance in the study was between coordination and formalization. Tasks which will lead to coordination between groups effective also tend to increase the formalization level, e.g. clear communication by keeping, duplicating and distributing minutes, or involvement of all groups by use of committees within the council process. Formalization is then a strong concomitant of coordination.

The fifth strong association was between service delivery and formalization which was the main indicator of hypothesis number two and will be reviewed shortly.

In addition to strong associations, there were clusters of associations that provide the basis for beginning to think in terms of overall relationship models.

One pair of associations was with the service delivery variable. Counties with a high proportion of elderly (primarily rural counties) were moderately related to service delivery councils. At the same time, mill levy counties were also moderately related to service delivery councils. The visibility of elderly needs in high proportion elderly counties led councils to become direct service providers wherever other providers were not readily available. The passage of a mill levy, especially where the councils had strongly promoted it frequently created a level of interest and commitment within councils such that it was easily assumed by the council and the communities as well that the councils would operate the services provided through the mill levy.

The largest cluster of associations were those related to formalization. Six variables were related to formalization. These included pluralism, mill levy, coordination, policy-setting, service delivery and council size. The first four had the effect of encouraging greater formalization. Service delivery was tested in one hypothesis and was strongly related to formalization (see next paragraph). The variable of council size co-varied with formalization and was a measure not fully separate from it. These will be discussed shortly as part of a tentative causal model.

The two hypotheses were supported by the associations found between variables in the study. The first hypothesis, that pluralism would lead to greater formalization received only limited support while other variables had much stronger association with formalization. The

second hypothesis, that administration of services (or service delivery) would lead to increasing formalization was strongly supported. The second half of the hypothesis, that service delivery would influence formalization more strongly than setting policy or being advisory was also supported. Setting policy was moderately related to formalization and being advisory was not related at all to formalization.

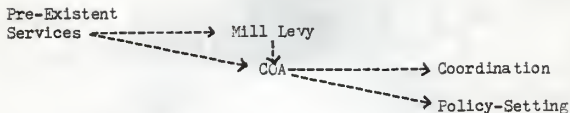
It is important to note that patterns of association are not direct support for the hypotheses per se. The patterns do not establish any sense of directionality or causal order. They merely indicate correspondence of occurrence; a certain type of condition occurred with a certain other type of condition and not with its opposite. Further, the different degrees of association presented must be viewed cautiously because of the small sample size and the high potential for change if one or two responses were changed. The Fisher Exact Probability Test helped to determine which relationships were least likely to be subject to chance mathematically, but a clear test with a significantly larger sample will be the best test of validity.

From the relationships identified in the study at least three "ideal-type" models by which county councils developed can be suggested. These models are: 1) the "Means to an end" model; 2) the Advisory model; and 3) the "Full steam ahead" model.

The "Means to an end" model occurred in settings where pre-existing aging services were operating but needed more public funding or the certainty of continued public funding.

DIAGRAM I

"Means-to-an-end" Model



Often a mill levy was desired and a county council was formed to help promote it or a council was formed to promote aging services and a mill levy was the first major step taken. With passage of the mill levy, various aging and non-aging groups were drawn together to help plan for and decide upon the spending of the mill levy funds. The coordination and funds administration led to increasing work. As a result, council size and formalization was increased.

A second developmental model is the advisory model. In counties with low proportions of older people and few pre-existent services (generally low visibility), the AAA often urged creation of a council to advise the AAA about aging needs. Such councils, with no strong demands for immediate funding before them often undertook surveys of older people's needs and remained loosely organized.

DIAGRAM II

"Advisory Model"

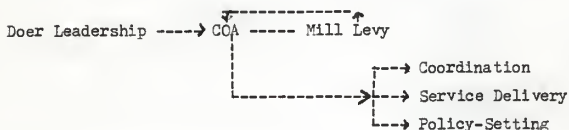


A third model for county council development was the "Full Steam Ahead" model. In this setting, people started out with certain

service goals in mind and went about organizing to achieve them. Often, the visibility of older people (high proportion elderly) and the initial recruiting of "doer" types of leaders led to formation of a council (with or without AAA assistance) and shortly, to promotion and passage of a mill levy. The effect of the mill levy was to increase pressure on the council to coordinate with groups in the county and to generate policies by which the mill levy would be handled. Usually, the council had intended to operate the services from the beginning and the several tasks just noted led to a high level of formalization and a large size council.

