1. Report No.	2. Government Accession No.	3. Recipient's Catalog No.
TTI-2-8-75-190-2		

4. Title and Subtitle	5. Report Date
IDENTIFICATION OF MINORITY COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP FOR INVOLVEMENT IN TRANSPORTATION PROJECT PLANNING	January, 1977
	6. Performing Organization Code
7. Author(s)	8. Performing Organization Report No.
Patricia K. Guseman and Judith Hall	Research Report 190-2
9. Performing Organization Name and Address	10. Work Unit No.
Texas Transportation Institute Texas A&M University College Station, Texas 77843	11. Contract or Grant No. TTI-2-8-75-190
	13. Type of Report and Period Covered
12. Sponsoring Agency Name and Address	Interim - September, 1974 January, 1977
Texas State Department of Highways and Public Transportation Transportation Planning Division, P.O. Box 5051 Austin, Texas 78763	14. Sponsoring Agency Code

15. Supplementary Notes

Research done in cooperation with FHWA, DOT.
Research Study Title: Transportation, People, and Planning: An Interdisciplinary Study.

16. Abstract

The delineation of representative leaders in minority subareas for participation in transportation project planning constitutes the overall objective for the report. Techniques for leadership identification were derived from existing sociological literature and adapted for use in smaller community subareas in both urban and rural locales. Specifically, objectives pursued in the preparation of the report include the following: (1) to outline major methods of leadership identification which may be adapted to minority local areas, (2) to assess the relative advantages and disadvantages of the proposed techniques with respect to project planning in minority communities; (3) to evaluate the "representativeness" of leaders identified by the methods; and (4) to propose a strategy for the involvement of identified representatives in project planning and implementation. Three general techniques were identified: (1) the positional approach, for which officership of formal and informal organizations constitutes leadership; (2) the decisional approach, which defines leadership in terms of an individual's influence in overt issues, and (3) the reputation approach, which gauges influence by other resident's evaluation of an individual's leadership capabilities.

In order to realize these objectives, a limited study of a minority community contesting the anticipated widening of a freeway into the local area was conducted. Seventy residents and 20 activists in the issue were interviewed to gain data on the respondent's knowledge of major local community influentials, the actions of major participants in the freeway issue, and personal characteristics of activists,

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17. Key Words	18. Distribution Statement
Community leadership, social impact, power, sociological techniques, project planning, minority communities, public involvement	

19. Security Classif. (of this report)	20. Security Classif. (of this page)	21. No. of Pages	22. Price
Unclassified	Unclassified	142	

including their organizational affiliations. From the data collected, it was concluded that the leadership structure dominating the black ghetto could be related to its alliance with the larger metropolitan decision-making structure. Because decision-making in the study area was closely affiliated with the larger community, the leadership structure was relatively diffuse, and few generalized leaders could be identified. Additionally, a typology of the activists' authenticity of commitment was constructed to measure the extent to which the leaders' actions were representative of area residents. Leaders were found to range widely on this dimension, from those following personal interests to those motivated by "higher values."

Potential "participants" in the processes of localized citizen participation were viewed as personifying one of three classifications: (1) persons who, while residing in the project area, are not adversely affected and are unconcerned, or perhaps, who are passively favorable to the proposal; (2) individuals who are personally affected, perhaps by residing in the right-of-way corridor, and who are normally opposed to the facility's introduction; and (3) influential persons who are personally unaffected but who are concerned with the disruptive potential of project development in their local area. These latter individuals will generally be delineated as "community leaders" by the techniques discussed in the report. It was recommended that the involvement of these key representative leaders is vital in the early phases of project planning. Such early inclusion in planning efforts serves to facilitate project implementation by reducing the potential for conflict, providing additional information on the social and environmental consequences of various alternatives, and enhancing the dissemination of information through existing communication networks.

Technical Reports Center
Texas Transportation Institute

IDENTIFICATION OF MINORITY COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP FOR INVOLVEMENT IN TRANSPORTATION PROJECT PLANNING

by

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Research Report 190-2
Research Study Number 2-8-75-190
Transportation, People, and Planning:
An Interdisciplinary Study

Sponsored by
the State Department of Highways
and Public Transportation
in Cooperation with the
Federal Highway Administration
U.S. Department of Transportation

January, 1977

Texas Transportation Institute
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College Station, Texas

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors wish to express their sincere appreciation to those who have assisted or facilitated this study. Special acknowledgement is given to Mr. Robert L. Lewis, Mr. James W. Barr, and Dr. Clyde A. Bullion of the Highway Design Division, Texas State Department of Highways and Public Transportation. Mr. Barr's assistance and encouragement were of special benefit in completing this research report. The information provided by Mr. William V. Ward and Mr. William McClure of the Houston Urban Office, Texas State Department of Highways and Public Transportation, also is gratefully acknowledged. Mr. C. Howard McCann of the Federal Highway Administration provided additional constructive assistance in the early stages of the research report.

Many staff members of the Texas Transportation Institute aided in implementing the study and project report. Dr. W. Frank McFarland, Program Manager of Transportation Economics and Sociology, provided valuable assistance. Mr. Dock Burke, as principal investigator for the overall research study, "Transportation, People, and Planning: An Interdisciplinary Study," provided continual facilitation and constructive assistance throughout the preparation of this report. A special acknowledgement is extended to Mr. Theron K. Fuller, who assisted in data gathering and analysis. Finally, the authors wish to express their appreciation to the typists of this manuscript, Mrs. Melinda Morgan, Ms. Margaret Kuntz, Ms. Judy Britton, and Mrs. Frances Neal. Special gratitude is extended to Ms. Kuntz for her painstaking efforts in all stages of typing.

The contents of this report reflect the views of the authors who are responsible for the facts and the accuracy of the data presented herein.

The contents do not necessarily reflect the official views or policies of the Federal Highway Administration. The report does not constitute a standard, a specification, or a regulation.

ABSTRACT

The delineation of representative leaders in minority subareas for participation in transportation project planning constitutes the overall objective for the report. Techniques for leadership identification were derived from existing sociological literature and adapted for use in smaller community subareas in both urban and rural locales. Specifically, objectives pursued in the preparation of the report include the following: (1) to outline major methods of leadership identification which may be adapted to minority local areas, (2) to assess the relative advantages and disadvantages of the proposed techniques with respect to project planning in minority communities; (3) to evaluate the "representativeness" of leaders identified by the methods; and (4) to propose a strategy for the involvement of identified representatives in project planning and implementation. Three general techniques were identified: (1) the positional approach, for which officership of formal and informal organizations constitutes leadership; (2) the decisional approach, which defines leadership in terms of an individual's influence in overt issues, and (3) the reputational approach, which gauges influence by other residents' evaluation of an individual's leadership capabilities.

In order to realize these objectives, a limited study of a minority community contesting the anticipated widening of a freeway into the local area was conducted. Seventy residents and 20 activists in the issue were interviewed to gain data on the respondents' knowledge of major local community influentials, the actions of major participants in the freeway issue, and personal characteristics of activists, including their organizational

affiliations. From the data collected, it was concluded that the leadership structure dominating the black ghetto could be related to its alliance with the larger metropolitan decision-making structure. Because decision-making in the study area was closely affiliated with the larger community, the leadership structure was relatively diffuse, and few generalized leaders could be identified. Additionally, a typology of the activists' authenticity of commitment was constructed to measure the extent to which leaders' actions were representative of area residents. Leaders were found to range widely on this dimension, from those following personal interests to those motivated by "higher values."

Potential "participants" in the processes of localized citizen participation were viewed as personifying one of three classifications: (1) persons who, while residing in the project area, are not adversely affected and are unconcerned, or perhaps, who are passively favorable to the proposal; (2) individuals who are personally affected, perhaps by residing in the right-of-way corridor, and who are normally opposed to the facility's introduction; and (3) influential persons who are personally unaffected, but who are concerned with the disruptive potential of project development in their local area. These latter individuals will generally be delineated as "community leaders" by the techniques discussed in the report. It was recommended that the involvement of these key representative leaders is vital in the early phases of project planning. Such early inclusion in planning efforts serves to facilitate project implementation by reducing the potential for conflict, providing additional information on the social and environmental consequences of various alternatives, and enhancing the dissemination of information through existing communication networks.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In recent years, state transportation agencies have more actively sought the constructive participation of individuals affected by proposed transportation improvements. Backed by federal directives which encourage citizen involvement, transportation decision-makers are increasingly petitioning the involvement of the local citizenry in the planning stages of facility improvements. Broadly, the purpose of localized citizen input is simply to enable the recipients of government services to have some voice and control over the quantity and scale of these services. Nevertheless, controversy over both degree of community control and levels of effective citizen participation is now commonplace, whether transportation or such matters as sewage disposal and air quality control is the issue under consideration.

In transportation project planning, a key objective is the construction or improvement of facilities in the most cost-effective manner. Thus, lower socioeconomic areas, many of which are minority communities, often are chosen as the most appropriate project sites. Representation of project-affected minority areas by local area leaders has been cited as a necessary element in project planning.

The object of the present report is, then, to outline the techniques and the potentialities of identifying local leaders in minority areas affected by transportation improvements to enable state transportation agencies to be fully responsive to minority interests and needs. More specifically, the report is addressed primarily to five general questions:

1. What is a community leader?
2. What are the most appropriate methods for identifying minority leaders?

3. To what degree is leadership concentrated?
4. Are the identified leaders "representative"?
5. How can minority leaders be more effectively involved in transportation planning?

Much of the information, as well as leader identification procedures, has been obtained from reviews of previous studies. Additionally, results and implications of a case study, undertaken in a black community of a large Texas metropolitan area (pseudonym: East Side), are reported. In this area, a freeway widening was a major issue around which community leadership could be identified.

Community leaders may be regarded as (1) delegates, or representatives of collective opinion, and as (2) opinion leaders, able to mold or manipulate local sentiment regarding community issues and goals. Three methods for identifying minority leaders have been extensively used in previous research: a positional approach, a decision analysis approach, and a reputational approach. These procedures rely on concomitant underlying meanings of leadership and power, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Defining Community Leadership Types and Concomitant Sources of Power

Leadership Type	Operational Definition	Source of Power
I. Positional Leaders	Legal or otherwise authorized responsibility as occupants of top positions in formal institutions (economic, religious, educational, political, and voluntary systems)	Vested Authority
II. Decisional Leaders	Active participation in decision-making on community-relevant issues	Actualized Power
III. Reputational Leaders	The capacity or potential to mobilize resources and apply influence on localized concerns	Imputed Power

POSITIONAL APPROACH TO LEADERSHIP IDENTIFICATION

Definition. The assessment of the first leadership type assumes that occupying formal positions of power is leadership. A census of public officials and leaders in formal organizations within the community during a specified time is secured. The occupants of the top positions in the community's major economic, religious, educational, political, and voluntary systems thus are taken to be the community leaders. Since these leaders have legal or authorized responsibility for setting community policy, and decide the outcome of specific issues, it is reasonable to assume that they do constitute at least the core of leaders. This first leadership type is utilized when vested authority is considered to be the predominant source of power.

Procedures. The general technique for delineating key positional leaders is outlined below:

(1) Delimit the boundaries of the local community affected by the introduction or improvement of transportation facilities.

(2) Compile a list of formal organizations throughout the locality. This may be accomplished through field observation of the area by the project staff or by consultation with community resource agencies who often maintain records of various social service agencies.

(a) Inventory both public and private agencies in the community, designating the formal leader in each and a description of the agency. These agencies have a direct impact on the community and in many cases affect the development of the community and the attitudes of its residents.

(b) List churches and religious organizations. Particularly in lower-class ethnic communities, denominational and "store-front" churches are widespread. Although church membership is usually small, ministers are generally cognizant of local residents' attitudes.

(c) List business organizations in the community and identify indigenous proprietors.

(d) List educational institutions and their respective administrators.

(3) Compile a census of informal associations in the area. In order to obtain this information, a small sample survey of residents can be conducted, in which respondents are asked to list all organizational memberships and officerships during the past five years.

(4) Membership or officership in nonlocal organizations should not enter into the final tabulations. Also, where district, state, or national organizations have offices or chapters in the local area, only positions or officerships in the locality should be tabulated. Organizations which are headquartered in the locality, but whose membership extends beyond its boundaries, are considered to be local organizations.

(5) Add the total number of key organizational positions for individuals and calculate mean scores to identify key leaders in local community affairs. Those individuals who participate in more than the mean number of organizations and hold more than the mean number of officerships should be designated as community leaders.

DECISIONAL APPROACH TO LEADERSHIP IDENTIFICATION

Definition. A second determination of community leadership suggests that active participation in decision-making on issues relevant to the community's well-being points to key leadership. Typically, in such studies, one or a series of community decisions is either observed or reconstructed, and an attempt is made to identify active participants in the decision-making process. To the extent that those observed as having a substantial input in the decisional arena are viewed as powerful, activists are then identified as community leaders.

Procedures. An outline of the procedures described for locating leaders in specific issue areas may be advanced as follows:

(1) Select for study a number of key decisions or action programs. This selection of actions is based on information obtained from informants, from public or organizational meetings, and from local area newspapers, where available. Criteria for choosing key issues are the locality-relevance of the issue and the comprehensiveness of its objectives.

(2) Group those issues selected for more detailed analysis according to their broad "fields" of interest.

(3) Identify the principal actors of each selected issue. Interviews with these individuals result in a more comprehensive summary of participants. This procedure is repeated until no new nominations are noted in the data.

(4) Classify involvement according to the phases of the action program to which they contribute. A model of action programs was identified

in the report, and included the phases of initiation, organization of sponsorship, goal-setting, recruitment, and implementation. Guidelines for this classification procedure were also advanced.

(5) Identify leaders, based on the actions in various phases of programs (influence) and on their scope of interest, that is, on the number of different "interest fields" in which leaders are involved. A quantitative index for determining influence within a specific program is denoted by the number of phases in which leaders participate. The notion of scope of interest is used to describe the generalization of program leaders throughout the community.

REPUTATIONAL APPROACH TO LEADERSHIP IDENTIFICATION

Definition. A third and final indicator of community leadership stems from the assumption that the leadership process is so complex that it cannot be indexed directly. Rather than assessing key positions or actual leadership on specific issues, a reputational measure is used, consisting of eliciting responses from a random sample of residents or from a "panel of informants" assumed to be knowledgeable about community affairs. Those who have valid reputations for being generally influential, and those who are reported as leaders in specific interest areas, are thus identified and assessed as being community leaders.

Procedures. In obtaining a listing of key reputed leaders, the following steps are followed:

(1) Interview a random sample of residents or informants considered to be knowledgeable about persons in the area, regarding those individuals who are assessed as being community leaders.

(2) Employ a "snowball" technique in the interviewing process, which requires that those nominated through (1) above also are questioned about community leadership. This process continues until no additional persons are nominated.

(3) Rank the influence of individuals by the total number of nominations each receives. Some tied ranks may be found.

(4) Identify key leaders by calculating the mean number of nominations for those persons receiving two or more nominations. This estimate provides the cutoff point between the key leaders and other, lower ranking leaders.

Techniques which are possible supplements to the discernment of reputed leaders are:

(1) the assessment of community leaders as "concealed," "visible," or "symbolic," in terms of their rankings by other top leaders compared to rankings by residents or lower ranking leaders;

(2) a sociogram which points to the degree of interaction among the leadership network;

(3) two ratios, a "ratio of interest" and a "ratio of attraction" that explain the degree of cohesiveness among leaders or the extent to which a clique structure is seen to exist;

(4) an alternate approach to interviewing both residents and knowledgeables which consists of site sampling; and

(5) procedures to measure reputed leadership on specific issues, such as highway construction or public transit.

OVERLAP AMONG THE THREE LEADERSHIP IDENTIFICATION PROCEDURES

The three approaches described above for identifying ethnic minority community leaders do not converge on an identical set of individuals in most cases. Normally, substantial agreement is found for top leaders when all three techniques are used.

Most often, only one approach need be utilized, depending on the project scale, the resources and time available, and the desired depth of community leadership involvement in transportation project planning. Each of the three measurement techniques has specific advantages and weaknesses in different situations, which are discussed in the report.

Leader Representativeness

The degree to which positional, decisional, and reputational leaders are representative of the minority community is addressed. Ideally, representative leaders hold personal attitudes comparable to community residents and are authentically committed to depicting collective, rather than personal, interests. A case study of leadership and involvement in a freeway extension within a minority community suggested that leaders in this sample fell into five community commitment categories. Those leaders considered most representative were from upper level categories in this typology.

MINORITY LEADERSHIP AND TRANSPORTATION PROJECT PLANNING

Being involved and interacting with various population segments has always been a primary method used by the state transportation agencies to determine the transportation-related desires and needs of these residents.

District and residency offices have represented important bases for public contact. Consequently, the emphasis placed upon public involvement in project planning, especially by representative community leaders, is an extension of the traditional relationship between local residents and state transportation agency representatives.

Ultimately, the consultation with minority community leaders, in both urban and rural areas, should enhance transportation project planning in three ways. First, minority leaders may provide useful information regarding the social and other environmental effects of proposed route alternatives. These data are normally required for inclusion in the environmental statements prepared by project staffs. Leaders are often very knowledgeable about both the make-up of the local area's population and the values held by community residents. Additionally, they are of primary importance in predicting, or disclosing, community sentiment about project development in the local area. Second, the participation of minority leaders in project planning can give more meaning to public involvement procedures included in all state transportation project planning designs. Their involvement can potentially ameliorate local area conflict over the proposed facility, since residents feel less victimized if local representatives are involved in planning. Further, minority leaders can promote public hearing participation by disseminating hearing time and location information to local residents. Third, minority leaders may provide assistance in post-hearing activities to facilitate, for example, the successful and adequate relocation of affected residents.

The involvement of minority leaders in project planning was outlined in a step-like fashion, paralleling activities undertaken by the project's technical team in assessing social, environmental, and economic consequences of the transportation improvement. It is important to realize that the proposed

steps do not constitute rigid procedures for project planning in all minority areas. Leadership involvement, like general public involvement, should be tailored to the specific project under consideration. However, it is vital that minority representatives be involved both early and meaningfully in the planning process. The procedure presented in the report represents one means of insuring both of these criteria, and it may be used to pattern other involvement modes.

IMPLEMENTATION STATEMENT

The presentation of research techniques in this report will find immediate applicability in the planning and public involvement efforts of SDHPT in transportation project planning. These techniques enable highway planning officials to identify and locate key influentials in areas, particularly minority communities affected by highway project development and improvement. Project planning in minority areas differs substantially from similar transportation planning in Anglo areas in the amount and type of involvement by the affected public. It is suggested that the proposed techniques will augment public involvement activities in minority communities by involving key indigenous representatives in the early phases of project planning. Their early involvement is important because: (1) it can help to avoid conflicts which often occur in later stages of project planning and implementation; (2) minority leaders are useful sources of information for defining and anticipating beneficial and disruptive impacts of selected locational alternatives; and (3) local influentials are able to effectively disseminate information to community residents.

The reported techniques are designed for use by planning personnel of SDHPT to facilitate their continual efforts to become more responsive to the transportation needs of highway users as well as the values and sentiments of nonusers affected by highway improvements. Such implementation will result in increasingly constructive public participation which contributes to the objectives of local community residents and planning officials alike.

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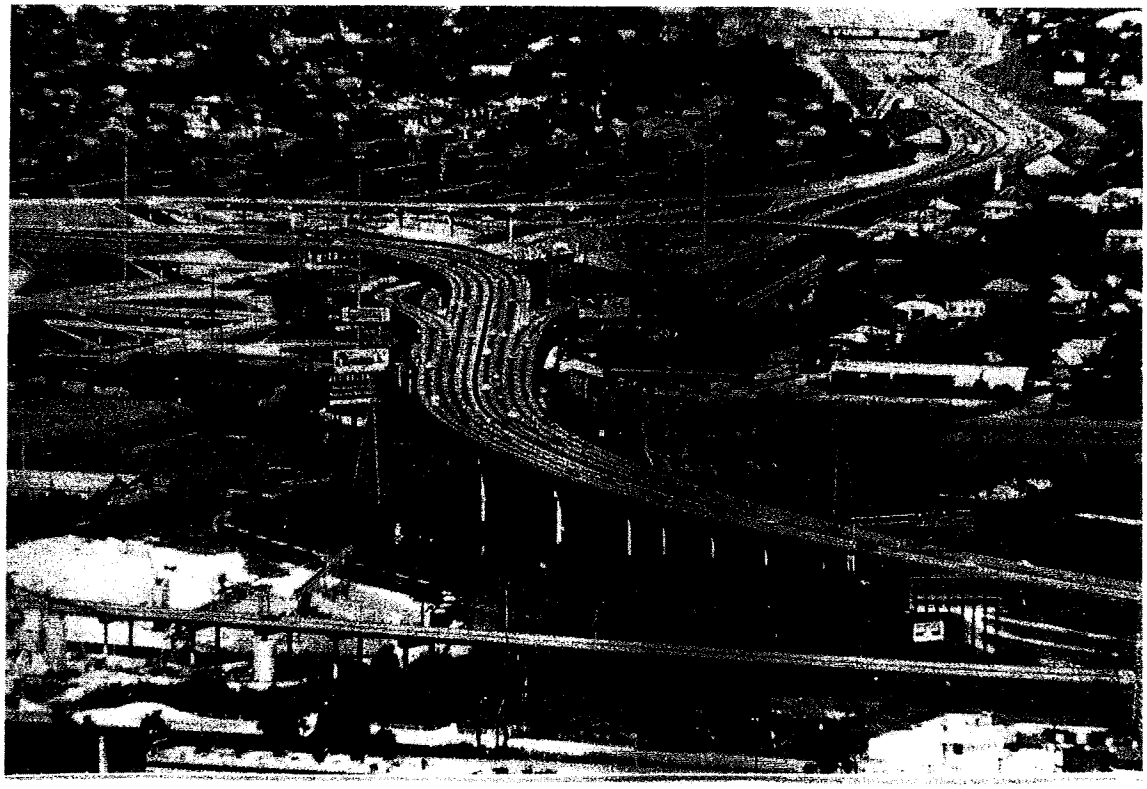
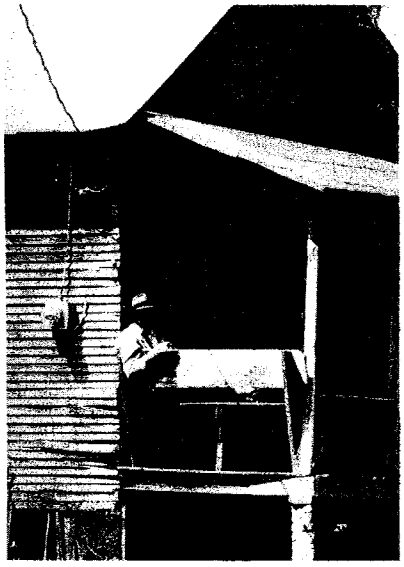




CHAPTER I

POLITICIZATION OF TRANSPORTATION PLANNING

In implementing transportation plans, state transportation agencies have increasingly solicited the participation of concerned citizens, particularly project area residents affected by transportation improvements and alterations. The overall objective of this localized citizen input is to enable the recipients of government services to have some voice and control over the quality and quantity of these services in their local area (National Research Council, 1975:127).