DIAGRAM III

"Full Steam Ahead" Model



SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

These models could be effectively tested by a larger sample survey. More than just two respondents per county and persons in addition to immediate council leaders would strengthen validity. In addition, the two Guttman Scales created in the study, the Functional Level Index (FUNCDEX) and the Formalization Index (FORMDEX) could be tested further to see if they reach levels of significance with a larger sample. If they do so, further tests could be used to see if

they are generalizable to other types of new organizations besides county councils on aging.

It would also be valuable to survey others than county council members within the aging system (local service providers, AAA, state unit on aging) and compare the perceptions of county council roles and functions.

Finally, a valuable study could be made of the horizontal and vertical coordination patterns (which differed strongly in this study) compared to horizontal and vertical characteristics examined in other organizational studies (communication, etc.).

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Interview Guide

(Interview begins with approximately the following statement:
I am interested in learning how the council on aging (COA) got started, especially in what everyone thought about it. Let's talk about the development of the council from the first meetings that you attended through the first year or two.

Let's talk about the first meetings that were held and about what people hoped for and expected to have happen. Later, we'll discuss what actually happened.)

I. Background

Do you recall the first meeting you attended where the idea of a COA was discussed? Where was the meeting held? Who had called the meeting together? Who all was there? What was discussed? Can you recall what impression you had as to what a COA was about? What was the approximate date of that meeting? When was the council formally organized then?

1.1 What was the general purpose or purposes people forming the council had in mind? (Was the impression ever given that such a group would be necessary if the county was to be eligible for federal aging funds?)

1.2 Specifically, what did people expect that the council was going to do?

1.3 In those early months, what explanation was given to different community groups and agencies as to what a COA was all about?

1.4 Do you recall from where any of these ideas about the COA came?

1.5 Did the question come up at any time as to whether the COA should directly operate services or not? (If yes, what was the decision and why? If no, is that still the council's policy?)

II. Attitudes Toward the Council

2.1 What were the attitudes of different community groups toward the

forming of a COA? Was there resistance or opposition to the forming of a COA? Did these attitudes change?

2.2 What were the initial attitudes of the county commissioners toward forming a COA?

III. Organizational Structure and Style

(We've talked about what you anticipated in forming the COA. Let's discuss what actually took place in regard to the formal organization of the council.)

3.1 Did the COA have, from the beginning, a clear list of members, i.e. was there some criteria for membership? If so, what was it? How were people "recruited" to serve on the council? Were they formally appointed? By whom?

3.2 When did the council establish by-laws? How were these developed? From where did they come? Who wrote them?

Was the council incorporated? (If so, why was this done? Who was wanting this?)

3.3 Did the COA have any funds (or a budget) when it first began? (If yes, from where did these come? If no, how were council expenses handled?)

3.4 How often did the council meet? Does it still meet in that pattern?

3.5 How did the council keep in touch with its members or interested others at first? Were minutes of meetings kept, duplicated and mailed out? Were notices of meetings sent out, published in paper, etc.? Were there other records and reports that were kept?

IV. Coordination

4.5 What were some of the topics or activities with which the council dealt during the first year or two?

4.3 What kind of relationship did the council develop with the aging groups in the county? Did the council coordinate activities between these

different groups for any specific programs?

4.1 What kind of contact did the council have with the county commissioners? Was there a report made to them regularly? Did they attend council meetings?

4.2 What kind of relationship did the council have with the AAA board and staff? Did board members report to the council regularly? Did AAA staff attend council meetings? Were council minutes, meeting notices, etc. sent regularly to the AAA office?

4.4 What kind of relationship did the council have with non-aging agencies who were concerned about aging services (county health or extension offices, SRS, etc.)?

(Now, in terms of the "nuts and bolts" of the way the council operated?)

3.6 The council had officers. Did the officers form or meet as an executive committee? (If yes, what did it do? If no, was an executive committee formed later on?)

Were working committees used in the council? How were they used? Did they have authority to act on behalf of the council or only to gather information and report in to the council? What were some of the committees?

3.7 Were agendas planned for the COA meetings? Who planned them? Were those given out to council members? Mailed out or handed out at the meeting?

3.8 Were meetings conducted in a formal or an informal style? Was parliamentary procedure followed or were decisions reached more by informal consensus?

3.9 Did any touchy issues with divided feelings among council members arise? How were these handled? Can you describe an example?