Many researchers suggest that a greater need currently exists for such broad-scale citizen involvement. Roland Warren (1971), for example, has attempted to validate the need for decentralization of decision-making in order to prevent increasing apathy and unrest, especially in urban areas. Minimal representation of ethnic minorities, in particular, will not suffice. As the futurist Alvin Toffler has suggested (in Ledé, 1975b:iii), "'new ways will have to be found to open up the entire process of planning, even at the highest levels, to popular input, to feedback from below . . .'" Toffler further warns that the old token representation of minorities will have to be altered and new ways must be found to assure contributions of these groups at all planning levels.

The politicization of transportation planning has resulted from an increasingly evident conflict of values felt within the local community. According to Colcord (1971:34-35):

> It was only when the freeway program and the absence of a transit program began to come in conflict with other major values of the culture that transportation came to the forefront among local public issues. Among those values have been the integrity of neighborhoods, the freedom to choose among different modes of transportation, the maintenance and improvement of a high-quality

> visual environment, the preservation of the heritage of the community through its historic districts, and the viability of a truly urban lifestyle. It was when these and other values were perceived to be threatened that transportation politics went high on the agenda. It was only after these values became salient that the two basic values of the urban political culture became consequential: the desire that locally-elected politicians and civic guardians of the community, including its 'street' leaders, participate in locally important decisions. Only then did the community become aware that transportation decision-making was inconsistent with its political culture.

In many cities today, the political nature of transportation planning has produced a transportation stalemate. Colcord further states (1971:35):

> In those cities where the local political system has succeeded in achieving a consensus on which values must structure transportation decisions, such a consensus has not yet been achieved in the state's political system. The city cannot impose such a policy on itself, but it can in most places effectively veto transportation programs inconsistent with its own value system. This occurs either through a formal veto or through informal political pressure; thus, the impasse.

To avoid the long standing stalemates which can, and have, resulted from organized opposition, particularly by black and Mexican-American residents, new procedures must be implemented to make transportation policy more consistent with local community values. The subject of this report, the involvement of minority community leaders in transportation planning, is seen as one way of augmenting current community involvement practices to reach that end. This approach does not negate the need for community involvement, but rather, is an important part of the total process.

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

A large number of studies in sociology and political science have examined the leadership of various population groupings. Leadership in local communities has been one of the main topics of concern. Growth of interest in this type of study has paralleled the growth of urban communities and concomitant urban problems (Freeman, 1968:1). The present study is an

attempt to clarify the approaches to leadership identification in minority areas. It can be assumed that (1) the identification of leaders, and (2) the way that power is distributed among minority leaders and the minority population, as well as in the larger community, has import for the resolution of localized issues, such as transportation improvements (see Walton, 1973a:327). Within limits, the means for correctly identifying representative and influential minority leaders presented in this report can be generalized to all geographic areas that are predominately ethnic minority communities.

These microcommunities seldom have any official standing; therefore, a necessary first step is the systematic and sensitive delineation of viable minority neighborhood/community boundaries in order to correctly identify the leadership structure. A discussion of the impact of community boundaries and organization on leadership patterns in minority subareas is presented in Chapter II.

For our purposes, leadership can be defined as an activity of the few that affects many (Freeman, 1968:11). But how are these few active leaders chosen? This report is addressed primarily to five general questions:

1. What is a community leader?
2. What are the most appropriate methods for identifying minority leaders?
3. To what degree is leadership concentrated?
4. Are the identified leaders "representative"?
5. How can minority leaders be more effectively involved in transportation planning?

These topical questions will be discussed in Chapters III through VII.

"POWER" AND "LEADERSHIP" DEFINED

A city or region taken as a whole may be considered to have a power structure, however complex, which may be considered to contain other levels of power structures. Especially in a minority subarea it is important to determine whether residents have the ability to achieve objectives considered important to them and that they, like the public-at-large, have some power over their residential area. It has been noted recently (Hudson, et al., 1974:256) that the localized leaders and citizens feel that public service systems tend to become less responsive and accountable as they grow in scale: "Integrity of the neighborhood thus becomes a bulwark against the encroachment of public policy in such diverse areas as school integration, the construction of new freeways, and the provision of low-income, integrated housing."

The significance of minorities having a substantial input easily can be neglected in attempting to delineate a comprehensive and effective overall transportation plan at a district level. Additionally, access to minority community leaders may not be readily available for involvement in transportation planning. "Leadership" can only be accessed when those few individuals who have a significant input in localized decision-making are identified. In the present context, then, community leadership refers to the process of making administered decisions that have consequences for the allocation of community resources and facilities (Freeman, 1968:3; Walton, 1973b:507-508). Wilkinson (1970), Dahl (1958), and other researchers of leadership identification have stressed the importance of considering the extent of a given leader's effect in expediting a particular change and the scope of community interest areas over which the leader's influence holds.

The importance of leader identification revolves around the concept of power, in regard to (a) making decisions as a delegate for the community that will be considered acceptable or representative of the collective opinion, and, conversely, (b) molding and manipulating public opinion because of the influence and authority tied to positions of powerful leadership. Power is usually conceived as the ability of an individual or individuals to select, to change, and to attain the goals of a particular social system, in this instance a community (see Clark, 1972:284; Walton, 1973b:507; Field, 1970:9-10).

One of the most complex problems that arises in assessing community leadership and a concomitant power structure is the determination of additional factors that should be included in these definitions. Three types of workable definitions have been common. The assessment of the first leadership type assumes that occupying formal positions of power is leadership. A census of public officials and leaders in formal organizations within the community during a specified time is secured (Preston, 1967:58-59). The occupants of the top positions in the community's major economic, religious, educational, political, and voluntary systems thus are taken to be the community leaders. Since these leaders have legal or authorized responsibility for setting community policy, and decide the outcome of specific issues, it is reasonable to assume that they do constitute at least the core of leaders. This first leadership type is utilized when vested authority is assumed to be the predominant source of power (Freeman, 1968:7).

A second determination of community leadership is perhaps a more realistic indicator, in that active participation in decision-making on issues relevant to the community's well-being is assessed as leadership. Typically, in such studies, one or a series of community decisions is either observed or reconstructed, and an attempt is made to identify active participants in

the decision-making process (Freeman, 1968:6). To the extent that those observed as having a substantial input in the decisional arena are viewed as powerful, activists are then identified as community leaders.

A third and final indicator of community leadership stems from the assumption that the leadership process is so complex that it cannot be indexed directly (Freeman, 1968:7). Rather than examining the assessment of actual leadership on specific issues, a reputational measure is used, consisting of eliciting responses from a "panel of informants" assumed to be knowledgeable about community affairs (Preston, 1969:205). Those who have a valid reputation for being influential as general leaders, and those who are reported as leaders in specific interest areas, are thus identified and assessed as being community leaders.

Table 1 summarizes the three leadership types and sources of power invested within each form of leadership. The socioeconomic characteristics of minority subareas are of additional importance as exogeneous indicators of leadership, in that these factors affect differential rates of leadership

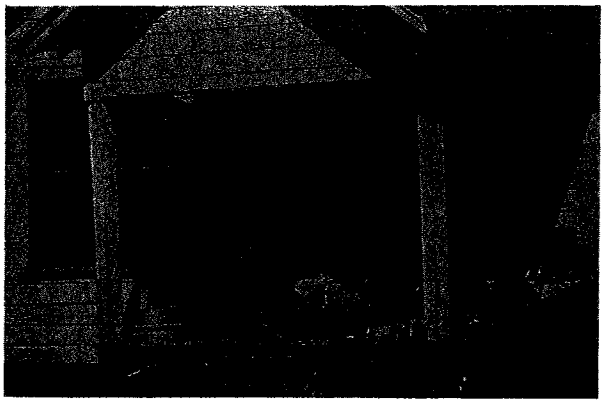
Table 1. Defining Community Leadership Types and Concomitant Sources of Power

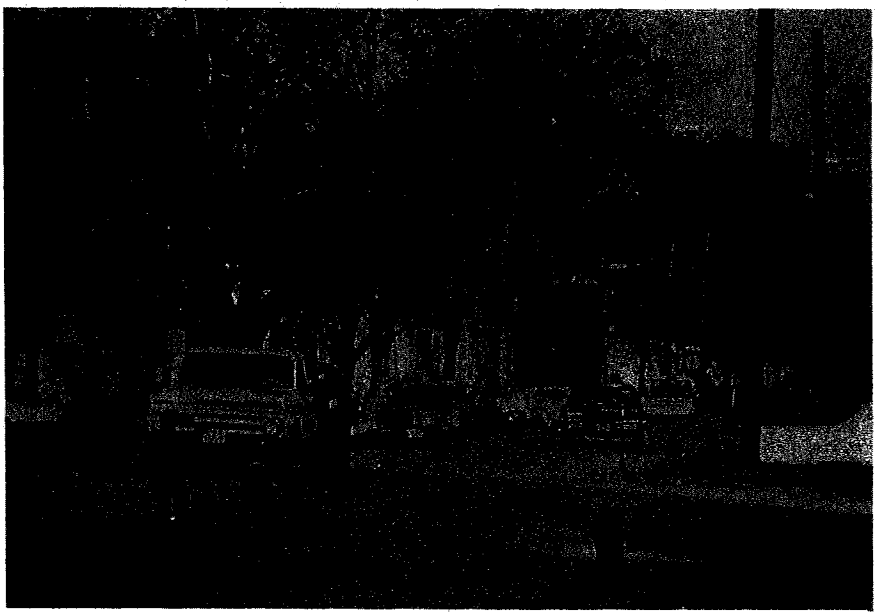
Leadership Type	Operational Definition	Source of Power
I. Positional Leaders	Legal or otherwise authorized responsibility as occupants of top positions in formal institutions (economic, religious, educational, political, and voluntary systems)	Vested Authority
II. Decisional Leaders	Active participation in decision-making on community-relevant issues	Actualized Power
III. Reputational Leaders	The capacity or potential to mobilize resources and apply influence on localized concerns	Imputed Power

on specific issues. Additionally, the type of power structure, i.e., degree of concentration of leaders, affects the scope and intensity of involvement on specific community issues and influences subsequent political outcomes.

SUMMARY

Transportation project planning, because of its widespread effect on various urban and rural population segments, has increasingly become subject to a "politicization" process. This includes the involvement of affected groups in the actual formulation of project plans to minimize the often disruptive social impact of proposed facilities by attempting to preserve local community values. In particular, the representation of project-affected minority areas by local area leaders has been cited as a necessary element of project planning. It can be assumed that the way power is distributed among minority leaders and minority residents does affect the resolution of localized issues, such as transportation project development. This is because community leaders may be regarded as (1) delegates, or representatives of collective opinion and (2) "opinion leaders," able to mold or manipulate local sentiment or opinion. Three approaches for identifying minority leaders have been recognized. Each method relies on different definitions and identifies different sources of power. These approaches--the positional, decisional, and reputational--will be the subject of subsequent chapters in the report.





CHAPTER II

THE IMPACT OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION ON LEADERSHIP PATTERNS IN MINORITY SUBAREAS

Two key issues which underlie the identification of minority community leaders for their involvement in transportation project planning are: (1) to what extent does the community serve as a basis of social organization and action, and (2) what are the distinctive leadership patterns in minority subareas and how are they related to characteristics of community organization? The rationale which founds the study of minority communities affected by the introduction or improvement of transportation facilities lies ultimately in the ability of the local area to function as a unit of social organization. In this chapter, the community is viewed not only as a foundation for delimiting and defining locally-relevant problem areas, but also as a base from which problem resolution is sought. Concerted action by community members may thus be anticipated when faced with large-scale alterations in community form, such as those proposed by major transportation improvements.

Although the general acceptance of the term "community" centers around a broad geographical area which is supported by a set of social institutions and facilities, the community may also be viewed as a smaller subarea of the city or region, retaining many of the vital functions and socio-psychological features implicit in the concept of neighborhood (see Guseman, et al., 1976). Thus, the terms "community," "microcommunity," "neighborhood," and "locality" will be used interchangeably throughout the chapter, and refer to a small geographical area to which inhabitants attach special importance.

COMMUNITY AS A UNIT OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Justification for the focus of study on minority neighborhoods rests on the degree to which such areas provide significant bases for the emergence of leadership and for collective action by residents. Describing the structure of the black ghetto, Warren (1975:54-61) delineated a set of six functions potentially performed within the network of community organization which attribute special importance to the local area. The extent to which each of these functions prevails in a given community varies, and is subject to empirical investigation. Functions of the black urban neighborhood include the degree to which:

(1) The neighborhood provides a center for interpersonal influence. Interpersonal interaction and information exchange which occur when primary, or face-to-face, contacts are frequent provide the means of defining values and beliefs. Such local contacts become important as channels by which information is mediated and opinions formed. Thus, "opinion leaders," individuals within the community who are knowledgeable about information from the media or other authorities may filter these ideas of the larger society down to the local level.

(2) The neighborhood serves as a basis for the exchange of help between persons living in close proximity. Mutual aid between neighbors binds residents together in a cohesive unit. Such aid is crucial when support is unavailable from other sources, such as relatives or formal organizations. Additionally, as a center for mutual aid, the neighborhood may also serve to protect residents from outside intrusions, such as refusing to give information to formal authorities or institutions viewed as alien to neighborhood values.

(3) The neighborhood provides a base for organizational activities. Participation in such neighborhood organizations as block clubs, churches, and other institutions may: (a) parallel participation in extracommunity organizations, or (b) link with or facilitate participation in the larger society. Local organizations may thus integrate the individual into neighborhood activities and into the activities of the larger community. On the other hand, participation in neighborhood organizations may also result in an alienation of minority residents from the larger society; for example, Warren (1975:57) suggests:

> The argument that voluntary organizations act as links between the isolated individual and larger social institutions is subject to qualification. Under some circumstances, local organizations provide the stimulus to engage in efforts to change society in nonconventional ways. Social movements of a radical kind are as likely to emerge from the alienation of a local neighborhood as from the attachment people may feel to distant symbols of nationalism, religion, or race.

(4) The neighborhood, as a reference group, transmits values to residents. The behavior and values of individuals may be guided by what they understand to be the values of the "neighborhood." Thus, the neighborhood acts as an influence on individuals based on rather minimal contact with neighbors.

(5) The neighborhood acts to confer status to individual residents by acting as a mirror of personal achievement and well-being. The minority neighborhood develops its own criteria of high and low status, culling definitions of class or status valued in the larger society that are irrelevant in minority areas. Additionally, as arenas of status conferral, neighborhoods provide local importance and prestige to opinion leaders and other community members which heighten their influence within the locality.

(6) The neighborhood serves to define locally-relevant problem areas. The neighborhood may serve to differentiate problems having an immediate

character and soluable base from those broader in character. This capacity is derived, to a large extent, from the spatial mutual interests of the residents. Additionally, residents may rely on the neighborhood as a base for reaction to major social change as well as for organization to bring about needed changes. In this way, the neighborhood serves as a territorial subarea which may be mobilized to defend itself against perceived threats to its interests (National Research Council, 1975:72).

In his study of both black and white neighborhoods in Detroit, Warren (1975) found that the local neighborhood played a more significant role for black than white residents. In particular, black neighborhoods were significantly more important as centers of interpersonal influence, as reference groups, and as problem-defining arenas. Thus, through fulfillment of each of these functions, the minority community provides the potential for the emergence of an informal leadership structure.

That elements within the minority community perform identifiable functions for residents is consistent with the conception of the community as a social system (Warren, 1963). In this approach to community study, social units within the community (for example, institutions, formal associations, and informal groups) are viewed as parts which together interact to form a multi-dimensional whole. Thus, the social structure of the ghetto is characterized by coexisting components whose mutual interaction reinforces the stability and order of the social system. This interrelated system is, in large part, rather internally coherent, and "has relationships with other systems in the larger society which make it difficult to change" (Warren, 1973:616).

The relationships of local subsystems to these extracommunity systems may be viewed as forming a vertical pattern of orientation. The term "vertical" reflects the fact that these relationships involve various hierarchical levels within the larger community system's structure of authority, as noted for example, in the relation of a system unit to the system's headquarters. Thus, the relationships between localized citizens' groups with district transportation offices, and district offices with state transportation agencies, constitute vertical patterns. For the most part, vertically-oriented social units are responsible for the accomplishment of tasks within the community.

Horizontal patterns, on the other hand, emphasize the relationship across the community's various subsystems. Implicit in this characterization, then, is the approximate equivalence of hierarchical levels between units. Rather than accomplishing specific tasks, horizontally-oriented social units are charged with task maintenance, or the coordination of activities within the community.

NEIGHBORHOOD AUTONOMY

A recurrent theme which pervades much of the literature on transportation decision-making is that of control by the local community over those decisions and policies which affect its inhabitants. This prerogative underlies the increasing participation by affected project area residents in the planning and design of transportation improvements.

Community control represents an attempt by local area residents to affect policy decisions of vertically-oriented local institutions which are more consistent with neighborhood values. Specific objectives include: (1) the

achievement of quality services under indigenous leadership within geographic communities; (2) the acquisition of a more favorable allocation of resources by city, state, and federal governments to improve service delivery in minority areas; (3) the development of political and social leadership within the black community who reflect community values and aspirations; and (4) the ability to gain a measure of control over the ghetto economy (Aronowitz, 1973:643; National Research Council, 1975:129). The somewhat radical implications of community control are outlined by Aronowitz (1973: 642-3):

> The demand for community control raises the fundamental issue of power in a dramatic and radical fashion. The language of urban renewal legislation of the 1950s and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, with the terms citizens' participation and maximum feasible participation by the poor promised the Black and poor communities a voice in decisions affecting their localities . . . Community control is challenging the prerogatives of the centralized bureaucracies to make basic policy determination affecting local areas and represents a step in the ongoing struggle to arrest power from bureaucratic and hierarchical institutions of government and industry. The move toward decentralization, therefore, goes deeper than distrust of central institutions of power. Potentially, it implies an alternative model of government and social decision-making.

While decentralization of decision-making authority founds the neighborhood autonomy movement, three additional interrelated components serve to propel the issue. These factors include: (1) the riots of the 1960s and early 1970s which dramatized the potential force of minority communities, (2) the growing process of organization of the poor to speak for their own interests, and (3) race-consciousness or black nationalism, the realization on the part of Negroes "that they will not be given their share of the benefits of a highly productive society but will have to struggle for them as Negroes" (Warren, 1973:624). Implicit in the black nationalism movement is the emphasis on cooperation or solidarity among blacks in pursuit of

"black liberation." As such, race consciousness represents a revitalization of ethnic ties to realize greater power for its members (Kilson, 1975:240; Pitts, 1974:676). Thus, within this context of efforts toward community control and an increasingly salient race consciousness, the involvement of minority communities in transportation project planning gains vital importance. Regardless of seeming decline in the ethnically distinct, and autonomous locality groups, the local community represents a form which remains important as a unit of social organization.

THE IMPACT OF MINORITY COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS ON LEADERSHIP PATTERNS

Patterns by which leaders emerge and exert influence within a minority community vary relative to the community's relationship with the political and economic domain outside its boundaries as well as with the social composition of its population. Power may be seen to be exercised along a continuum of concentration, ranging from a highly concentrated, or monolithic, power structure to a highly diffuse, or pluralistic, power structure. Thus, in the monolithic, elitist community power structure, major decisions are made by a single leader or by an interacting, cohesive network of influential persons. In this instance, problematic issues are defined by community elites who then communicate these objective conditions to the populace, thus retaining control of the locality's agenda of issues (Berk, et al., 1973:578). Pluralistic power structures, on the other hand, focus on the diversification or diffusion of power among various groups in the community. The concept recognizes the importance of interest-related associations in making decisions, and rejects the notion that decision-making authority is concentrated among

a few individuals. Residents are seen to react to conditions in the community and then to transmit their views to authorities or elites. Issue emergence is thus dictated through opinions of the populace (Berk, et al., 1973:577-8).

Community leadership patterns may be analyzed in light of the characteristics of the minority community which affect the structure of power. These characteristics, falling into three broad categories, include: (1) the local community's relationship with the larger community, (2) the population composition within the locality, and (3) characteristics of problematic conditions affecting community residents.

Pattern of Relationships With the Extracommunity

In localities which are more closely tied to the metropolitan area outside community boundaries, power generally tends to be dispersed among many groups. This pattern results from the introduction of new resources and new interests from metropolitan organizations who lack bonds to the more traditional customs and values of the local area. Walton (1973b:510) thus relates the dispersion of local power to a community's increasingly relevant vertical structure: "To the extent that the local community becomes increasingly interdependent with respect to extra-community institutions (or develops along the vertical axis), the structure of local leadership becomes more competitive."

Accordingly, characteristics of the local community which reflect this vertical orientation may be associated with a greater degree of pluralism. For example, the presence of absentee-owned businesses in the minority area points to a greater dispersion of power. This is because many decisions affecting the local area are made by individuals or groups who are relatively aloof to local responsibility and power, and thus, strong autonomous action

by local residents is denied. Similarly, communities having "satellite status," such as smaller rural towns tied to a large metropolis or a minority ghetto engulfed by the metropolitan region, are dependent on the larger urban area for a variety of economic and political activities, including municipal services, jobs, consumer behavior, and the like. Thus, where local residents fail to command a redistributive capacity, by being dependent on a larger area for necessary resources, power fails to become centralized within the locality.

Population Composition of the Local Area

Minority neighborhoods tend to be polarized according to two extreme types (Warren, 1975:66): (1) a type of neighborhood in which there is a high degree of status diversity among residents; that is, socioeconomic status levels within the area range widely; and (2) a neighborhood in which social class standing among individuals is highly similar, often imposed by administrative policies involving public housing or other forms of public aid. The importance of neighborhood homogeneity underlies most conceptions of neighborhood organization: "This factor of neighborhood homogeneity is a crucial one, partly because of our conventional notions of group cohesion which require a high degree of homogeneity to work. It is this commonality of neighbors which appears to be the major factor in defining an area as a true neighborhood or not" (Warren, 1975:65).

Diversity among the local area's population--in terms of composition values, or interests--has been found to generally give rise to many competing groups in a pluralistic power structure. Without agreement on values and objectives in a community action, for example, those holding power are limited in their influence to a single sphere of activity. Thus, in Detroit black

communities, Warren (1975) found that there was little agreement on who filled leadership positions in neighborhoods marked by a high degree of social class heterogeneity. Rather, a significant diffusion of power resulted, through which neighborhood activists were essentially isolated from one another. In this way, a "clique" structure of power emerged (Warren, 1975:102):

> The picture which emerges in the black heterogeneous neighborhood is one of a "clique" structure. Activists appear to have a constituency among a small group of neighbors but one leadership subgroup appears to be isolated from the next. . . .The interlock which is less likely to be present among neighborhood activists in the black heterogeneous neighborhood describes an important dissipating characteristic of the informal power that we have identified with a particular stratum of the black and white neighborhood sample.

Characteristics of the Issue

Berk, et al. (1973) found that leadership patterns were strongly influenced by the characteristics of the objective conditions which affected community residents. The greater the necessity for interpretation of problematic conditions in the community, the more likely was leadership to emerge in a monolithic or elitist framework. For example, the emergence of "sharp" or quasi-legal practices used by ghetto merchants as an issue, a condition which could not be objectively identified by residents was necessarily made salient by community elites. On the other hand, issues readily perceived by community residents arose in a pluralistic model, as, for example, the adequacy of the welfare system for minority residents. If both elites and the general population were unable to evaluate the objective conditions, no clear-cut issue could appear. In this case, controversy arose around the problem area, but it was of a relatively undefined nature (Berk, et al., 1973:591).

SUMMARY

In evaluating the relevance of identifying minority community leaders for use in transportation project planning, a key issue is: Does the local community provide a meaningful base for the emergence of representative leaders? Underlying the discussion presented in this chapter, then, is an attempt to define the legitimacy of the position as an influential in the minority area. From studies of minority neighborhoods, it was determined that the local community does play a significant role in the lives of its residents, specifically, as a center of interpersonal influence, as a reference group for defining residents' values and as an area for delineating locally-relevant problems. Thus, the community may be effectively mobilized when threatened by large-scale changes, such as proposed transportation facilities.

Additionally, the structure of the local community along vertical and horizontal axes was presented to provide a better understanding of the growing movement toward control by the community of decisions which affect its residents. Thus, community control may be seen as a response to the increased significance of vertically-oriented, nonlocal social units which wrest control and decision-making authority from local residents.

Moreover, power structures were examined in light of the outline of community structures presented. Pluralistic, or competitive, power structures were found to emerge in localities where the vertical axis of community form was prevalent and where the population was highly heterogeneous.

CHAPTER III

NETWORKS OF COMMUNITY INFLUENCE: THE POSITIONAL APPROACH

Some variety of the three basic leadership identification methods introduced in Chapter I have been employed by social researchers to delineate and describe centers of interpersonal influence within a local community. The positional, decisional, and reputational approaches to leadership identification are differentiated by the way power is seen to be exerted among local residents. Competing assumptions place the focus of study on different areas of social life to identify those individuals who command influence within the local area.

The positional approach is a relatively simple method for identifying local minority influentials. This technique is based on the assumption that those individuals who occupy key roles in the major social, economic, and political institutional areas within the community are its key decision-makers (Bonjean and Olson, 1970:203-204, Preston, 1967:8). In studying the leadership structure operating within a broad metropolitan area, these institutional areas are represented by such organizations as banks, manufacturing firms, corporations, chambers of commerce, civic clubs, major churches, labor organizations, and government agencies. Control of community resources, through the occupation of top-level positions in these organizations, provides the basis of power and is, therefore, tantamount to leadership (Mott and Aiken, 1970:193).

INSTITUTIONAL DOMINANTS IN MINORITY COMMUNITIES

Within minority areas, authority may be based on the control of resources in different institutional areas. For purposes of clarification, then, economic and social dominants may be differentiated by the formality of their organizations and by the nature of the resources on which their authority is founded.

Economic Dominants

In delineating top leaders via the positional approach, some operational description of key positions must be advanced. Studies of the power structures in larger communities have utilized various definitions of positions for which possession implies key decision-making status. According to D'Antonio (1961), for example, most leaders identified in the reputational approach (see Chapter V) occupied positions in business organizations, indicating the relative importance of this institutional area for inclusion in positional definitions of leadership.

In minority areas, for which income and capital assets are often fairly low among community residents, economic domination is a relative concept. This institutional area is necessarily generalized in order to identify individuals whose positions in minority community organizations enable them to exert influence in a fashion similar to those described above. Thus, an operational definition of key positions in minority organizations may be advanced, including:

(1) the heads of local associations of small businessmen, or major proprietors,

(2) the presidents of local chapters of trade or labor unions,

(3) the directors of community centers or other agencies which provide social and financial aid to community residents,

(4) principals or presidents of local educational institutions,

(5) directors of formalized organizations of residents, such as residents' commissions, and

(6) local elected government officials.

Leaders of these organizations command a portion of the distributive power available in the minority community. As representatives of their respective organizations, they retain the potential for influencing decisions on community issues in much the same way that directors of large banks or corporations exert broad influence over metropolitan-area decision-making.

Social Dominants: Voluntary Associations

In general, voluntary associations provide major loci of power by distributing influence and power over wide sectors of society (Laumann, 1973:135; Erlich, in Field, 1970:34). A large number of such organizations in the community has thus been associated with a greater diffusion of power. The relevance of such associations in structuring the exercise of power is described by Rose (1967:247): "Political power, or influence, in the United States is not concentrated in the government but is distributed over as many citizens, working through their associations, as want to take the responsibility for power."

Leaders of voluntary associations rely on the interpersonal resources of their organizations as bases of power. Identification of positional leaders in minority communities may thus be achieved by tapping titular heads of informal and formal organizations. These individuals include:

(1) Heads of neighborhood clubs,

(2) Pastors or priests of religious organizations,

(3) Heads of church-related organizations,

(4) Heads of fraternal associations and social groups,

(5) Heads of political or social action associations,

(6) Directors of youth groups and senior citizens associations,

(7) Presidents of Parent-Teacher-Associations (PTA's), and

(8) Heads of political party clubs.

In a study of black and white neighborhoods in Detroit, Warren (1975:102-103) utilized the positional approach to identify local leaders by naming officers of voluntary associations with membership based in the black community. Officers of black organizations were consistently of higher social status than were the members. At the same time, the black community had a wider range of persons in the role of organizational officer. Also, more black than white organizational leaders indicated that primary allegiances were based in the local community. Black officers were more likely to have close friendships or primary group ties located exclusively in the local area. In terms of identifying neighborhood problems, officers of black minority organizations were as likely as other blacks to describe a range of neighborhood problems and over three times as likely to be aware of such issues as their counterparts within white organizations. Thus, leaders of voluntary associations in black communities were found to play a major role in the dynamics of minority community affairs (Warren, 1975:102).

In the mobilization of community resources toward the support of desired changes or in opposition to unwanted events, leaders of voluntary associations play an especially significant role. Many political or social action associations not only support a movement, "but actually spearhead it through their leaders" (Gist and Fava, 1974:464-465). Additionally, associations that serve as a base of operations for political leaders do not always

function indepnedently; on public issues there may be coalitions of groups that have similar interests and objectives, with the leaders of such groups cooperating to plan tactics and strategies.

POSITIONAL MEASURES OF LEADERSHIP AND METHOD OF STUDY

According to the positional approach, leadership within minority communities is based on the number and importance of offices individuals hold in local organizations. Those individuals who participate in the most organizations and who hold the most offices are thus the key decision-makers (Preston, 1967:58). The general procedure by which the delineation of positional leaders may be accomplished is:

(1) Delimit the boundaries of the local community affected by the introduction or improvement of transportation facilities. These procedures were outlined in Guseman, et al. (1976:9-19).

(2) Compile a list of formal organizations throughout the locality. This may be accomplished through field observation of the area by the researchers or by consultation with community resource agencies who often maintain records of various social welfare agencies (see Urban Dynamics, 1969:12-35).

(a) Inventory both public and private agencies in the community, designating the formal leader in each and a description of the agency. These agencies have a direct impact on the community and in many cases affect the development of the community and the attitudes of its residents (Urban Dynamics, 1969:12).

(b) List churches and religious organizations. Particularly in lower-class ethnic communities, denominational churches are widespread. Membership ranges in size, but each religious

organization usually supports a pastor on a full-time basis who lives in the community. Additionally, there are also many "store-front" churches which are directed by lay ministers. Although church membership is usually small, ministers are generally cognizant of problems facing the community and of residents' attitudes.

(c) List business organizations in the community and identify indigeneous proprietors.

(d) List educational institutions and their respective administrators.

(3) Compile a census of informal associations in the area. In order to obtain this information, a survey of residents should be conducted, in which respondents are asked to list all organizational memberships and officerships during the past five years. Nonlocal organizations should be deleted from the tabulation of each respondent's memberships and officerships. Where district, state, or national organizations have chapters in the local area, only memberships and officerships in the local group should be tabulated. Organizations which are headquartered in the locality, but whose membership extends beyond its boundaries are considered to be local organizations. For respondents holding multiple offices in a single organization, only the highest office should be tabulated. The total number of organizational memberships and officerships should be summated, and mean scores calculated to identify key decision-makers in local community affairs (Preston, 1967:59). Those individuals who participate in more than the mean number of organizations and hold more than the mean number of officerships should be designated as community leaders.

METHODOLOGICAL ADVANTAGES AND WEAKNESSES IN THE POSITIONAL APPROACH

One criticism of the positional approach is that it fails to follow its basic assumption, that is, that individuals holding key positions of authority are indeed the major decision-makers in the community. While they do have the *potential* for exerting influence, there is no guarantee that positional leaders will exercise that potential. Investigating this relationship between decision-making and office-holding as a hypothesis, rather than as an *a priori* assumption, some studies yield data that support the relationship while others refute it (Bonjean and Olson, 1970:204). When used alone, "this technique lacks refined discriminatory power because not all holders of formal positions exercise the potential power at their disposal" (Preston, 1967:9).

Additionally, the criteria used for the selection of position leaders depend upon the researcher's judgment and are, therefore, somewhat arbitrary. Utilization of different criteria in local communities with varying sizes and participation structures is likely to yield different types and numbers of positional leaders (Mott and Aiken, 1970:194). Moreover, one of the most damaging criticisms challenges the internal validity of the technique. Are those who occupy leadership roles in various social, economic, and political institutions actually those most vitally concerned with decision-making in the local area? That is, to what extent does the delineation of positional leaders provide a valid assessment of the distribution of power in the minority area? (Mott and Aiken, 1970:194).

Sources of strength characterizing the positional approach and, hence, its ultimate appeal lie in utility and reliability of findings. What is perhaps most useful is the parsimony of effort necessary for locating community leaders. At the same time, the ability to replicate such findings, using identical criteria, is quite high. However, while holding "potential"

power is necessary for the possession of leadership status in the community, it does not constitute sufficient condition. Thus, by itself, the positional approach is not a valid procedure for designating community leaders.

SUMMARY

The positional approach to identifying minority community leaders rests on the assumption that those individuals who occupy key positions in social, economic, and political institutional areas are indeed the major decision-makers in community affairs. Two institutional areas in the minority community were introduced; the leaders within each area were distinguished by their control over different locality resources. Examples of key positions in each area were also presented, thus providing operational criteria for the selection of positional leaders. Voluntary associations within minority areas were found to be of particular importance, especially in the support of social movements. Additionally, general procedures for leadership identification were provided, and entailed an organizational enumeration performed through both field observation and through a survey of area residents. Finally, the relative strengths and weaknesses of the positional approach were assessed. While fairly useful and reliable, the validity of positional techniques was found to be somewhat suspect; thus, it was suggested that these procedures be used in conjunction with one of the other leadership identification methods, which will be presented in the following chapters.

CHAPTER IV

LOCATING DIFFUSE CENTERS OF POWER: DECISIONAL ANALYSIS

One major weakness of the positional approach is that decisions actually made within community programs are left unspecified, and are only assumed to be made by those leaders identified by positional techniques. Although positional leaders, by virtue of the authority accorded their roles in social and economic institutional areas, intuitively retain the potential for influence in community affairs, there is no guarantee that they, in fact, do exert influence in the processes of community action.

Decisional analysis, also known as event or issue analysis, offers an alternative to the limitations imposed by the positional approach. Unlike positional techniques, event analysis makes no *a priori* assumptions about the structure of power in the local area. Rather, power is viewed as a process, with structure *emerging* through the patterned contacts of community groups interacting with each other to resolve a problematic event. For example, Munger (1973:342) observes the importance of process in delineating power "structures:" "Isolation of the possessors of power from the participants in the flow has little meaning. Power has value and substance only as it is used for something . . . [Thus], community power is a network of action, not a locus of residence." Issue analysis focuses specifically on the dynamics of the action process, reconstructing decision-making events to identify those individuals who actually participate in decisions and who influence outcomes (Walton, 1973a:324).

The central assumption of decisional analysis which underlies its methodological techniques holds that nothing categorical can be presumed about the structure of power in a community (Polsby, 1970:297; Rose, 1967:283). Rather

than asking, "Who runs this local area?", decision analysts attempt to determine whether anyone *at all* exerts influence in the locality; notes Polsby (1970:297), there is the "unspoken notion that *nobody* dominates in a local community." Procedures which comprise decisional analysis must examine specific outcomes of several events to identify individuals who actually prevail in community decision-making and who thereby demonstrate influence within community programs. In general, these procedures include: (1) selecting for study a number of "key" locally-relevant political decisions, (2) delineating individuals who take an active part in the decision-making process, (3) obtaining a full account of their actual behavior while the policy conflict is being resolved, and (4) determining and analyzing the specific outcomes of the conflict (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962:948).

The data necessary for the selection of issues and for the identification of active participants may be acquired through the examination of newspaper accounts of controversial events, from reports and speeches, from transcripts of or attendance at committee, organizational, or public meetings, as well as from extensive interviews with local residents and informants (Bonjean and Olson, 1970:206). In practice, most data collection relies on the "historical reconstruction" of events by interviewed residents and other informants because of the frequent "unofficiality" of decision-making process in community subareas.

SELECTING ISSUES AND RESPONDENTS FOR ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY ACTION

In order to identify key actors in community decision-making, major issues or action programs must be delimited. This problem is considerably narrowed by focusing on a subunit of the metropolitan area where the number of issues is limited by community size (Preston, 1967:36; Wildavsky, 1964:8).

However, issues which are identified must meet basic criteria so that actors associated with chosen events do, in fact, reflect the leadership structure of the locality.

Selection of Issues

Issue areas may be initially identified by interviewing individuals in the local area who are knowledgeable about community activities and who represent diverse segments of the area's population. Preston (1967:34), for example, obtained data from three different sources: (1) from officers of formal organizations, who were asked to list programs of the organization during the past five years which had been carried on cooperatively with other organizations; (2) from members of civic clubs and other voluntary associations, who were requested to identify significant activities or events in the community within the preceding five-year period and those individuals most actively involved in each event; and (3) from employees and officials of community development associations, who reviewed preliminary lists obtained from organizational officers and members for any additional program areas. In minority areas, coordinators of social welfare projects often are cognizant of community actions, and provide a fruitful source of information. Questioning of the three groups ended when several issues were mentioned repeatedly and no additional ones surfaced (Preston, 1967:35).

The list of issue areas initially obtained should be pared to include only those events which have relevance for the identification of minority leaders. Community action may be distinguished from other action in a local area by a number of criteria, including the issue's locality-orientation and the comprehensiveness of its objectives (Wilkinson, 1970:56; Kaufman and Wilkinson, 1967:51). In particular, the delimiting requirements include the

following (Wilkinson, 1970:57; Freeman, et al., 1970:342; Preston, 1967:35):

(1) Principal actors and beneficiaries of the action are local residents.

(2) Goals represent the interests of local residents.

(3) The action is public, rather than private, in that beneficiaries include other persons in addition to the actors.

(4) The issue is mentioned by at least two respondents in the initial phase of identification.

(5) The decision involves the development, distribution, or utilization of resources and facilities which impact many residents.

(6) The decision entails alternative courses of action; that is, there is some degree of choice by actors.

(7) The action falls within a limited period of time, usually five years preceding the study.

Issues selected for leadership analysis should be grouped into categories which are constructed on the basis of the issues' major objectives; these categories will vary from community to community. However, a set of categories described by Wilkinson (1974:251) and Preston (1967:52-53) is a useful guide for this procedure. These categories of activity or interest "fields" include: (1) general community development, (2) fund-raising, (3) education, (4) health, (5) recreation, (6) commerce and industrialization, (7) public facilities, (8) conservation, and (9) government.

Preston (1967:52-53) identified examples of action programs with more general interest fields:

Interest Filled	Action Program
Fund-Raising	United Neighbors Organization
Education	Establishment of Vocational Training Center

Health	Establishment of Area Hospital
Recreation	Reactivation of YMCA
General Community Development	Community Development Association
Industrialization	Coordination of Activities of Merchants
Public Facilities	Improvement of Streets and Street Lighting
Conservation	Promotion of Planting Pine Trees
Government	Attempt to Abolish Local Civil Service Commission

This construction of "interest areas" is an important first step in identifying local leaders who have a generalized influence over many areas of community life.

Selection of Respondents

After locally-relevant issue areas have been selected for more detailed analysis, interviews are conducted with one or more individuals considered to be most prominent in each of the action programs. This list of initial respondents is obtained in the primary data collection stage where issues and participants are identified through informant interviewing, examination of daily newspapers, where the issue attracts the attention of individuals outside the local community, and the review of transcripts of public meetings. The objective of these first-phase interviews is to gain information about the individual's various roles and actions taken in the resolution of the issue, and about his general knowledge of the program. Questions which tap these dimensions include:

(1) *How did local interest arise on the issue? Who initiated action on the issue?*

(2) *What specifically did you do?*

(3) *Was there a wide range of opinion on the issue, or did consensus generally prevail?*

(4) *Who supported the action? Who opposed the action?*

(5) *What are the names of people who have been most active in this activity? What specifically did they do?*

The last questions provide the researcher with a secondary list of issue participants. These additional individuals should be interviewed to collect further data on the individual actors' roles and to obtain a more complete summary of the action program. Relative completeness of information may be judged on the basis of the amount of repetition in the information recorded by researchers. After no new information is gained through interviews, the procedures may cease (Preston, 1967:34-35).

CLASSIFYING BEHAVIORS OF PARTICIPANTS: PHASES AND ROLES OF INVOLVEMENT

In order to base the identification of minority leaders on their contributions to community action programs, a classification scheme for various involvement levels must be enlisted. Behavioral roles of participants within a community program may be differentiated by the *phases* of action in which they occur (Kaufman and Wilkinson, 1967:53). Phases of action are viewed as major activity patterns within an action program. Wilkinson (1970:60) classified these activities according to their relevance for problems which characterize the emergence and resolution of an issue, including problems of: (1) awareness, (2) organization, (3) decision, (4) resource mobilization, and (5) resource application. These problems arise in both the processes of accomplishing goals of the community and in preserving community structure when it is threatened by extracommunity forces.