(Whenever a new group begins, there is some doubt or uncertainty as to how worthwhile or successful it will be. I'm sure there were some of those questions in mind as the council got started.)

- 2.4 Were there any specific things, actions of the council or people on it, that gave the council credibility in your eyes? Was there any turning point, early-on at which you felt the council was really going to be worthwhile?
- 2.5 What factors do you think contributed to the credibility or positive image of the council in the eyes of the community? (Did the fact that most members were older people increase its credibility? Did the total number of aging groups? The geographic representation? The leadership of the council?)
- 2.6 How were the leaders of the council selected? Why do you think these particular persons were chosen and not others? Were these persons who had held previous positions of leadership and were known in the community?
- 2.7 What prior positions of leadership had these people held in the community or did they hold when they became council leaders? Did these experiences of leadership outside the council benefit the council in anyway? (How so?)
- 4.7 What training did council leaders receive for their work on the council? What materials did they receive? Who provided this?
- 4.6 In general, was the council seen as having expertise in aging problems? (If so, why was it so credited with expertise? If not, who was seen as having that expertise?)

V. Roles of the Council

(Let's think about the functions or roles the council served when it got going).

- 5.1 Did the council gather information and make recommendations to the AAA and other groups of services needed by older people?
- 5.2 What was the council's responsibility in the appointing of members to the AAA board?
- 5.3 Did the COA gather information and recommend specific programs and services?

to the county commissioner for possible county administered funds?

5.4 Did the county commissioners delegate any responsibility to the COA to determine which services were needed or did they expect only a recommendation as to possible services that might be funded?

5.5 What part did the COA play in determining which aging proposals in the county should receive federal grant funds?

Did the council develop the proposals, or did they only review proposals developed by other groups? Was it understood that any proposal to the AAA had to receive COA approval first?

5.6 Was there any contact with the state aging office as the council carried out its work?

5.7 Was the AAA annual plan for area services submitted to the COA? (If yes, was it for approval or just for your information?)

(We've touched upon three kinds of functional power: advisory power--offering ideas and recommendations about services; policy power--having authority to decide yes or no about a proposed issue; Administrative power--the direct operation of a program.)

5.8 Which of these functions did the council anticipate would be most basic in their activity?

5.9 Has the council changed in its exercise of these three functions since it began? How so?

VI. Other Indicators

(Are there other aspects of the life of the COA in its first year or two that we have not touched on that you feel are important in understanding it?)

A VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION IN A FORMAL BUREAUCRACY:
THE CASE OF THE COUNTY COUNCIL ON AGING IN KANSAS

by

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AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

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This study examined the development of county councils on aging in Kansas. Its purpose was to describe variations in organizational style as these related to county level responses to the problems and needs of the elderly and to identify correlates of organizational style. County councils were conceptualized as a special case of voluntary associations created by an administrative bureaucracy.

Eighteen county councils on aging were studied. These were purposively selected from each of the ten area agency on aging service areas in Kansas. Focused interviews, with a semi-structured schedule, were conducted with two persons from each council. The researcher, a former area agency on aging director, was familiar with county councils and with the aging system. A modified case study approach was followed and the Fisher Exact Probability Test was used to identify significant associations among variables.

Coordination between county councils and other organizations was found to vary on both "horizontal" and "vertical" levels. Horizontal coordination was cordial but passive while vertical coordination was active and supportive. A number of council activities were cumulatively combined to form a Guttman Scale of Functions. A similar scale of the formalization of councils was also developed.

Strong associations between several variables in the study were found including: pluralism with rural/urban setting, rural/urban settings with proportion of elderly, council size with political pluralism, coordination with formalization, and service delivery with formalization. Two clusters of associations were found among variables. One cluster included the association of high proportion of elderly counties and of mill levy counties with direct service delivery by

councils. The other cluster included six variables associated with formalization. These were political pluralism, mill levy, coordination, policy-setting, service delivery, and size of council variables.

Two hypotheses were tested. The first held that political pluralism would lead to greater formalization than non-pluralism. It was only weakly supported by the findings. Other variables were more strongly associated with formalization. The second hypothesis stated that direct delivery of services would lead to greater formalization than policy-setting or advisory roles. This was strongly supported by the findings.

Three "ideal-type" patterns or models by which county councils developed emerged from the study. These were: 1) the "Means-to-an-end" Model; 2) the Advisory Model; and 3) the "Full Steam Ahead" Model.