Awareness. The first stage of an event is typically the initiation and spread of interest with respect to a need among community residents. This phase requires that local needs be identified, defined, and communicated by community leaders. In operationalizing this phase of action, Wilkinson (1970:62) outlined several specific acts, such as "wrote letters pointing up a need" and "forced the issue into prominence by taking official action" (see Table 2 for specific indices of phases of involvement).

Organization. The organization of sponsorship for a program depends on developing existing or new groups to deal with the problem area defined in the primary phase of initiation. Acts may be placed in this category if they involve setting up group structures to handle problematic conditions, such as "organizing a council of agencies to coordinate services," "calling a public meeting or organizing a new group," and "urging an established group to take responsibility for a problematic event" (Wilkinson, 1970:62).

Decision. Decision-making involves setting goals and determining strategies for program accomplishment. Specific objectives and tactics for realizing them are determined. Note Kaufman and Wilkinson (1967:31), "The key participants of the project are by definition active in this phase and they are generally termed the leaders." Typical goal-setting actions include "collecting data specifically for use in determining goals" and "planning the strategy for the accomplishment of a specific goal" (Wilkinson, 1970:64).

Resource Mobilization. The successful recruitment of community resources--people, money, materials, legitimation--for use in an action program is vital to the accomplishment of locality tasks. Actions depend on participation of a relatively large and representative number of persons in the local area. Acts which exemplify resource mobilization include "appealing to individuals for money, support, or involvement," "speaking at civic

Table 2. Identification of Acts Which Comprise Phases of Involvement in Community Action Programs

Phase and Act
Initiation
Conceived of the need and discussed it privately with others who then took action.
Raised the issue with newspaper stories and editorials.
Went before formal authorities to complain about a troublesome situation.
First pointed out the need within a formal organization.
Gathered information on the nature and extent of a local problem.
Wrote letters to local residents pointing out a need.
Took an individual action which forced the matter into public view.
Organization of Sponsorship
Got a few people together privately and formed a new group.
Called a public meeting or organized a new group.
Made suggestions at a meeting in which a new group was organized.
Urged an established group to take responsibility.
Appointed a committee within an established group.
Planned the structure of a new group to sponsor the action.
Developed group structure after it was organized.
Goal-Setting
Participated in board meeting while long-range goals or policies were being planned.
Collected data specifically for use in goal-setting.
Planned technical aspects of a facility or complex operation.

Table 2. Identification of Acts Which Comprise Phases of Involvement in Community Action Programs (continued)

Phase and Act
Goal-Setting (continued)
Planned strategy for accomplishment of a specific goal.
Voted in government body meeting to resolve an issue.
Personally suggested specific goals.
Recruitment
Spoke at civic clubs and public meetings.
Made appeals and gave information through the mass media.
Made other mass appeals, for example, letters or bill-boards.
Appealed to individuals for money, support, or involvement.
Asked local government for money or authorization.
Sought money or authorization outside the community.
Hired technical personnel for implementation.
Implementation
Provided money or materials.
Gave technical or professional service.
Directed construction or organization of a facility or event.
Served as paid director of the continuous program of an agency after it was organized.
Carried out the objectives of a program after it was organized.

Source: Kenneth P. Wilkinson, "Phases and Roles in Community Action." Rural Sociology 35 (March, 1970): 63-4.

clubs and meetings," and "seeking money or authorization outside the community" (Wilkinson, 1970:64).

Resource Application. In this phase, the strategies selected are carried out to achieve specified goals. This stage frequently employs "technical experts" to do the necessary work in program accomplishment. However, for minority leaders, suggests Wilkinson (1970:62), the "maintenance of local control becomes a critical problem with participation of nonlocal experts in the implementation phases of action programs." Activities which comprise this phase of action include "providing technical or professional service" and "carrying out the objectives of the program after it is organized." (Wilkinson, 1970:64).

In order to classify acts by phase and to delineate program roles, phases must be specified for each issue under consideration, according to the long-range objectives of the program. Only clearly-defined behavioral acts should be classified. For example, reports which describe no specific behavior, such as "took an active part" or "gave his support" are to be deleted. Actions which clearly involve mass behavior, such as "attended a public hearing" or "signed a petition to stop the freeway in our area" should be noted, but also fall into no specific category of action for distinguishing community leaders from affected or otherwise interested residents. Only relevant and distinctive leadership acts are to be categorized according to the phase to which they apply (Kaufman and Wilkinson, 1967:54).

IDENTIFYING COMMUNITY LEADERS THROUGH DECISIONAL ANALYSIS

The most basic feature which distinguishes issue analysis from other methods of leadership identification is that an individual's behavior in

community events provides the major criterion to accord him leadership status. Leadership within an action program is defined solely in terms of the individual's contribution to task accomplishment. The configuration of roles performed by the individual actor in a number of issues describes his general role in community affairs. Thus, argue Kaufman and Wilkinson (1967: 52), "By examining the kinds of skill roles played in specific programs, the number and types of programs in which they are played, and the degree of influence exerted in each program, one may describe the task and community structure consequences of an individual's behavior, and thus his community role."

One measure of issue participation is the number of programs to which an individual contributes. Thus, persons who are involved in the most issues are defined as the top action leaders (Preston, 1967:56). This measure, however, may be further refined by adding to the total score of participation information on: (1) the "community relevance" of events in which roles are played, (2) the influence of the individual in each action, and (3) the scope of interest, or range of an individual's actions in community decisions within the specified time period (Kaufman and Wilkinson, 1967:56; Wilkinson, 1974: 249).

The community relevance of an action refers to the importance of the issue in relation to other community issues. Programs may be ordinally ranked with respect to community-relevance and weighted accordingly by informants: 3 for "high," 2 for "medium," and 1 for "low."

Influence within a specific action may be measured by the *depth* of an individual actor's participation, that is, by the number of different phases (one to five) in which he participates. The more phases an actor is involved in, the more widely felt is his influence. Influence of an actor may be

weighted as follows: involvement in three to five phases = 3; involvement in two phases = 2; and involvement in one phase = 1.

Calculation of a quantitative index of *program influence* is based on the multiplication of these measures of community relevance of a program and depth of participation by an actor. For example, a leader involved in three or more phases of a program ranked high in community relevance would receive a score of 3 x 3 = 9 *for that program*. An actor who participated in only one phse of action in a program ranked low on community-relatedness would receive a score of 1 x 1 = 1.

A final consideration in measuring an individual's influence in community action is the *scope* of his interest. Scope refers to the range of action or number of different interest fields and to the number of different phases in which an actor participates, regardless of the issues. This latter dimension measures the extent to which a general leader enacts the same type of role in a number of programs. For example, actors may center their activity strictly around the initiation and spread of interest for several issues. Thus, their role in community action, while generalized to a number of different areas, is rather narrowly-defined around problems of awareness.

Scope of interest is ranked ordinally by these two dimensions. Thus, *more-generalized* leaders are those who participate in actions representing three or more interest fields; those involved in two interest fields constitute *less-generalized* leaders. *Single-phase* leaders appear in at least two interest programs but in one phase; *single-interest* leaders appear in several phases of action which represent a single interest area; and *single-phase and interest* leaders participate in a single phase of programs representing a single interest (Kaufman and Wilkinson, 1967:59). The cross-tabulation of the two dimensions of scope and program influence results in an ordinal

ranking of community leaders. The greatest contribution is made by more-generalized highly influential leaders; the lowest contribution is made by single-phase and single-interest leaders. Significantly, the more-generalized leaders are more likely to have greater program influence in a single action than are persons whose participation has less scope. In other words, there exists a strong association between the two dimensions, scope and program influence, of overall community influence. In order to determine those leaders who are *generalized* leaders, then, the interviewers should analyze leadership in at least three relevant community issues, and not concentrate solely on the transportation-related issue.

APPLICATION OF DECISIONAL ANALYSIS IN A MINORITY COMMUNITY

To fulfill the objectives of the present report, the processes of decision-making in a black ghetto located in a large metropolitan area in Texas were investigated. At the time of the study, residents of "East Side" (a pseudonym) were involved in the controversial widening of a freeway into their community, potentially relocating over 150 persons. A survey of 70 area residents as well as in-depth interviews with 20 activists in the freeway issue were conducted. East Side is a low socioeconomic status, inner-city subarea for which 98 percent of the residents are black. This neighborhood is the oldest black residential area in the city and almost one-tenth of the residents are over 65 years of age. Median income and median school years completed are both well below the aggregated means for the larger metropolitan area. Additionally, the area is highly diverse, having a high proportion of social class mixing; that is, residents from low to middle incomes, educational levels, and occupational ranks all live in East Side, a phenomenon divergent from most minority residential patterns.

Informants were initially identified through the review of public hearing transcripts, in which the names and addresses of individuals who spoke were listed. Much of the analysis for this chapter is based on the information obtained from these informants. Due to time limits and other factors, the collection of data was necessarily limited to examination of the freeway issue and its major participants.

To identify decisional leaders in East Side, the actions of participants in the freeway controversy were classified according to the phase of activity to which they contributed. Individual actions reported by respondents were recorded on slips of paper and subsequently marked with respect to their corresponding phases. However, actions such as "spoke with neighbors about the freeway" and "tried to bring out the awareness of residents" were deleted because of their lack of specificity. Also, acts reflecting such mass behavior as "attended several public hearings" and "joined other interest groups" were omitted from leadership analysis. Remaining activities were then classified. For example, initiating actions which brought the issue to the attention of local residents and nonlocal persons included such acts as "contacted the city to complain about the freeway," "brought the freeway issue up to community associations," and "surveyed residents to calculate the extent of disruption." Similarly, organization of community groups to respond to the proposed highway widening included such acts as "created the East Side Preservation Council to fight the freeway" and "encouraged a community organization to make an issue out of the proposed freeway expansion." Goal-setting was exemplified by "having informal meetings to develop strategies," while recruitment of support involved "enlisting the aid of a community organization for technical assistance," and "educating businessmen about potential freeway benefits."

Finally, implementation of strategies planned in the goal-setting phase concerned such activities as "provided alternative plans for the freeway extension" and "was the paid director of a community organization involved in the controversy." Each of these activities contributed to the long-range objectives of the action program.

Because of the limited nature of the study, leaders were identified by the *depth* of their involvement; those individuals significantly participating in a large number of phases were delineated as community leaders. By this measure, four leaders were identified, as shown in Table 3. Each had a major role in challenging the desirability for the transportation improvement for the minority area.

METHODOLOGICAL ADVANTAGES AND WEAKNESSES OF THE DECISIONAL APPROACH

The decisional approach has as its major advantage the capacity to identify actual influence in the community rather than potential power; it also provides a logical conception of power as a process in which actors participate in the formulation of decisions which affect the distribution of resources in the local area, rather than as a fixed and unalterable structure (Bonjean and Olson, 1970:206).

However, event analysis has several inherent limitations, including: (1) problems in collecting data, (2) the selection of issues, and (3) the degree of indirect influence held by community influentials. The collection of data, for example, must rely on the information given to the investigator by a number of informants. The quality of interview data varies with the capabilities of the interviewer as well as with the personal motivations and knowledge of the informant. Many times, for example, it is difficult for

Table 3. Identification of Minority Community Leaders By Number of Acts Performed By Leader in Program Phases

Leader	Phase: Awareness	Organization	Goal-Setting	Recruitment	Implementation	Total Number of Actions
Director, Community Center	3	3	1	2	1	10
Lawyer	2	1	2	0	2	7
Director Model, Cities Program Commission	1	1	3	0	1	6
Director, Planning Group	1	1	3	1	2	8

the informant to reconstruct past events, remember the precise time order of occurrences, or recall all relevant names. These limitations are discussed in Appendix A.

The selection of inappropriate issues for analysis may be a serious weakness of the decisional approach. Although criteria for the selection of issue areas "generally agreed to be significant" were presented, Bachrach and Baratz (1962:949) argue that the investigator is left no means to appraise the reliability of the selection. At times the decisions are arbitrarily chosen by the investigator (Bonjean and Olson, 1970:206). However, in smaller community subareas, this problem is ameliorated in the ability of the investigator to analyze all or the majority of issues.

Another major weakness in decisional analysis is that the focus of study, through the selection of "key" issue areas, emphasizes overt, or manifest, events. However, the potential for nondecisions, or the suppression of overt action in community life, may also index the strength of local area leaders. To measure relative influence solely on an actor's capacity to initiate or veto proposals is to ignore the potential exercise of power in limiting the scope of issue initiation. Thus, the test of influence is based on an excessively narrow set of criteria (Olson, 1971).

SUMMARY

The decisional approach is a technique used to identify minority community leaders, based on the depth and scope of their involvement in various community issues. It is founded on the premise that there exists no one static center of power in the community; rather, power is dispersed among a number of community groups who selectively participate in community action. Issue analysis focuses specifically on the dynamics of the action process,

reconstructing decision-making events to identify those individuals who actually participate in decisions and who influence outcomes.

An outline of the procedures described in this chapter may be advanced as follows:

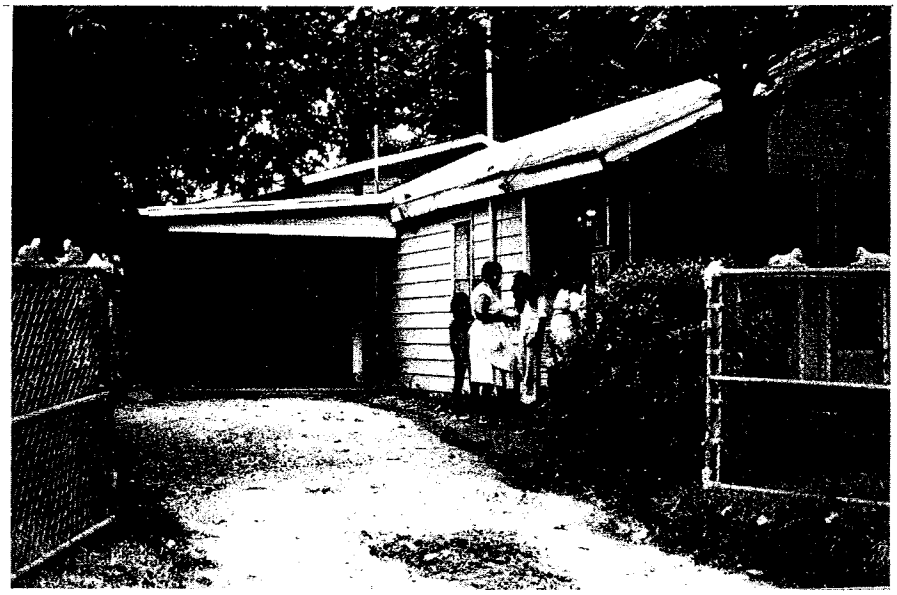
(1) Select for study a number of key decisions or action programs. This selection of actions is based on information obtained from informants, from public or organizational meetings, and from local area newspapers, where available. Actions which are identified must meet certain criteria which were discussed, so that the analysis of leaders focuses on major, rather than peripheral, community influentials. These criteria are the locality-relevance of the issue and the comprehensiveness of its objectives. Next, the issues which are selected for more detailed analysis should be grouped according to broad "fields" of interest. This procedure is largely inductive; an example of one set of categories previously used was included in the discussion.

(2) Identify the principal actors of each selected issue. Interviews with these individuals result in a more comprehensive summary of the action program as well as additional names of participants. This procedure is repeated until no new nominations are noted in data collected.

(3) Classify behavioral acts according to the phases of the action program to which they contribute. A model of action programs was identified and included the phases of initiation, organization of sponsorship, goal-setting, recruitment, and implementation. Guidelines for this classification procedure were also advanced.

(4) Identify leaders, based on their actions in various phases of programs (influence) and on their scope of interest. A quantitative index for determining influence within a specific program was described. The notion of scope of interest was used to describe the generalization of program leaders throughout the community. A significant finding was that the two dimensions are closely associated and that more-generalized leaders also have greater influence in a specific program.

Strengths and weaknesses of the decisional approach were briefly described. While its major advantage lies in its ability to identify actual power rather than potential power, event analysis has several inherent limitations, including: (1) problems of data collection, (2) the selection of relevant issues, and (3) the lack of concern with latent issues.



CHAPTER V

IDENTIFICATION OF MINORITY COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP USING THE REPUTATIONAL APPROACH

Successful implementation of transportation plans at a local level relies upon interest group support in affected communities. The direction community action takes is becoming more dependent on the type of influential leaders that emerge from the area. Influentials whom residents believe to be the most powerful community leaders have a much higher probability of determining the outcome of salient issues.

The reputational approach to minority leadership identification, especially in neighborhood settings, is based on the assumption that local residents or community knowledgeables can perceive who of their associates are leaders (Preston, 1967:5). This approach thus measures an individual's *reputation* for power. It is important to note that this reciprocal relationship is required for power to be realized. A person who attempts to exert influence is much more likely to be successful if he is defined by others as being powerful (Spiekerman, 1968:4; Smith and Hood, 1966:5; Sower, et al., 1957). This observation is especially significant in identifying leaders who can successfully affect issue outcomes, such as transportation project implementation. Those reputed to be leaders are able to represent the interests of minority residents, as well as to influence and manipulate local opinion in regard to specific community issues and goals.

According to Spiekerman (1968:5), the basic technique of the reputational approach consists of asking the local residents of a community to identify the leaders of that community:

> The form of the question varies from describing a hypothetical situation to simply asking for names of those individuals 'who get things done around here.' The respondents may be selected by using

a random sample of the entire community members, by using a 'snowball' or 'cobweb' technique, or by beginning with individuals designated as 'community knowledgeables' or a panel or experts. The naming of leaders is pursued until some consensus is found among the respondents' nominations.

MINORITY LEADERSHIP AUTONOMY

In past research efforts, persons having general influence throughout a broad region or city have been ascertained. Identification of local area leaders, particularly those representing minority subareas, has been given little emphasis. However, particular issues are often of direct concern to residents located within these smaller units of the city or region. Transportation project planning and implementation is a community concern which falls into this latter category--a concern that affects minority community residents because these individuals are typically segregated into predominantly minority subareas of the larger community. Local or state agency decisions to build a freeway, improve mass transit, integrate public schools, or create new industrial plants do not affect the city's population equally.

In the first study of leadership (which was undertaken in Atlanta by Floyd Hunter in 1953), a reputational approach was used. Hunter discovered the importance of local minority leadership and concluded that the Negro community has a "sub-power grouping of considerable significance which could not be overlooked, in part since many of the issues suggested to the field investigator by white power personnel revolved around Negro-white relations" (Hunter, 1970:232). Other major studies have pointed to the influentials reputed as citywide leaders and only peripherally to those in the general leadership structure who were either black or Mexican-American.[1] Not only

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[1] Ledé's (1975b) study of transportation planning and leadership in Houston and the Preston et al., (1972) study of "Farmersville," Texas, (a pseudonym) are two such examples.

have minority leaders not been identified, but a problem arises in delimiting *representative* minority leadership. The hypothesis that general, citywide leaders are representing the interests of minority subareas cannot be supported. Thus, asking minority residents questions such as "Who rules Houston?", or Dallas, or San Antonio cannot provide a leadership list of those who represent the interests of minority areas. In identifying minority leadership then, microcommunity leaders must be separated from leaders of the city or region. Many leaders who represent minority subarea concerns are tied to the larger citywide political system and thus can wield a considerable amount of power outside the localized political sphere. Nevertheless, these vertical ties may not point to those leaders most influential within the minority area. Until the assumption of total minority integration into the larger citywide or regional political system can be made, the identification of leadership committed to, or at least knowledgeable of, minority community concerns is of crucial importance.

MEASURES OF GENERAL REPUTATION

To overcome the problem of leadership identification in microcommunities versus citywide or regional leadership, residents or other knowledgeable informants can be asked to list those influential in the context of a personal definition of "community." For example, in recent Texas and Mississippi leadership studies using the reputational approach (Preston, et al., 1972; Preston, 1969), the following question was used: "Who in your opinion are the general leaders in this *community*?" In a case study (Guseman and Hall, 1976:10) of black leadership identification within an urban ghetto, the schedule item also used a subjective definition of the areal parameters of leadership:

> There are often people whom one would find in positions of leadership time and again on many types of issues. Who in your opinion are the general leaders that get things done *around here*?[2]

This questionnaire item is suggested as the most appropriate for identifying leaders within a subjectively defined community. The item also delimits those individuals reputed to be influential generally, across many issues, and thus approximates the decisional approach.

Grass-Roots Leadership Identification

The resident sample in the leadership survey can be constructed by choosing specified dwelling units from systematically selected city blocks, census tracts, or other areal sampling units. The second house on the north side of the street in every fourth block, for instance, can be chosen, and an adult in that residence interviewed. Use of this two-stage systematic sample is often the most effective sampling method in relatively large and densely settled areas.

To identify reputed leaders, a "snowball" approach is most appropriate. Those individuals nominated as leaders by residents in the initial survey are interviewed, and those mentioned as leaders by these nominated leaders are additionally interviewed. Each respondent is asked to rank those leaders he has nominated in terms of general influence in the community.

The total number of nominations received by an individual determines his/her rank; the individual with the greatest number of nominations receives the highest rank. The mean number of nominations for those individuals receiving two or more nominations should provide the *cutoff point* between key leaders and lower ranking leaders. Individuals with greater than the mean number of nominations are operationally defined to be key reputed leaders.

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[2]Respondents are allowed to rank as many leaders as they desire.

Based strictly on a potential for leadership, all residents in the larger community as well as those residing within the minority subarea could be nominated. The size of a leadership group is initially unknown. If respondents nominate completely different individuals as leaders or if the rankings do not coincide, it can be concluded that there is a lack of agreement on community leaders or that there is a "power vacuum" (Spiekerman, 1968:33; Pellegrin and Coates, 1956:413-419). However, nominations and rankings normally tend to cluster around a limited group of individuals.

A leadership study in a South Texas city (pseudonym: Farmersville) of 10,000 population which was 74 percent Mexican-American uncovered thirteen leaders using the basic criteria discussed above. Thirty knowledgeable respondents nominated 242 leaders, with 5.8 as the mean number of nominations of those receiving two plus nominations. As can be noted in Table 3, two individuals were tied as first-ranked leaders and most of the other leadership nominations had tied ranks. The highest number of mentions for the two top leaders was 16, and together these two men had 13.22 percent of the total number of mentions of the thirteen key leaders, i.e., those who received more than the mean, 5.8, nominations.

While the reputational technique proved effective for Farmersville--an encapsulated, isolated municipality--this same prodecure failed to uncover a consistent leadership network within East Side, where reputational techniques were applied in addition to decisional techniques discussed in Chapter IV. The 90 respondents delineated only two leaders that received more than three mentions. Three reasons can be posited to explain the lack of a larger and more consistently ranked leadership network:

(1) the interviewers were Anglo and, therefore, received little or no leadership information;

Table 4. Ranking of Leaders in "Farmersville," Texas

Nominee	Rank	Number of Mentions	Percent of Total Mentions
Pharmacist	1.5	16	6.61
Postmaster	1.5	16	6.61
Director of Urban Renewal	3.5	15	6.20
Manager of Industry	3.5	15	6.20
Mayor; Schoolteacher	5.5	14	5.79
Attorney	5.5	14	5.79
Physician	7.0	12	4.96
Owner of Pump and Engine Company	8.0	9	3.72
Superintendent of Schools	9.5	8	3.31
County Judge	9.5	8	3.31
Administrator of Hospital	11.0	7	2.89
Soil Conservationist	12.5	6	2.48
County Commissioner	12.5	6	2.48

(2) the subarea has become so closely tied to the larger community that asking "Who in your opinion gets things done around here?" was irrevelant, as no localized leadership network existed; or

(3) the subarea chosen for analysis of leadership structure was so diverse socioeconomically that a correspondingly amorphous decisionmaking structure prevailed.

One additional problem was noted in undertaken the study which may be considered as a fourth explanation is the feeling of powerlessness of the

resident sample. Approximately one-third of these respondents questioned whether they were able to accurately discern leadership "around here." Further, there may be a relevant reason for residents suggesting they are unequipped to designate and rank community leaders. Leaders chosen by this "grass-roots" approach may be unaware of an unobtrusive and informal leadership structure. According to TenHouten, et al. (1971:216):

> If informants are selected at random, it is probable that the leadership structure will not be accurately delineated. Persons choosing leaders may be unaware of formal or informal political processes and leadership. Respondents are likely to designate persons visible in the media, or those involved in community service organizations, or who hold appointive or elective office. Such designations are thus influenced by the media's perceptions of what constitutes the 'respectable' leadership of a community. In the black communities, such designations are likely to focus on middle-aged ministers, officials in service organizations, and so forth--persons who, in other words, are likely to be politically conservative, nonmilitant, and nonradical. In sum, the lack of information about leadership processes from the bottom of the social hierarchy limits the value of such randomly selected persons as informants.

Leadership Identification by Community Knowledgeables

To circumvent many of the problems of interviewing a random sample of residents, "knowledgeables" can be selected to provide a panel of judges for identifying leaders. The procedure presumes that those in formal key positions of primary public and private organizations (such as a city councilman or a newspaper editor) can be the most knowledgeable informants. This select panel provides a list of leaders, who are in turn interviewed. The leaders thus identified may additionally nominate other leaders. The actual "snowball" technique used is similar to the original resident-sample approach in that those leaders receiving a sizable number of mentions are also interviewed, and they are asked to formulate a leadership list. Normally, some of the leaders will have participated in the first stage of analysis, i.e., were in the original

panel of judges or knowledgeables. From the standpoint of statistical inference, however, there is no consistent rationale for the selection of the original panel, because the judges considered to be knowledgeable of leadership activities are subjectively selected by the interviewers.

In sum, ratings of community influentials can be obtained from the bottom or top of the community structure. Ideally, a combination of both identification procedures can be utilized. It is important to note that past studies point to a substantial overlap between leaders identified by knowledgeables and by a random sample of residents. In the ethnic communities within a larger city studied by Bockman and Hahn (1972), agreement between the two nominating groups converged almost completely, and no independent leader network was chosen by the grass-roots informants or by knowledgeable informants.

One supplemental technique for refining and more accurately delineating community power structure has been developed by Bonjean (1963) and Bonjean and Carter (1965). If patterned differences between leaders identified by knowledgeables and randomly sampled residents is found to emerge, a test to assess the extent of this divergence can be undertaken. Those persons receiving a significantly higher rank position by knowledgeables or by top ranking leaders than from the "grass-roots" or from lower ranking leaders were designated by Bonjean as *concealed* leaders (Bonjean, 1963; Miller and Dirksen, 1965). These concealed leaders were labeled as such because it was recognized that their influence was greater than was known by the general community. Those individuals receiving a significantly higher rank position from the community-at-large than given by knowledgeables or other top ranking leaders were designated as *symbolic* leaders (Miller and Dirksen, 1965:548). The symbolic leaders probably do not wield as much influence as the general community believes they do. *Visible* leaders were so designated when both top leaders and rank-

and-file citizens agreed on the degree of influence exerted by these leaders (Miller and Dirksen, 1965:548). These visible leaders play roles in the community that are perceived and known by the community-at-large.

It can be presumed that the leadership choices made by those who are themselves key leaders are the most accurate assessments of the community influence of individual persons. These key leaders are persons who are "in" on more of the important decisions, and "who know the relative influence of top leaders because of their greater access to decision-making processes and their relatively longer observations of most community leaders" (Miller and Dirksen, 1965:548). This supplemental technique thus adds insight into the study of decision-making. Even if only knowledgeables and individuals nominated by knowledgeables are interviewed, those rated as top leaders should themselves be the most accurate raters of the leadership list. In the small, predominantly Mexican-American South Texas city of Farmersville described earlier, Preston, et al. (1972:515) compared the ranking of key leaders and those of lower-rated leaders, as shown in Table 5.

A substantial overlap between these two sets of rankings was observed. It was suggested that leadership in relatively small, self-contained communities tends to be more visible to the community-at-large. This generalization also should be applicable to minority areas within larger cities in which isolation from the larger city political structure is evidenced. Thus, it is anticipated that only in minority communities that have extensive extra-community ties will a substantial number of concealed leaders be found, i.e., where the typical community member is less knowledgeable concerning community leadership.[3]

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[3]Concealed leaders are often younger than symbolic leaders and have not been residents of the community for as long as the symbolic leaders. Symbolic leaders are frequently over 60 years of age and have lived in their communities over 20 years. Additionally, symbolic leaders have often been influential in one interest area or one community issue, and thus are presumed by residents to be influential on other issues as well.

Sociograms have been delineated to point out the top nominations of top leaders and, concomitantly, the interaction among the leadership network. While difficult to discern visually, Figure 1 provides a rough indication of a leadership sociogram, pointing to the top leadership choices among the thirteen high ranking leaders in Farmersville.

Table 5. Key Leader-Lower Leader Rank Comparison of Top Thirteen Leaders for Farmersville

Nominee	Ranking By Both Groups	Ranking By Key Leaders	Ranking By Lower Leaders	Difference	Leadership Type
Pharmacist	1.5	1.5	4.0	-2.5	Visible
Postmaster	1.5	4.5	1.0	3.5	Visible
Director of Urban Renewal	3.5	1.5	7.5	-6.0	Concealed
Manager of Industry	3.5	4.5	2.5	2.0	Visible
Mayor; Schoolteacher	5.5	3.0	7.5	-4.5	Visible
Attorney	5.5	6.5	2.5	4.0	Visible
Owner of Pump & Engine Company	8.0	11.5	5.0	6.5	Symbolic
Superintendent of Schools	9.5	11.5	7.5	4.0	Visible
County Judge	9.5	8.0	10.0	-2.0	Visible
Administrator of Hospital	11.0	9.0	12.0	-3.0	Visible
Soil Conservationist	12.5	11.5	12.0	-0.5	Visible
County Commissioner	12.5	11.5	12.0	-0.5	Visible

Rho = .46 (corrected for ties)

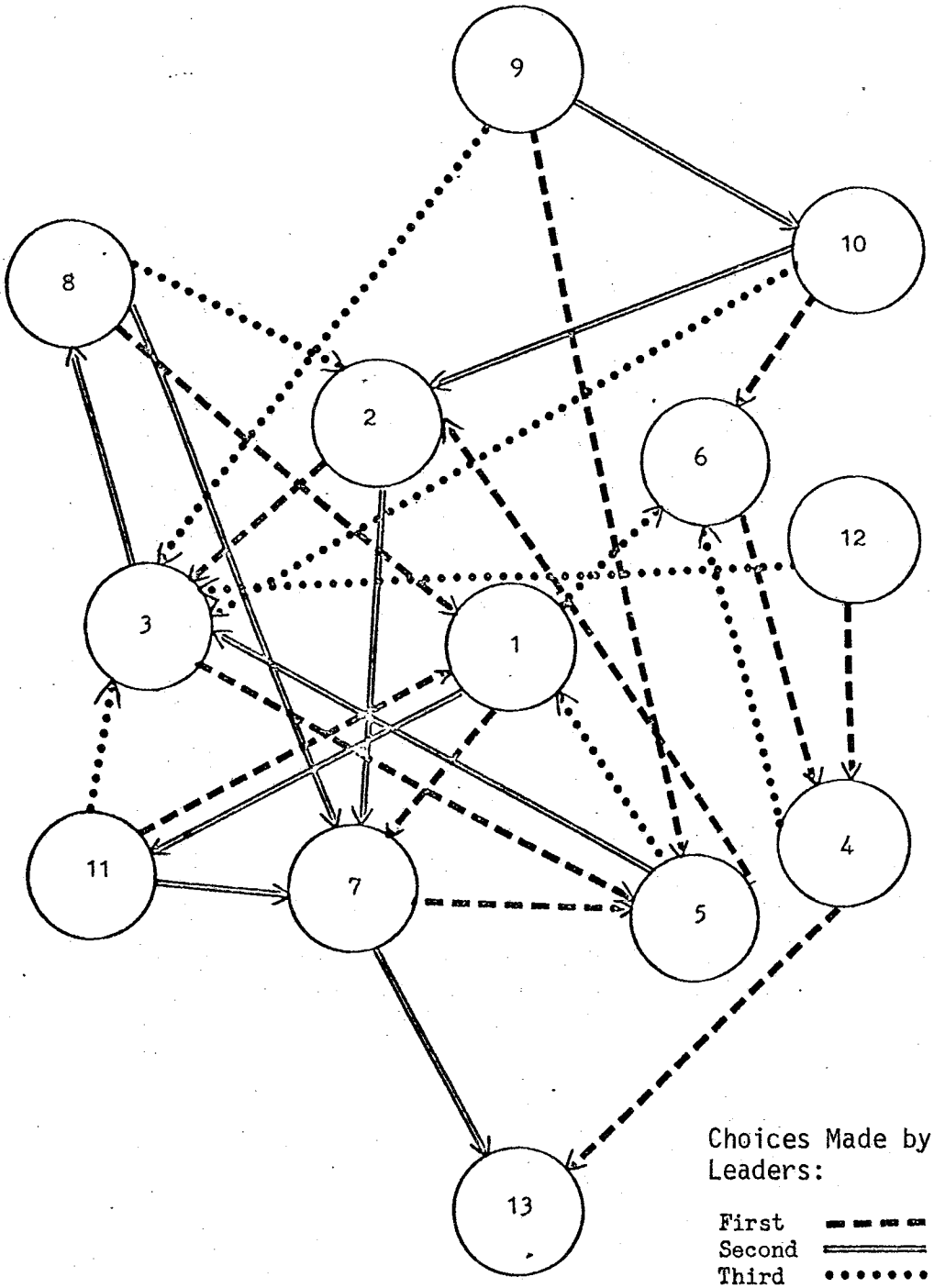

Figure 1[a]. Mutual Choices Made by Leaders in "Farmersville," Texas.

[a]The encircled numbers coincide with the top thirteen leaders, who are identified by occupation in Tables 3 and 4.

While the top leaders identified in this sociogram delimit the primary decision-makers in the community, it would be unwise to automatically assume that these individuals form a cohesive power structure. In ascertaining whether these leaders act as a cohesive group or as disparate, even conflicting individuals, Moreno (1970:19-51) has developed two useful measures.

To measure leader cohesiveness, a "ratio of interest" can be calculated. The ratio of interest is a comparison of the number of times leaders are nominated by other leaders to the total number of choices made by all leaders. This group cohesiveness can be viewed along a continuum; the ratio of interest may range from 1.00, indicating a clique structure, to 0.00, indicating an amorphous aggregate of leaders. Of the 109 choices made by the leaders in Farmersville, for example, 76 of them were directed to other leaders, yielding a ratio of interest of 0.70 (Spiekerman, 1968:53). The power structure of this community, therefore, scored closer to the "clique" end of the continuum.

The ratio of interest becomes more meaningful when compared with the choices of nonleaders. The "ratio of attraction" is the ratio of the number of choices concentrated on a group (the top leadership group, in this case) to the total number of choices made by nonleaders. The ratio of attraction for Farmersville, for instance, was .53, indicating that of the total 135 leadership nominations made by nonleaders, 71 were directed toward the top thirteen leaders (Spiekerman, 1968:53).

In Farmersville, it can be concluded that the leadership structure is not as highly visible to nonleaders as to leaders, and that a strong clique exists. A cursory evaluation of Table 4 and of the sociogram in Figure 1 also revealed that a close association is observed among leaders who interact naturally by virtue of their occupational positions. The top ranking leader,

the Pharmacist, chose first the Physician and secondly the Hospital Administrator. The Hospital Administrator chose first the Pharmacist and secondly the Physician who owns the hospital (Spiekerman, 1968:54). The occupational ties between leaders are crucial in assessing informal political decision-making. In minority communities where leaders form a cohesive clique, it can be presumed that they frequently interact informally and that decisions regarding community issues are an outcome of these informal relationships.

In Warren's leadership study (1975:101) of sixteen black neighborhoods in Detroit, he found that "the pattern of one activist naming another activist, the awareness of mutual power and influence, is least likely to occur in heterogeneous black neighborhoods." Thus, a cohesive leadership structure is more likely to be present within economically homogeneous ethnic areas. Warren (1975:102) further notes that, within economically heterogeneous black neighborhoods "each informal leader has a kind of independent following--a kind of fiefdom in the midst of a diverse neighborhood milieu." The looseness of this leadership web in socioeconomically heterogeneous minority enclaves often prevents the leaders as a group from agreement among themselves. In homogeneous minority areas, then, one leader or an aggregate of top leaders can more easily represent the area's interests, thus facilitating involvement in such community concerns as transportation project planning or implementation.

Leadership Identification Through Site Sampling

One of the most innovative approaches to identifying political leadership was used to study four lower income urban areas--two black ghettos, one Mexican-American barrio, and an Anglo slum. The method involved site sampling

within the study neighborhood, followed by "snowball" interviews with those identified in the on-site interviews. Rather than interviewing residents based on a random sample of dwelling units, the following sites were chosen (TenHouten, et al., 1971:223):

(1) commercial inside day;
(2) commercial inside night;
(3) commercial outside day;
(4) commercial outside night;
(5) residential inside day;
(6) residential inside night;
(7) residential outside day; and
(8) residential outside night.[4]

According to the TenHouten, et al. study, not all persons have a dwelling unit, or frequent a single dwelling within low income minority areas, although this situation probably does not occur in a middle-class white suburb.

> In Calcutta, [for example], random sampling of dwellings would produce enormous biases, for the higher classes are more likely to inhabit the streets. In poor urban areas of the United States, a situation intermediate between these exists. As a result, sampling of residential areas produces bias in that persons not attached to DUs have a reduced change of being sampled. Further, there are individuals or groups who do not have, or do not wish to reveal, connection to particular families or DUs. The U.S. Census Bureau hypothesizes the urban black population to have been underestimated by about twenty percent in the 1960 census. Black leaders have suggested this underenumeration to be closer to forty percent. It can be argued that much of this underestimated population consists of blacks who are not locatable through DUs--the conventional sampling method used by the Census Bureau.[5]

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[4]To generalize from each sample above, it is necessary to estimate: the number of individuals at each site; the total population size; and the between site mobility of the persons who ordinarily frequent each site.

[5]In the 1970 census, it has been estimated that almost eight percent of the black population within central cities were not enumerated.

The combination of site sampling with snowball sampling provides a new and useful vehicle for studying minority community leadership. In all four low income areas studied by TenHouten, et al., leaders were concentrated in commercial sites. Of these leaders, social leaders were concentrated in commercial outside areas and influential leaders in commercial inside areas.

Consonant with this finding, Pfautz, et al. (1975:466) undertook a ten-year study of black leadership in Providence, Rhode Island. Like the TenHouten, et al. results, the Providence study delimited traditional black leaders (the influentials) and "street leaders" (the social leaders). According to Pfautz, et al. (1975:466):

> In more general terms our data suggest the existence of a new social-political generation of reputed leaders which invalues not only more autonomy of action, a more militant style, and, on occasion, even a veto power, but also a new social type: the street leader. However little power such leaders might have or however small and temporary the constituency they might lead, racial incidents function for them as the altar functioned for the black clergyman, the traditional leaders of the black community.

Thus, appeals to minority leadership regarding specific issues, such as transportation planning or project implementation, must be aimed at both categories of leaders, one--the social or street leader--more militant than the other--the influential or traditional leader.

MEASURES OF LIMITED INTEREST LEADERSHIP

The community leadership role described previously in this chapter places an emphasis on the generalized leader--that person who is reputed as contributing to decision-making regardless of the community program or issue involved. However, a question that often plagues leadership researchers revolves around the degree of overlap that exists among leaders as various issues arise (Spiekerman, 1968:56). Issue-specific leaders can crucially

affect the course of community action because of their in-depth involvement and commitment to one program or community concern. In a study of 51 communities, Clark (1972:295) used an "issue-specific reputational method." Questions were posed about the degree to which individuals were powerful, but always with reference to particular issue areas. Due to the structure of the open-ended questions, only one or two persons tended to be mentioned as leaders. The open-ended questions were of the following form (1972:310): "Is there any single person whose opposition would be impossible to overcome or whose support would be essential if someone wanted to . . . ?" This statement was followed by six different endings, each related to a specific issue area. For transportation project planning specific concerns should usually include both transportation and nontransportation items, such as:

(1) "get the city to repair and improve the streets in the area";

(2) "organize a campaign for better schools in the area";

(3) "get a better public transit service for the area";

(4) "have better police protection in this area";

(5) "get a highway [freeway] constructed in this area"; and

(6) "get the city to undertake an urban renewal project in this area."

These issue-specific statements can be placed in a positive or negative vein, but all should be consistently positive or negative, so the respondent will not be confused.[6] By combining responses to these six questions, a measure

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[6] If the individual hesitates to answer the questions, the interviewer may ask, "Who comes closest to this description?"

of generalized leadership similar to the measures of general influence described earlier, can be ascertained.[7]

The interest of those involved in transportation planning and implementation revolves around (1) identifying minority leaders with a genuine, positive approach to transportation improvement, as well as (2) discerning those leaders who are wholly opposed to transportation improvements or alterations within a delimited area. While the former group often contains those who are general leaders, i.e., traditional influentials, the latter category most frequently contains issue-specific leaders or issue activists. Generally, community influentials satisfied with ongoing transportation plans will not make extensive attempts to mobilize opinion favorably. On the other hand, those leaders opposed to a specific program, such as plans for a limited-access highway, or other transportation facilities, will normally address strong negative communicative appeals to neighborhood residents.

Most leadership researchers (see Wilkinson, 1965; D'Antonio and Erickson, 1970; Preston and Guseman, 1971) have found that a small group of influentials are involved in most major community issues. D'Antonio and Erickson (1970: 263), in employing the reputational measure for leadership in El Paso, concluded that most leaders are not limited to single scopes of influence. Additionally, in Farmersville (Guseman and Preston, 1972), it was concluded that those who were most deeply involved in isolated community programs also were actively influential in two or more issues. Thus, range of influence and scope of influence were significantly related.

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[7] A power index can be created from the open-ended questions in the following manner:

$$P_g = \sum_{i=1}^{7} \sum_{a=1}^{6} \frac{s_{ia}}{t_{ia}} .$$

The informants, i's, were 7. The issue areas, a's, were 6. The score for generalized leadership is based on all mentions for that specific issue area, s_{ia}, divided by the total number of mentions, t_{ia}.

METHODOLOGICAL ADVANTAGES AND WEAKNESSES OF THE REPUTATIONAL APPROACH

A criticism commonly leveled at the reputational approach to leadership identification is that "reputation" for power is merely a "potential to influence," rather than leadership possessed in actual decisions. Esteem, respect, and status accrued to various individuals in a minority community that may cause respondents to nominate these persons as influential cannot be regarded as power per se. Second, researchers and informants may not share the same definition of "power" or of "community leadership;" yet, to define these terms for respondents constrains and weakens the purpose of the interview. Further, in minority areas, Anglo researchers may be held suspect, so that a bias may enter into the informants' list of leaders, as respondents may desire to protect the anonymity of some influentials.

The reputational method has be assayed as ambiguous, in that power varies from issue to issue and at different points in time. Dominant community organizations or voluntary associations that should be considered as influential units per se are excluded in lieu of high ranking individuals as the basic unit of analysis.

As has been discussed earlier, residents randomly selected from the community-at-large may not have an accurate perception of the identity of leaders, so that a "grassroots" nominating panel, while theoretically ideal, may not adequately delimit those concealed decision-makers. The reputational approach, in ranking nominated leaders, often points to a small power elite which controls community policy and issue outcomes. The decisional approach, however, more frequently uncovers a disparate aggregate of leaders. Therefore, it has been presumed that this procedure "forces" the list of leaders

into an elitist power structure. The cutoff points utilized to separate leaders from nonleaders and top leaders from lower-ranking leaders are often arbitrary; thus, the term "leader" also becomes subjectively determined. The cutoff point is crucial, in that establishing an extremely rigorous criterion may delete key influentials, while an arbitrarily low cutoff point dilutes the true leadership structure.

To counter these and other criticisms, those researchers primarily dependent on the reputational approach have attempted to validate the thesis that reputation for influence is an adequate index of power. Through this approach, the more complex and informal, or "behind the scenes," leaders can be ascertained. Leadership identification thus is not dependent on public or official visibility for receiving a high ranking in the power structure. Additionally, if top leaders select one another and associate with one another, these interaction patterns provide effective validity checks. Further, most citizens do recognize the dynamics of general influence and probably do not nominate individuals who have limited authority. Secondly, citizen-informants realize that community leadership is not static, so that they tend to nominate those leaders who have been powerful over time. Also, the approach can be applied to areas of any size, from small rural communities to urban enclaves of 200,000 people. These strengths of the approach point to the merits of the reputational methodology for identifying minority leaders.

SUMMARY

The reputational approach to minority community leadership is based on the assumption that local residents or knowledgeable informants in a community can perceive which of their associates are leaders. A person is a key

leader, then, if he is consistently nominated or reputed by others as being powerful. Those persons nominated as minority leaders should be able to represent the interests of the minority community, as well as to influence residents' opinions regarding community goals and specific issues.

With "grass-roots" leadership identification, the reputational procedures revolve around the following steps:

(1) Key leaders are nominated by a random sample of residents.

(2) A "snowball" technique is then used, which requires that those nominated through (1) above also are questioned about community leadership. This process continues until no additional persons are nominated.

(3) The total number of nominations received by an individual determines his/her rank. Some tied ranks may be found.

(4) The mean number of nominations for those persons receiving two or more nominations should provide the cutoff point between key leaders and lower ranking leaders.

Leadership identification with the reputational approach also can utilize the nominations of those individuals considered by the interviewer as knowledgeable about community leadership. These knowledgeables are chosen because they hold key or visible formal positions and may themselves be influential leaders. As a first step, the knowledgeables nominate key leaders in the community, as did residents in (1) above. Steps (2), (3), and (4) above are then followed.

Techniques discussed as possible supplements to the discernment of reputed leaders were:

(1) the assessment of community leaders as "concealed," "visible," or "symbolic," in terms of their rankings by other top leaders compared to rankings by residents or lower ranking leaders;

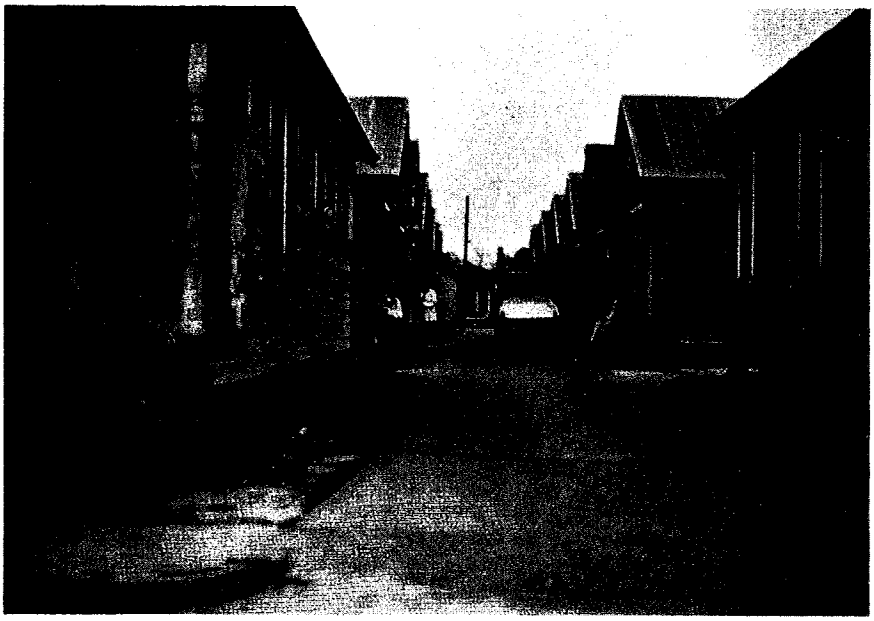
(2) a sociogram which points to the degree of interaction among the leadership network;

(3) two ratios, a "ratio of interest" and a "ratio of attraction" that explain the degree of cohesiveness among leaders or the extent to which a clique structure is seen to exist;

(4) an alternate approach to interviewing both residents and knowledgeables which consists of site sampling, or on-site interviews both inside and outside commercial establishments, and residential dwellings within the minority community; and

(5) procedures to measure reputed leadership on specific issues, such as highway construction or public transit.

The advantages and criticisms of the reputational approach were delineated relative to the positional and decisional methods for leadership identification. The following chapter focuses on the amount of overlap among these three methods for delineating minority community leaders.



CHAPTER VI

OVERLAP AMONG LEADERSHIP TYPES AND REPRESENTATIVENESS OF IDENTIFIED LEADERS

The focus of this chapter is on leadership types. First, an assessment of the degree of leadership overlap among the positional, decisional, and reputational approaches will be provided. Second, the extent to which the leaders uncovered in these three approaches can be thought of as "representative" of minority community interests will be evaluated.

OVERLAP AMONG THE THREE LEADERSHIP IDENTIFICATION APPROACHES

It should be expected that the three traditional approaches for identifying leaders do not converge on an identical set of individuals. In the studies reviewed, however, top leaders identified by the reputational approach tended to converge with lists of key positional leaders. In other words, those perceived as powerful by informants also held visible positions of authority in the vast majority of cases. It can be concluded, then, that reputation and position seem to be in substantial agreement in locating leaders.

While occupying key positions constitutes a sufficient basis for reputed leadership, participation in specific community issues does not necessarily coincide with having a reputation for power. Table 6 summarizes 18 leadership studies undertaken in the last two decades by sociologists or political scientists. The overlap between leaders identified by the reputational and the decisional methods in communities of different population sizes is delineated in this table, pointing to the wide disparity of results concerning convergence of the two methods. Community population size per se does not

Table 6. OVERLAP BETWEEN REPUTATIONAL AND DECISIONAL LEADERSHIP GROUPS IN COMMUNITY STUDIES EMPLOYING BOTH METHODS

1. Community[a]	2. Population Size (at time of study)	3. Reputational Leaders who were also Decisional Leaders, as per cent of all Reputational Leaders	4. Decisional Leaders who were also Reputational Leaders, as per cent of all Decisional Leaders	5. Number of Decisions Studied
1. Atlanta	over 100,000	40-58[b]	not available	3
2. Syracuse	"	33	33	39
3. El Paso	"	not available	71-93[b]	6
4. Petropolis	"	85	100	18
5. Metroville	"	88	100	23
6. East Side	10,000 to 24,999	33	20	1
7. Farmersville	"	46	54	12
8. Oiltown	"	50	59	15
9. Cibola	"	100	close to 100	2
10. Community A	"	50	not available	25
11. Community B	"	67	not available	24
12. Community C	"	22	69	5
13. Community D	"	20	67	5
14. Community E	"	56	50	3
15. Bennington	"	35	85	3
16. Oretown	"	67	100	8
17. Edgewood	5,000-9,999	43	43	5
18. Riverview	"	64	64	5
19. Oberlin	"	19	75	12
20. Farmdale	under 5,000	94	100	14

Total Overlap	7	12
a. 50% or more overlap	7	12
b. Under 50% overlap	8	2
c. no data or unclassifiable in categories a. and b.	2	1

[a]For many of these communities, a pseudonym has been used in the original research efforts, and thus many of the cities mentioned above are identified only by the pseudonym.

[b]In these two studies, overlap rates are presented for specific decisions not for the leadership groups as a whole. In some of these studies, sample surveys of the population as a whole were made, in addition to interviews with knowledgeable observers and leaders, to determine the reputational leadership group. To avoid the introduction of another variable, the data used in deriving the figures above concern only the reputational leadership groups named by knowledgeables, and not those named by masses. The studies from which these figures are derived are as follows: Atlanta: M.Kent Jennings, *Community Influentials: The Elites of Atlanta* (New York: Free Press, 1964), 150; Syracuse: Linton C. Freeman, *Patterns of Local Community Leadership* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968), 68; El Paso: William C. D'Antonio and William H. Form, *Influentials In Two Border Cities* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, 1965), 241 (the findings of these authors concerning the second of the two cities they studied are not reported here, since the city was a Mexican municipality, and all the other communities discussed in this article are American); Petropolis, Metroville, Oretown, and Farmdale: Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert E. Swanson, *The Rulers and the Ruled* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964), 323-33; East Side: Patricia K. Guseman and Judith Hall, *Freeway Issue Involvement and Minority Community Leadership* (Paper presented at the Society for the Study of Social Problems Meetings in New York, August, 1976); Farmersville, Oiltown: Betty Eugenia Franklin Campbell, *An Action Analysis of Community Power and Leadership of Two Texas Communities* (Texas A&M University: Unpublished M.S. Thesis, 1970); Communities A and B: James D. Preston, "The Identification of Community Power Structures: A Comparative Analysis of Alternative Methodologies" (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association, April, 1969); Communities C, D, and E: Douglas M. Fox, "The Identification of Community Leaders By the Reputational and Decisional Methods: Three Case Studies and an Empirical Analysis of the Literature," Sociology and Social Research 54 (October, 1969); Bennington: Harry Scoble, "Leadership Hierarchies and Political Issues in a New England Town," in Janowitz, *op cit.*, 117-45, at 120; Edgewood, Riverview: Robert Presthus, *Men At the Top* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), 111-12, 147-48; Oberlin: Aaron Wildavsky, *Leadership in a Small Town* (Totowa, New Jersey: The Bedminster Press, 1964), 313.

decisional approaches. Thus, the delineation of characteristics of a community, especially size and degree of isolation, appears to be a necessary step in understanding the degree of overlap among methods used to identify leadership structure. The method used, whether the positional, decisional, or reputational measure of leadership, should be chosen according to the scale of the transportation project and the amount of financial resources and time available. Often, the leadership identification process is a part of a larger community study for purposes of project environmental assessment.

The Nature of Official and Unofficial Power

As was noted in previous chapters, formal and informal leadership structures, especially those in minority communities, may never completely interface. Traditional leaders, such as owners of businesses, ministers, school administrators and teachers, and governmental employees in professional capacities, may never interact closely with informal community leaders. Nevertheless, the presence of "middle-road" black leaders continues to be evidenced, and it is these leaders who typically play a broker role, keeping communication lines open between the other two polar leadership types.

Secondly, changes in leadership segments over time occur. While formal and informal decision-makeing roles continue to exist, the individuals occupying these roles may not remain. Because of the emergence of leadership roles for minorities within the broader community system, the presence of a small, cohesive minority power structure may, in some cases, be disappearing. In a ten-year study of black leadership in Providence, Pfautz (1975:463) found that only three of ten reputed leaders remained on the key leadership list over the decade.

Further, it is possible for influentials to be organized into two leadership hierarchies, each group playing distinctive roles in the policy making

process, with the higher leadership group more responsible for policy formulation and the lower leader grouping involved in policy execution. This chain of command and opinion-setting is the topic of the following section.

Communications Network and Community Leadership

Generally, the top leadership segment acts as a communication network. Community influentials tend to be more aware of community sentiments on issues than does the public-at-large. Conversely, these top leaders have a high potential for mobilizing opinion and for monitoring the types of information received by community residents. There is ample opportunity for the top decision-makers to influence residents by the selective release of information and by maintaining a constant surveillance over the minority community (Bockman and Hahn, 1972:81). While relatively little attention has been devoted to the importance of communication in the acceptance or rejection of community proposals, such as a transportation project, there is a real need to integrate the study of community decision-making with the analysis of communication patterns.

On the whole, channels of communication concerning salient community concerns are well-defined. Transmission of information by opinion leaders helps to shape issue controversies. For this reason, the involvement of knowledgeable community leaders is vital to successful transportation project planning.

LEADER REPRESENTATIVENESS

Minority leadership structure now has been discussed in terms of three basic methodological techniques and for widely divergent community settings. In some instances, however, locating the networks of leadership may not be

as appropriate as the accurate delineation of "representative leaders"--those leaders who hold personal attitudes comparable to the residents at large and who are authentically committed to depicting collective interests.

Within many large areal units, such as congressional districts, counties, or other administrative areas, no collective interest, or agreement on a community issue, may be observed, because diverse population segments often precipitate a diversity of issue opinion. Within minority neighborhoods, on the other hand, homogeneity of opinions normally can be expected on major issues where isolation from the larger community creates a milieu for the maintenance of issue consensus among residents.

In previous studies, two distinct problems have arisen in attempting to identify minority leaders. First, to represent particular microcommunities of metropolitan areas, several researchers have obtained lists of leaders by asking residents to identify those persons who are respected generally or who have broad influence, without any reference being made to their representing the residents' particular residential area. Thus, residents may list metropolitan, state, and/or federal influentials, whose constituency extends beyond the local area. For this reason, these leaders cannot accurately represent minority community interests on specific issues, such as transportation project planning. Thus, it follows that representative leaders must reside in, or near, the local community.

Second, the choice of representative community leaders depends upon an evaluation of the commitment to the area of those individuals suggested by informants as being influential--a judgment that cannot be made without reference to residents' opinions and sentiments. Activists, for example, may be concerned with one specific issue because of personal consequences of the issue's outcome or may simply want to enter into the political limelight.

In spending a great deal of time attempting to answer the question of "Who rules?", the researcher loses sight regarding whether those individuals delineated as leaders are concerned with or authentically committed to community issues and programs. The function of a representative leader should be to link the minority neighborhood/community with the larger system or, put in somewhat different terms, to effectively tie minority residents with larger political processes.

Representative leadership within the minority community is closely related to the social characteristics evidenced by residents and leaders. The composition of the area's population, initially identified in Chapter II, is an important consideration in analyzing the representativeness of its leaders. Homogeneous areas or areas in which members of like social classes reside, precipitate, or at the least make possible, representative leadership by narrowing the range of diversity. Secondly, the social characteristics of leaders themselves determines their ability to represent the local area. Many past studies, for example, have shown that leaders with social backgrounds similar to those of their constituents will tend to act more on the residents' behalf than will individuals with contrasting backgrounds (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1974). According to this presumption, leaders who have similar life styles and statuses, especially those who live in the same area and interact daily with their constituents, are more representative.

A third consideration--attitudinal concensus between leaders and constituents--also facilitates authenticity of representation. At the very minimum, a leader's success in accurately perceiving residents' interests should also contribute to representative decision-making and leadership action. Such a task, i.e., the accurate perception of residents' sentiments, may not be impossible to achieve. In one study by Chowdry (1948), leaders

were found to have a more accurate perception of group norms than did non-leaders. It has further been concluded by Fanelli (1956) that leaders have more extensive patterns of communication with their constituents, and this extensiveness of contacts precipitates a greater accuracy of relevant perceptions about group interests.

A fourth and final consideration in the identification of leadership representativeness revolves around the personal motivations of leaders. Especially in the case of influential leaders and activists involved in specific issues, such as transportation project involvement, the personal motives of these individuals may take precedence over the community's interests. Self-interest, of course, on the part of the individual leader is not necessarily negative. It is only detrimental when this becomes an end in itself, with community programs and community people suffering because of it (Urban Dynamics, 1969:55-56).

In the black neighborhood of East Side (Guseman and Hall, 1976), through which the proposed freeway widening was to be constructed, authenticity of commitment in leaders was felt to be a particularly crucial factor to the accurate delineation of community leadership. To gauge the authenticity of commitment among community leaders and issue activists, tentative typologies were constructed along three identifying dimensions: political consciousness, recruitment into the issue, and motivations underlying issue participation. Variations in each of these variables resulted in five categories which typified the individuals under study. These types were also consistent with categories employed by Fainstein and Fainstein (1974) in distinguishing types of activists in urban political movements, Candee (1974) in rating followers

of the New Left ideology by levels of political consciousness, as well as by Loevinger and Wessler (1970).[8]

Correlates of psychological variables reported in these studies were collated to form logical stages of commitment characteristic of issue participants and are presented in Table 7. According to the typology, impulsive (Level I) individuals are motivated primarily by personal self-gratification and enjoyment; they are extremely distrustful of others, acknowledging no mutuality between individuals. Self-protective (Level II) persons become involved in the issue because it is thrust upon them by their social location, and are motivated by the desire to protect their individual interests. Conformists (Level III), while recruited into the issue by its potential effect on them, are primarily concerned with others affected by freeway improvement. Individuals within Levels I to III thus are predominantly interested in the outcome, or final determination of the issue, and are less concerned with the means employed in their opposition.

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[8]Candee (1974) found the following five categories of ego development to be operational in his research of political activists: (1) affect, in which the experiencing of positive or negative feelings as a result of political activity, are emphasized; (2) traits, in which political reasoning is focused on the specific characteristics of the events or persons, rather on any ideal standards; (3) pragmatism, in which the practical consequences of political activity are emphasized; (4) higher values, in which political reasoning is centered around universal standards of behavior; and (5) analysis, in which political reasoning is related to the basic nature of the political system. From this data, Candee concluded that persons at the various stages of ego development conceptualize their political activity differently. Loevinger and Messler (1970) set out six categories to measure ego development of women. They are: (1) impulsive, directed by self-gratification and enjoyment; (2) self-protective, strivings for hedonistic rewards and self-preservation; (3) conformist, directed by need for social approval and acceptance; (4) conscientious, possessing a greater awareness of self and capable of viewing the social world in relativistic terms; (5) autonomous, directed by a belief in the individuality of others; and (6) integrated, capable of tolerating limitations on self- and world-improvement. Finally, Fainstein and Fainstein (1974) distinguished activists and specialists in urban political movements in terms of their recruitment, motivation, and consciousness.

Contrastingly, political specialists (Level IV) emphasize process as a more important feature of their opposition. Individuals of this type join the issue not through their social location but rather through their position in the community influential structure. They view themselves as political actors, attempting to represent the community's residents unable to articulate their own interests, and do not view themselves as "reactors" to the issue's impact. Political analysts (Level V) also join in issue participation consciously, but are more capable of analyzing the issue's broader implications than are individuals at other levels.

In the East Side study, freeway issue activists were compared to residents, as well as to those nominated by residents as leaders in the area. Opinions toward specific transportation problems, racial consciousness, political efficacy, trust of public agencies and other bureaucratic structures, leadership styles, ties to the area, and organizational involvement were obtained from interviews with these three groups.

Knowledgeable Leadership - Influential Leadership Overlap

In East Side, the ninety respondents identified nine influentials and nine leaders whom they mentioned as knowledgeable leaders.[9] Eight out of nine nominated in each case overlapped, i.e., were identical. Thus, the leaders identified as knowledgeable and as influentials were congruent. However, the number of leadership nominations for each type was low when compared with other studies. Six of the influential leaders received at least three mentions and only two of the knowledgeable leaders received three

[9]Of 52 influential leaders identified, only nine received two or more mentions; 43 influentials were mentioned only once. Forty-seven representative leaders were nominated, again with nine having two or more mentions; 38 nominated as representatives received only one mention.

TABLE 7. AUTHENTICITY OF COMMITMENT TYPOLOGY

	RECRUITMENT	MOTIVATION	CONSCIOUSNESS		
			CONCERN WITH PROCESS vs. OUTCOME	LEVEL OF DIFFERENTIATION	LACK OF CONTROL vs. SELF-DETERMINATION
I. Impulsive Participant	Contact with issue through social location	Personal motivation - i.e., enjoyment in conflict situation	Outcome	Low: dichotomizes world in positive and negative spheres	Persons seen as sources of supply; no mutuality between individuals
II. Self-Protective Participant	Contact with issue through social location	Desire to change policies regarding oneself; protection of self and property	Outcome	Low: evaluation of world as controlling and controlled groups	Fatalistic attitudes
III. Conformist	Contact with issue through social location	Concern for others affected by issue	Outcome	Medium: generalizations, relatively absolute world view	Conformity to socially-accepted norms of thought and behavior
IV. Political Specialist	Joins issue consciously-through organizational affiliations or predetermined action	Views oneself as political actor, spokesman for community interests	Process/Outcome distinguished	Medium/High: comparisons, contingencies acknowledged	Propensity toward control of others
V. Political Analyst	Joins issue consciously, predetermined activity	Analysis of broader implications of issue	Process	High: comparison of multiple aspects of situation	Belief in others' individuality, autonomy of individual

three or more mentions, as can be noted in Table 8. While these two top nominees can be considered as significant grass-roots leaders, no consistently strong or cohesive leadership structure emerged in the survey analyses. Further, these two top leaders stated the following:

Knowledgeable/Influential Leader I: "No one in this area is really powerful--this is a poor area and no one has a strong voice."

Knowledgeable/Influential Leader II: "The area is fragmented and there is no secure leadership."

TABLE 8. RANKING OF NOMINATED LEADERS BY NUMBER OF MENTIONS

Influential Leaders	Knowledgeable Leaders
Director, Model Cities Program	Director, Model Cities Program
Director, Community Center	Director, Community Center
Minister	
Precinct Judge	
Businessman	
Businessman	

Cohesiveness of Leadership and Neighborhood Characteristics

The fact that there was no pronounced center of power, except for two individuals, and no consistent group of leaders considered knowledgeable of neighborhood residents' needs and attitudes requires a search for causes of this fragmentation. One might suggest that the social disorganization abundant within low-income minority enclaves explains this atavism. However, as further examination of area characteristics appeared to point to a more plausible explanation. From the beginning of their survey work within the area, the researchers noted a wide diversity in housing quality within the neighborhood. Thus, modal measures of socioeconomic characteristics depicted the area as low income, with low median rental and owner values. On the other

hand, a wide variation in socioeconomic characteristics was observed. The East Side community, while highly homogeneous along racial lines, was significantly more heterogeneous in regard to status mixing. For example, a Coefficient of Variation for Owner Values for the average census tract in the metropolitan area containing East Side was 39, whereas for the study area tract this measure is 50 (see Guseman, et al., 1976:54). That Southern cities often contain black neighborhoods which "compress" together residents because of race with little regard to status homogeneity has been well-documented (see Taeubert, 1973; Roof, 1972).

The implications of this social heterogeneity in the minority community are outlined by Warren (1975:101):

> Given the greater similarity of status, it is easier for individuals to seek out others for advice and counsel on personal and community matters. Asking people about candidates for mayor or the best laundry detergent are, from the standpoint of neighborhood communication, rather similar processes. Consequently, if the neighborhood is heterogeneous, its residents may find fewer neighbors on whom they can rely for information or skill to deal with local problems. Neighborhood social structure thus delimits the capacity of informal leadership to function.

A simplified picture of these two black neighborhood types also points to two different leadership styles, as shown in Table 9 on the following page, based on the findings in East Side and Warren's study of Detroit.

Knowledgeable-Influential Leadership and Issue Involvement

Surveys were conducted of residents and issue activists and nominations were received regarding top influential and knowledgeable leaders before these individuals were interviewed. As noted above, neighborhood leadership structure was portrayed by the residents as fragmented and the neighborhood was even suggested to the devoid of a pronounced local leadership. The activist sample had been obtained from published accounts of the issue. This

aggregate had been deeply involved in the most salient problem that had affected the area in recent time; they were thus highly visible persons.

TABLE 9. MINORITY RESIDENTIAL AREAS

Homogeneous Socioeconomically	Heterogeneous Socioeconomically
a. Fellow residents represent an important reference group	a. Mixed status causes dilemmas about reference groups within area
b. Area acts as an organizational base for the community and the individual (churches and other area organizations)	b. Reduces effective formal and informal social participation
c. Leaders function as a base for informal information sources and aid	c. Leaders from area represent disparate interests and are not usually a cohesive group
d. Leaders from the area are more easily representative of all residents	d. Leadership resources to outside (larger community) structures are displaced because few (or no) leaders represent the entire minority community
e. Leaders from the area represent, and serve as a link between, residents and the larger community	e. Linkage between leaders (and residents) and the larger community is weak or not viable

These attributes of the activists suggest that the issue participants were viable neighborhood leaders, however specialized their commitment. In comparing nominated leaders with issue activists, it was found that the two top knowledgeable/influential leaders nominated were also issue activists. It can be suggested from these findings that there is an overlap among key informal leaders and those persons who had a strong role in the issue.

Representation by Activists and Knowledgeable/Influential Leaders

As previously discussed, at least three components of representativeness can be isolated. First, comparability of personal attributes between activists and nominated leaders as compared to constituents and, second, comparability of attitudes are two descriptive means of isolating representativeness. Third, authenticity of commitment to constituents of those who are suggested as leaders and those who were active in the issue can be assessed to discover the actual properties of representation.

Comparability of Personal Characteristics. If emphasis is placed solely on nominated leaders (whether influential or knowledgeable), most evidence indicates that these nominees are of higher social status than the constituency. On the other hand, the characteristics of issue participants are a product of two closely related factors: the collectivity from which the issue develops and the types of people within this collectivity who are willing to risk open involvement. Research indicates that these leaders (the activists) are typically similar to the constituency (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1974; Gove and Costner, 1973; Bowen and Masotti, 1968).

As was found in the East Side study, high level activists tended to be top leaders also, so that personal attributes of these groupings also were similar. Activists, as well as nominated influentials and representatives, had significantly higher income and educational levels than did area residents.[10]

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[10] Occupational differences were not significant, perhaps because a high percent of residents, activists, and nominated leaders were retired or unemployed.

Comparability of Attitudinal Characteristics. In attempting to assess the similarity in attitudes of residents compared with both those highly ranked as leaders as well as the key issue activists, the latter two groupings were merged. The two categories were combined because: (1) so few (four) leaders were nominated who were not additionally activists; (2) the four leaders were not those receiving the highest rankings; and (3) only one of these four had submitted to the leadership survey. In East Side, leaders, activists, and residents shared similar attitudes on most issues, as is shown below.

Issue Consensus. Concerning three transportation questions (regarding street and transit improvements), residents and leader-activists did not differ significantly. However, a fourth transportation item--the issue of freeway widening--found that the residents were significantly more favorable toward this construction in the area than was the leader-activist sample.[11]

Alienation and Leadership. The concept of political alienation deals with two often confounded elements: political trust and political efficacy. Accordingly, these may be defined as follows: "The efficacy dimension . . . refers to people's perceptions of their ability to influence; the trust dimention refers to their perception of the necessity for influence" (Gamson; 1968:42).

Indices of political trust and efficacy, two elements of political alienation, were constructed in order to compare the attitudinal stances of leader-activists and the resident sample. In the survey no significant

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[11] $\chi^2=8.55$, 2 d.f., significant beyond the .05 critical level. Forty-eight out of 70 residents were favorable, as opposed to 6 out of 20 of the leader-activists.

between leader-activists and residents emerged in regard to the "trust" dimension. Further, only one "efficacy" question was found to be significant--pointing to leader-activists as contacting city agencies to a greater extent than the resident sample. The alienation indices thus did not differentiate leader-activists and residents, so that similarities of opinions between the two groups was substantial.

Race Consciousness and Leadership. An examination of responses to the question, "Do you feel you are becoming more closely tied to your ethnic group?" confirmed the attitudinal consensus described above. No significant differences in race consciousness were observed between leader-activists and residents.

Localism and Leadership. Locals and cosmopolitans were identified by their responses to three items, which together were intended to determine if leader-activists saw themselves as members of the localized minority community rather than as members of a larger social organization and identified with local, rather than extralocal, individuals. A composite score of localism was calculated, based on these three items.[12] Again, activists-leaders did not differ significantly from residents on this attitudinal dimension.

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[12]Respondents were asked whether they strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed, strongly disagreed, or were neutral on the following statements: (1) fewer personal relationships and contacts with other people in the local residential area are essential in life today than in the past; (2) the most rewarding organizations a person can belong to are local, neighborhood organizations serving local needs; (3) no doubt many persons outside the local residential area are capable people, but when it comes to choosing a person to represent local interests, I prefer someone who is well-established in the neighborhood. Scores ranged from 3 to 15 points, with higher scores indicating more highly localistic orientations. The breakdown of points is as follows: 12-15 = high; 7-11 = medium; 3-6 = low.

Authenticity of Commitment. Issue participants, whether organized or unorganized, are rarely confined to a single homogeneous commitment category; rather, a number of individual goals may become assembled under the more general aims of issue involvement. The importance of measuring the authenticity of commitment of these leaders rests with the overall need to determine leader-representativeness. In assigning individuals to each of the five categories, it was found, as expected, that the types were not altogether empirically pure. Some individuals were somewhat difficult to classify. However, in these instances, activists were delegated to the category which described a majority of their individual traits.

As shown in Table 10, basic differences in the personal characteristics and political consciousness of leader-activists in the five categories was found to emerge. There was, for example, a tendency for older persons and persons with fewer years of education to inhabit the lower stages of the continuum. This finding in part reflected the characteristics of project-affected residents who in large measure dominated Types I and II, but it also underscored the positive relationship between level of education and potential level of differentiation. In like manner, the occupations of leader-activists differed widely, from retirement among individuals in Types I and II to employment in professional occupations among persons at the opposing end of the continuum. Individuals falling in the middle categories often held managerial and administrative positions, many being affiliated with social service and other community aid organizations.

Persons in Levels I, II, and III held personal attitudes divergent from those of the other two types. They were, for example, the most alienated

TABLE 10. PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES OF LEADER-ACTIVISTS FOR THE AUTHENTICITY OF COMMITMENT "TYPES"

Commitment Types (Percent of Sample)	Age	Education	Occupation	Favor Issue	Aliena-tion	Leader Role
I. Impulsive Participant (5%)	Older Segment[a]	8	Retired	Yes	Yes	Trustee
II. Self-Protective Participant (20%)	Older Segment[a]	10	Retired	No	Yes	Trustee
III. Conformist (35%)	Middle Age Segment[a]	14.8	Managerial Administrative Craftsmen	Yes	Split	Trustee
IV. Political Specialist (25%)	Younger Segment[a]	12.7	Professional Managerial	Split	No	Delegate
V. Political Analyst (20%)	Younger Segment[a]	16.5	Professional		No	Delegate

[a]East Side was the oldest black neighborhood in the metropolitan area and the median age of residents was above average compared to the city as a whole. About one-third of the residents actively involved in opposing the freeway extension were over 65 years of age, and would be directly affected through relocation.

from a belief in the democratic processes.[13] Their conception of leadership was that of a trustee, arguing that a leader should represent his own values, rather than those of his constituency. As activists, persons in these levels did not act to represent the sentiments of the area, but rather, to guard against adverse personal impact. Their role as representatives in project planning was clearly limited by the personal goals which motivated their activism.

On the other hand, representative leaders comprising the latter two commitment categories were generally of higher socioeconomic status and tended to be younger than the other activists. Both political specialists and political analysts were more highly integrated into the political processes, and saw themselves as delegates of the resident population. In general, they evidenced similar attitudinal stances as the local residents. Although the social backgrounds of residents and these leader-activists differed, communication between the two groups was generally high, so that an accurate representation of interests could be inferred.

Conclusions and Policy Implications Based on Leader Representativeness in East Side

There are a number of effective lines or argument that follow from the empirical findings of this case study. Programs emphasizing maximum feasible participation, or neighborhood issues requiring strong leadership at the neighborhood level, may be poorly related to the true nature of minority enclave structure. To the extent that minority neighborhoods are heterogeneous in terms of socioeconomic status, the development of strong, cohesive

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[13]This concept was denoted by agreement or disagreement of the following statement: "It does not matter what the outcome is concerning the extension of the freeway, the interests of the average person don't matter."

leadership networks or even powerful citizen groups to serve in policy-rendering roles would be more difficult than in socioeconomically homogeneous neighborhoods.

Nevertheless, the leader and activist samples were found to evidence attitudinal stances comparable to the opinions of the residents at large.[14] Localism, alienation, and race consciousness measures differed significantly in only one case for the leader-activist sample and the resident sample. Paradoxically, the only major issue which uncovered a dissensus between leaders and residents was the freeway widening controversy, with the majority of residents favorable to the project and only a handful of leader-activists so disposed.

The findings with regard to authenticity of commitment--one dimension used as a measure of leader-activist representativeness--suggested that these activists range from very impulsive and self-protective to those individuals with a high level of social and political consciousness. Concentration on nominated leaders and activists whose dominant role is that of "the representative," i.e., the latter two commitment categories, should insure a more effective base for developing, not only a source of group solidarity, but also a more effective arena for policy-determination of programs and projects which affect minority communities.

SUMMARY

Chapters III, IV, and V dealt with three distinctive methods for identifying minority community leaders; the degree of overlap among these approaches

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[14]Personal attributes differed somewhat, however, with leader-activists more often representing a higher socioeconomic status than the resident sample.

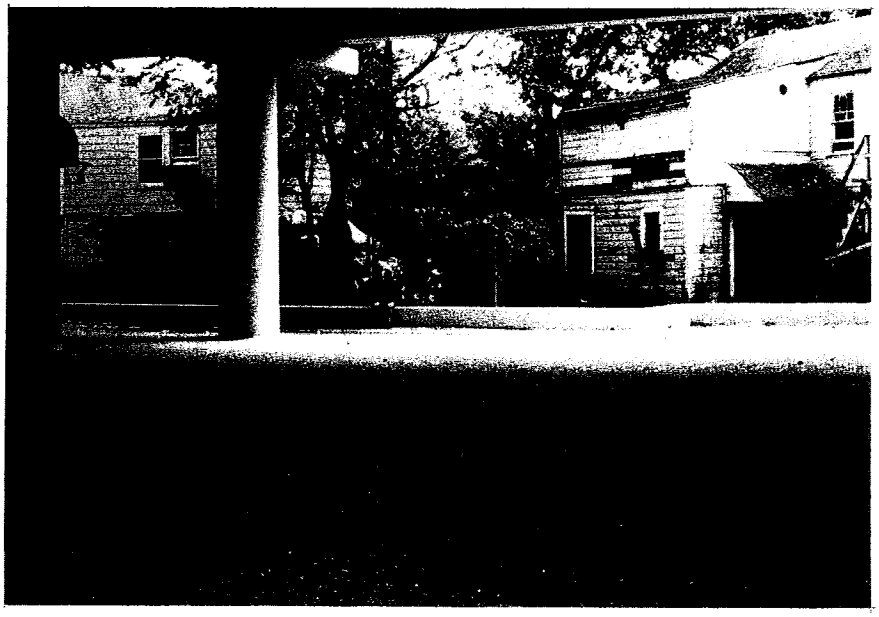
was a major concern of this chapter. Top positional leaders also tend to be key leaders identified through the reputational approach. Only in smaller and/or more isolated communities, however, did the decisional leaders correspond to those reputed to be community leaders.

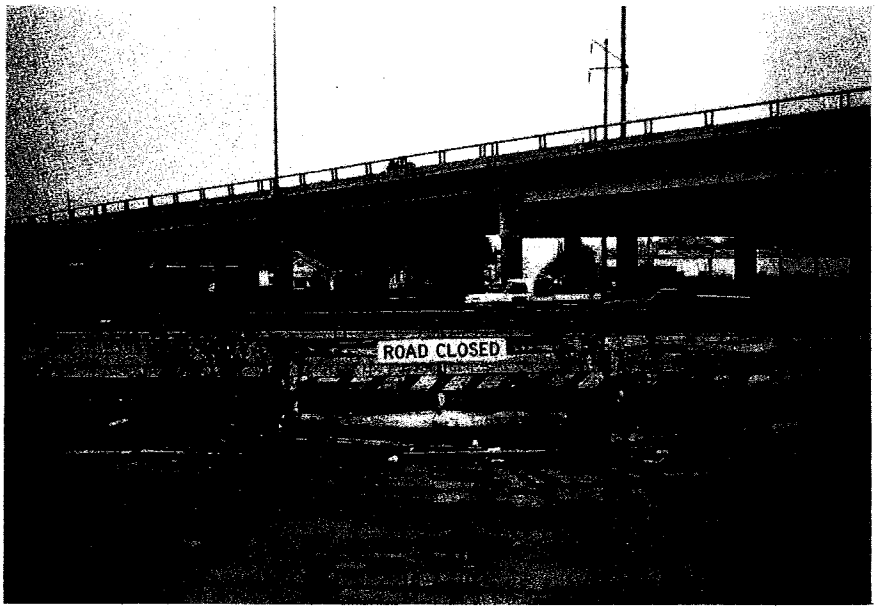
Leader representativeness was the second major topic covered in this chapter, that is, the assessment of leaders as holding personal attitudes comparable to residents and as authentically committed to depicting collective interests. East Side, a black enclave in which a freeway widening had become the chief community issue, was chosen as a case study to measure leader and activist representativeness.

There was substantial overlap between top leaders and those most involved in the freeway issue. Additionally, the two key influential leaders also were ascertained as the two key representative leaders.

Leaders and activists were found to evidence attitudinal stances generally comparable to the residents in East Side. The only major issue which uncovered dissensus between leader-activists and residents was the freeway widening controversy, as residents were more favorable to the proposal than was the leader-activist sample.

Authenticity of commitment was a second major dimension used to measure leader-activist representativeness. A five-category community commitment typology was derived. Those leaders or issue participants viewed as Impulsive, Self-Protective, or Conformists, were not seen to be as appropriate representative leaders as were Political Specialists or Political Analysts. Locating and involving representative minority community leaders in project evaluation is an important phase of the transportation planning process.

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CHAPTER VII

INVOLVEMENT OF MINORITY COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES IN TRANSPORTATION PROJECTS

Prior to transportation project planning, systems planners should be striving to identify and categorize the goals and transportation needs of urban and rural communities. At the systems level, the consideration of major transportation alternatives, such as improved highways and improved mass transit facilities, are normally assessed. Project planning, on the other hand, is much more narrowly conceived. Many of the planning efforts expended in the early phases of project development, for example, are concerned with assessing the consequences of a proposed facility specific to the surrounding urban or rural region. In the early phases of project planning, steps are usually taken which identify both the adverse and beneficial effects associated with project development. Also, levels of public participation which are needed to reflect accurately community values and sentiments for the evaluation of a transportation project are determined. In this way, the involvement of the local citizenry is seen to occur throughout the processes of project planning and implementation.

One of the major problems of planning facilities which affect minority communities occurs in soliciting the participation of local area leaders in these early phases of project development. Unlike project planning in Anglo areas, participation by minority groups often occurs in the latter stages, where they can articulate only a dissenting message. The objective of this report, then, is to enable transportation planners to locate local community members who may proffer representative community sentiment early in project development. It can be anticipated that such early

involvement of local citizen representatives will enable transportation officials to recognize citizen concerns and permit early consideration prior to definite project decisions.

PARTICIPATION IN OVERALL PROJECT DEVELOPMENT

Clearly, few persons object to participation by the public, or citizen input, in the planning of transportation facilities. What is generally contested, however, is the amount of participation which is desirable. There are many techniques which have been developed to integrate community values and needs, as articulated by those who do participate, into transportation plans. In order to organize these methods in a logical and meaningful way, certain questions must be considered, including: (1) What is the role of representative community leaders in the overall location and design process? (2) What specific interaction techniques should be used in a given context? (3) When in the process should each interaction technique be employed? Answers to these questions will enable planners to clarify the overall objective of the transportation location and design process, and to develop a well-articulated array of objectives for meaningful involvement of community representatives (Bleiker, et al., 1971:12; Weiss, 1974:27). While the consideration of each of these participation methods is essential to comprehensive public involvement planning, the focus of this chapter is on one specific interaction technique: the involvement of minority community leaders in the early phases of project development. Weiss (1974), it is noted, provides exhaustive discussion of public participation techniques and procedures, and his recent report should be referred to for an elaboration of these more generalized processes.

Potential "participants" in citizen involvement procedures can be seen as personifying one of three classifications: (1) persons who, while residing in the project area, are not adversely affected and are unconcerned, or perhaps, who are passively favorable to the proposal; (2) individuals who are personally affected, perhaps by residing in the right-of-way corridor, and who are normally opposed to the facility's introduction; and (3) influential persons who are personally unaffected but who are concerned with the disruptive potential of project development in their local area. These individuals will generally be delineated as "community leaders" by the techniques discussed in the previous chapters of this report. Their involvement is vital in the early stages of project planning.

As is well known among those transportation or other public works officials who have attended public hearings for specific projects, an oft-repeated introductory statement of many speakers at the hearings revolves around, "I represent the interests of . . .," followed by mention of a particular interest group or those within a specific geographic area. While many persons do legitimately represent a specific constituency, the vast majority of those professing "representativeness" are in fact reflecting personalized concerns. Although residents' self-protection is one of the primary reasons for holding public meetings and hearings--to provide residents an avenue for expressing personal concerns--it also is advisable to utilize in the planning process those generalized leaders who have been objectively identified as being representative of the affected community. If these leaders are involved early in the planning stages, conflicts can be abated, since these influentials are normally recognized by the public-at-large, and residents feel less victimized if community leaders are involved in planning. Further, unless affected individuals can be convinced that the transportation improvement is

directed toward the interests of the public-at-large, rather than to those of powerful interest groups outside the area, project opposition will not decline. Leaders can provide an important linkage in disseminating information about the facility to affected residents.

INVOLVEMENT OF MINORITY COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES IN PROJECT PLANNING

Guidelines currently used by most transportation agencies provide the flexibility to adapt to the special conditions which surround project planning and implementation in minority areas. The techniques discussed in the previous chapters for identifying minority leaders constitute necessary tools for transportation planners to involve local leaders early in project planning. In this context, the following recommended additions to current state transportation agency action plans will both facilitate public involvement activities and maximize the information available to the agency from minority representatives in its effort to evaluate the consequences of proposed facilities in minority areas. The involvement of these general leaders leaders is important for two reasons: (1) the involvement of minority leaders can help to avoid conflicts which may occur in later stages of project planning and implementation; and (2) minority leaders are useful sources of information for defining and anticipating beneficial and disruptive impacts of proposed alternative locations and designs.

In Figure 2, steps which can be taken to identify and enlist representative minority involvement, consonant with ongoing public involvement activities, are depicted. The need to identify minority community leaders for involvement in project planning should first be conceived at the initial meeting of district and state-level transportation officials. At this time, tentatively-scheduled levels of public involvement needed for individual

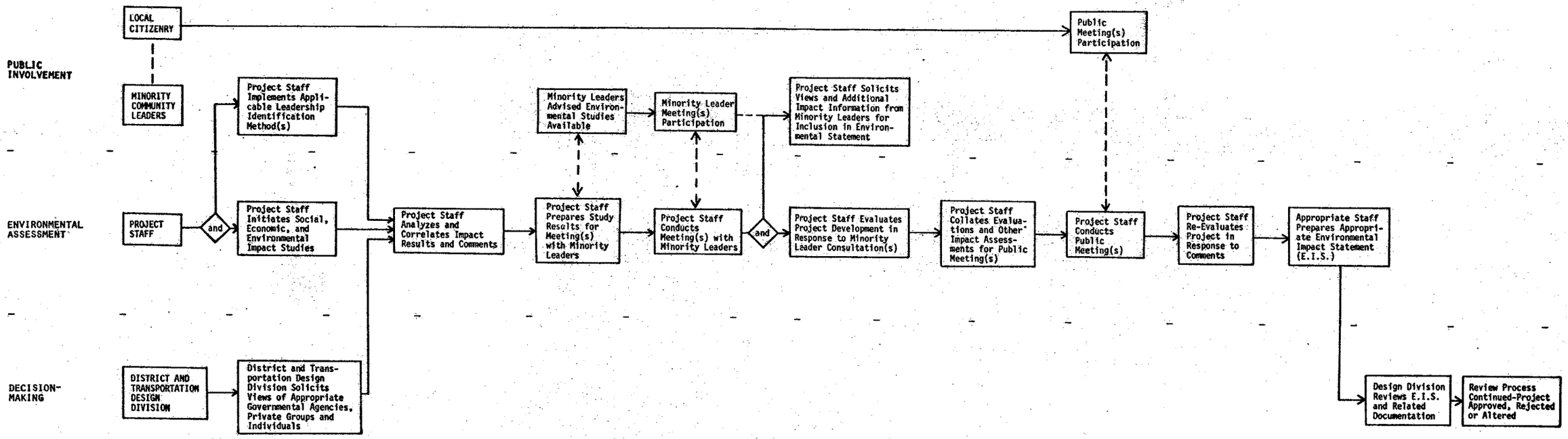

Figure 2. Suggested Appendages to State Transportation Agency Action Plan Procedures for Project Planning in Minority Areas

projects are determined. Simultaneous with the initiation of social, economic, and environmental studies in the project area, the identification of minority leaders can also be employed by members of the project staff. The selection of applicable leadership identification methods to be utilized is made by staff professionals and specialists, in accordance with both the resources available and the scale of the project. Primary responsibility for implementing these procedures rests with the project staff, whose other activities regarding the assessment of social, economic, and environmental effects is consonant with this task.

During this period of leadership delineation, initial contact with the community is made and dialogue between transportation officials and community members started. Contact with general leaders will likely occur in some phase of leadership identification. It is at this time that these representative leaders can be solicited as interactive consultants in the project planning process.

On larger scale projects, especially in urban areas, an interdisciplinary study is normally undertaken. As study results become available and comments from reviewing transportation officials are received, the project staff normally: (1) "prepares a comparable analysis of each of the alternatives studied, including the 'no build' alternative; (2) identifies key trade-offs between alternatives; (3) prepares estimates of the costs of reducing or eliminating adverse effects; (4) identifies the expected impacts, both beneficial and adverse, upon the special groups affected by the project; (5) identifies and incorporates, where appropriate, non-transportation components such as multiple use of right-of-way; (6) formulates conceptual stage relocation assistance plans; (7) prepares appropriate drawings, maps, models and other graphic aids for the alternative as needed; and (8) determines if

additional studies or public involvement are needed" (THD, 1973:28). After completion of this preliminary project evaluation, results are distributed to interested citizens if they are so requested.

At the same time, the project staff can contact general minority leaders in the recently-completed community leadership study, and may advise them that preliminary environmental evaluation reports are available. During this stage, the staff may also schedule a meeting or conference between the leadership group and transportation officials. Leaders may refer to the evaluative materials and can prepare comments and criticisms of the major assumptions and initial findings. By making information available to minority community representatives early in the planning procedures, the potential for surprise is effectively removed from the proceedings. This lack of knowledge and information frequently leads to anxiety and mistrust on the part of minority community residents. By keeping community members informed on an equal basis, it is recommended that the overall relationship between transportation officials and community representatives will be kept stable.

The release of accurate information to members of the affected area is vital to maintaining open interaction. Dissemination in the proposed manner helps assure that: (1) the information is not distorted; (2) community leaders are not surprised by information which ultimately appears in the news media; and (3) involvement on a personal level is maintained.

The meetings with leaders scheduled by the project staff should be kept small, attended by from six to eight individuals. Additionally, the atmosphere should be relaxed to facilitate ease of exchange. This is accomplished more readily if meetings are held in a minority leader's home or in a local facility as, for example, a community center. Hours of the meetings should not conflict with individual work schedules.

Rather than having to introduce information to community members, a procedure currently followed by many state transportation agencies, the community representatives should be aware of all alternatives and tentative costs associated with each. The purpose of the meeting is to enable community representatives to receive more complete information, suggest additional alternatives, including the "no-build" alternative, and to provide information on community sentiment relative to project development in the local area. The ability of minority community leaders to provide additional information regarding social and environmental impacts of alternative route locations for the subsequent environmental statement is an important function and should be so noted. However, it is important that major trade-offs and cost estimates associated with each alternative be provided minority representatives so that they may have a more accurate view of the decision-making options. Similarly, serious consideration of responses is important since the evaluation of alternatives will likely reflect the consensus of many of the community's residents. These people must believe that their responses are integral to final project decisions. If leaders have specific questions, such as a desire to know predicted noise levels or other previously unanalyzed topics, an attempt should be made to obtain this data and to present it to community representatives in a subsequent "information statement." Additional meetings may be requested by both groups. Also, if they so desire, the minority leaders may prepare a written evaluation of the proposed alternatives.

After the meeting(s) with minority leaders, the project staff analyzes and correlates the information received with existing data, including comments from governmental agency representatives and from private individuals and groups, as well as information from the impact assessments performed

earlier by the technical team. This re-evaluation of project plans precedes the public meeting(s) which may be held to further involve local residents in project development. Following the public meetings, the project staff again incorporates the comments and information received into an evaluation of the proposed facility, resulting in an appropriate environmental impact statement. Officials within the transportation design division then review the environmental statement and related documentation. As a result, the project is either approved, altered, or rejected. If approved, the review process continues, following the course of action set out by the individual state transportation agency.

MINORITY LEADERSHIP AND RIGHT-OF-WAY ACQUISITION

Public involvement procedures following public meetings may be augmented by enlisting minority leaders to act in a liaison capacity between the community and transportation officials. First, minority representatives can provide information to residents through a neighborhood assistance or resource center. For example, transportation agencies may locate a relocation assistance center in the project area that is convenient to the affected relocatees. Second, minority leaders can disseminate information about, and attract attendance to, public hearings. In addition to media resources for notifying residents of scheduled public hearings, transportation personnel may take advantage of communication networks in the local area to disseminate information. Similarly, information provided with the assistance of local leaders and local community groups reduces some of the confusion and misinformation caused by the frequently large differences between minority residents and transportation personnel.

SUMMARY

This chapter has as its implicit objective the presentation of modes for implementing the minority leadership identification techniques proposed in the previous chapters of the present report. Ultimately, the consultation with minority community leaders, in both urban and rural areas, should enhance transportation project planning in three ways. First, minority leaders may provide useful information regarding the social and other environmental effects of proposed route alternatives. This data is normally required for inclusion in the environmental statements prepared by project staffs. Leaders are often very knowledgeable about both the make-up of the local area's population and the values held by community residents. Additionally, they are of primary importance in predicting, or disclosing, community sentiment about project development in the local area. Second, the participation of minority leaders in project planning can give more meaning to public involvement procedures included in all state transportation project planning designs. Their involvement can potentially ameliorate local area conflict over the proposed facility, since residents feel less victimized if local representatives are involved in planning. Further, minority leaders can promote public hearing participation by disseminating hearing time and location information to local residents. Third, minority leaders may provide assistance in post-hearing activities to facilitate, for example, the successful and adequate relocation of affected residents.

In this chapter, the involvement of minority leaders in project planning was outlined in a step-like fashion, as illustrated in Figure 2. It is important to realize that the proposed steps do not constitute rigid procedures for project planning in all minority areas. Leadership involvement, like

general public involvement, should be tailored to the specific project under consideration. However, it is vital that minority representatives be involved both early and meaningfully in the planning process. The procedure presented in this chapter represents one means of insuring both of these criteria, and it may be used to pattern other involvement modes.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF PHOTOGRAPHS

The location of pictured scenes are as follows:

Chapter 1: (1) Houston, I-10 and I-59 interchange, August, 1972.
(2) Bryan, June, 1976.
(3) Bryan, April, 1971.

Chapter 2: (1) Bryan, June, 1976.
(2) Houston, Ward 5, October, 1974.
(3) Houston, Ward 5, February, 1973.

Chapter 3: (1) Bryan, May, 1976.
(2) Houston, Ward 5, February, 1973.
(3) Houston, Ward 5, October, 1974.

Chapter 4: (1) Bryan, June, 1976.
(2) Bryan, June, 1976.
(3) Bryan, June, 1976.

Chapter 5: (1) Bryan, May, 1976.
(2) Austin, July, 1975.

Chapter 6: (1) Houston, Ward 5, March, 1973.
(2) Houston, Ward 5, October, 1974.

Chapter 7: (1) Houston, SH-288, July, 1975.
(2) Houston, I-45, Ward 3, December, 1975.

APPENDIX A

ASSESSMENT OF THE VALIDITY AND COMPARABILITY OF DATA-GATHERING PROCEDURES IN COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP IDENTIFICATION

The identification of community influentials within urban sub-areas requires an intensive analysis of the processes and structure of community organization. Leadership studies must thus rely on sociological methods which may minimize the requirements of validity and reliability of their methods of measurement by employing a single locality, or case, as the primary data source. The representativeness and generalization of this limited focus which characterize the case study method have long been of concern to social researchers. The extent to which observations from the internal analysis of a community may be applied to other local areas as well as the policy implications drawn from such singular cases are relevant issues in the involvement of minority leaders in transportation project planning.

Assurances of the validity and reliability of measurement techniques underpin the ability of investigators to generalize findings beyond the case under study to other localities. Internal validity may be viewed as the degree to which techniques employed in social research measure what they purport to measure. To meet this criterion, then, leaders identified through an intensive analysis of an area must not emerge solely through their participation in the unique events or characteristics encompassing community activity, such as conflict surrounding transportation project improvement. Additionally, reliability, or external validity, measures the extent to which the populations under study may be representative of other social settings (Campbell, 1970). The ability of investigators to replicate findings

from one study area in similar contexts attests to the reliability of methods employed. Taken together, these criteria increase assurances that research results may be applied to analogous situations.

USE AND GENERALIZATION OF THE CASE STUDY

Through the case study, a comprehensive enumeration and description of the many elements of a particular social setting are examined. Here the investigator seeks a deeper understanding of processes of social action--identifying unique historical, religious, political, and other patterns which affect community organization (Babbie, 1973). The objective of research is not the discovery of a few major variables which explain social phenomena, but rather the examination of all components to determine their various interrelationships. Thus, case materials are employed in "relating parts to parts and parts to wholes. This process enables us to grasp the context within which social action occurs and thereby to understand that action" (Sjoberg and Nett, 1968:263). Rather than focusing on simple correlation, as in the comparative approach, the case study forces examination of underlying processes which are operative in the social system, leading to a deeper understanding of events and generalization of a more fundamental kind (Lipset, et al., 1970:136).

Sjoberg and Nett (1968) suggest that case materials are useful in the: (1) clarification, falsification, and ultimate discovery of new hypotheses; and (2) confirmation of hypotheses. The notion that cases serve merely to illustrate other quantifiable data is thus incomplete; in actuality, they are principal bases for comprehending numerical information (1968:263). In the discovery of hypotheses, deviant cases serve to clarify statistical

associations between variables or to falsify generally-accepted hypotheses. The confirmation of hypotheses, however, relies on the selection of cases which reflect the diversity evident in other areas; that is, the chosen unit must be "typical" of other localities so that findings may be generalized to these communities. Because it is difficult to confirm statistical propositions about members of a complex society, many sociologists question the use of the case study as a valid tool of research: "Are there cases similar enough to those described by authors to enable us to say that these data provide bases for generalizations? Are these cases representative of their kind?" (Young, 1966:250). While the ultimate objective of case study research is the extension of findings beyond the single case under study, the case study itself cannot insure this more generalized applicability.

Young (1966) argues that striking similarities and uniformities characterize groups of people, studied independently at different times and under varying social conditions, such that generalizations from case studies are not unjustified. While absolute identity may not be inferred, the concepts of type and class need only approximate the identity of single cases. Typologies constructed from results of individual case studies are, by definition, intended to possess only relative generality (1966:250), and they may thus be applied to other social settings.

The validity of internal analysis of community organization through the case study may be reasonably established in one of two fashions (Lipset, et al., 1970:134-5): (1) the case study utilizes variations which occur within the social system as a basis of generalization; or (2) it focuses on processes of action, validating generalizations by validating those processes which underlie social phenomena. In the first instance, the case study

substitutes variations within one system for variations between systems, and may thus enable effects of varying systemic conditions to be observed, paralleling, in essence, experimental procedures. Secondly, internal analyses may describe underlying motivations, processes, or conceptions which support overall generalizations; thus, "internal analysis, which, in some cases, cannot directly prove a generalization, may prove it by indirection through proof of the generalizations underlying it" (1970:135).

However, the internal analysis is often not exhaustive of the important elements which affect a particular variable, as is comparative analysis. Certain components may not vary for the single system under study, and it is this invariance which leads to overgeneralization of findings (Lipset, et al., 1970:135). Clearly, the representativeness of the case study is contingent on the extent to which it reflects the diversity of characteristics which exists beyond its boundaries.

VALIDITY OF INFORMANT INTERVIEWING PROCEDURES IN CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

The accurate identification of minority communities rests upon the accuracy and comparability of information gleaned from informants in the field. Informant interviewing entails the acquisition of data from informants who report information presumed factually correct about others or about events in the social setting (Zelditch, 1970:499). Of those methods available to field investigators, informant interviewing is the most efficient and hence best, form for gathering data on community rules and statuses. Such information includes accounts of formal and informal positions in community organization, selection of influentials, and processes of decision-making (Zelditch, 1970:509). Zelditch (1970:505) further suggests that

informant interviewing is not only legitimate but absolute necessary to the investigation of any complex structure by: (1) enabling the investigator to obtain a broader record of community events which could not be amassed independently, and (2) allowing the investigator to discover community norms and statuses which may otherwise be unavailable by virtue of the investigator's role as an outsider. Thus, "the virtue of the informant used in this way is to increase the accessibility of [the social system] to the investigator" (1970:505).

The applicability of informant interviewing to the type of data required, however, does not deny potential shortcomings which accompany its use. Bias in interviewing may surface in each of three areas, including: (1) the extent of knowledge about the situation and personal motivations of the interviewee; (2) the extent to which interview schedules are comparably administered; and (3) the social distance, or status inequality, of interviewer and interviewee.

Interviewee Bias

In evaluating the informant's statements, it is important to realize that such statements are merely *perceptions* of the informant, *filtered* and *modified* by his *cognitive* and *emotional* reactions and *reported* through his own characteristic *verbal* means (Dean and Whyte, 1969:105). The accuracy of firsthand reports given by the informant depends upon the extent to which distortion has been introduced. These major sources of distortion include (Dean and Whyte, 1969:110):

> (1) The respondent did not observe the details of what happened or cannot recollect what he did observe, and reports instead what he supposed happened. Data below the informant's observation or memory threshold cannot, of course, be reported.

(2) The respondent reports as accurately as he can, but because his mental set has selectively perceived the situation, the data reported give a distorted impression of what occurred.

(3) The informant unconsciously modifies his report of a situation to fit his own perspective. Awareness of the 'true' facts may be so uncomfortable that the informant wants to protect himself against this awareness.

(4) The informant quite consciously modifies the facts as he perceives them in order to convey a distorted impression of what occurred.

Additionally, McCall (1969) reports that the potential distortion of information by the interviewee occurs at each of the two steps required for data transmitted. As an observer, the informant is subject to the facilities of observation, for example, selective perception and misinterpretation. As a reporter, the informant may fail to convey an accurate account of these impressions. Possible contamination of interview data at each step must thus be evaluated and corrections made.

In the assessment of data, then, the key question is, what are the factors which influence the accurate reporting of *this* event under *these* circumstances? (Dean and Whyte, 1969:107). McCall (1969:133-4) cites these broad categories as potential explanations for the inaccuracy or contamination of data: (1) knowledgeability, or the extent to which the interviewee is in a position to have valid knowledge on what he is reporting; (2) reportorial ability, or the ability of the interviewee to recall and express his observations; (3) reactive effects of the interview situation, or the degree to which factors implicit in the context of interviewing influence response behavior; (4) ulterior motives of the interviewee in participating in the interview situation and in reflecting a particular account; (5) bars to spontaneity, including the social context of the interview or the informant's need to protect those he reports on; and (6) idiosyncratic factors, or more

or less transient features of the interviewee's life history immediately prior to the interview. In response to these sources of bias, Dean and Whyte (1969:108) suggest:

> The influence of ulterior motives can sometimes be quashed by pointing out that the researcher is in no position to influence the situation in any way. Bars to spontaneity can usually be reduced by assurances to the informant that his remarks are confidential and will be reported to no one else. The confidence that develops in a relationship over a period of time is perhaps the best guarantee of spontaneity, and informants who are important should be developed over time with care and understanding. Naturally, the interviewer should not express or indicate in any way, his approval of statements made by the informant or indicate any of his own values that might intrude in the situation. Idiosyncratic factors of connotation and meaning are difficult to account for, but it is certainly a good precaution to ask questions in many different ways so that the complex configuration that a person's sentiments represent can be more accurately understood.

Comparability

The comparability of informants' response behavior depends upon the degree to which the variability which results from differences in the administration of the interview schedules is minimized. As an information-gathering tool, the interview is designed to attenuate the unique and immediate circumstances of the particular interview. Thus, as an encounter between these particular persons, suggests Benney and Hughes (1970:196-7), "the typical interview has no meaning; it is conceived in a framework in other, comparable meetings between other couples, each recorded in such fashion that elements of communication in common can be easily isolated from idiosyncratic qualities." This necessity for standardization of the order and formulation of questions simultaneously limits the freedom of the investigator to adjust the interview to the social setting, and thus may hinder the acquisition of all available information from the informant.

Status Inequality of Interviewer and Informant

Social researchers have found some indication of bias in interview formats where there is a social distance between the interviewer and the respondent (Williams, 1964; 1970; Schuman and Converse, 1971; and Benney and Hughes, 1970). Information obtained from the informant is generally more valid the more freely it is given. Thus, suggest Benney and Hughes (1970:194-5):

> As with all contractural relations, the fiction or convention of equality must govern the situation. Whatever actual inequalities of sex, status, intelligence, expertness, or physique exist between the parties should be muted. Interviewing-training consists very largely of making interviewers aware of the kinds of social inequalities with which respondents are likely to be concerned and of teaching them how to minimize them. This is most important, perhaps, if the respondent is likely to see himself as inferior in some respect to the interviewer.

In particular, the race of the interviewer has a rather profound effect on the response tendencies of interviewees. Black respondents, for example, are more likely to reflect conservative attitudes to white interviewers. In one study (Schuman and Converse, 1971), large race-of-interviewer effects were particularly evident among responses to questions which dealt with overt hostility toward whites, suspicion of whites, or identification with black militancy. Blacks consistently presented themselves as less hostile and militant to white interviewers than to black.

Quite independent of race-of-interviewer effects, Williams (1970) found that interviewer role performance could either mitigate or enhance the biasing effects of status characteristics. Thus, the interviewer's ability to maintain "objectivity," was found to attenuate interviewer bias. Additionally, by establishing rapport with the respondent, the interviewer was able to allay fears of the respondent relative to the potential negative consequences

of his answers. This establishment of personal rapport depends on the expression, rather than suppression, of effective responses and on the encouragement of the subjective dimensions of the parties involved, while objectivity inhibits the tendency for consensus by the respondent (Benney and Hughes, 1970:196). Where either factor is ignored, the validity of research findings is subject to incertitude.

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Community Action Program - Used synonomously with decision or issue in the community, referring to the organization or mobilization of community residents toward a specified objective.

Community Activists - Refers to participants of given issue whose interest is generalized to many issues facing the local area. Motivated by more than personal disruption, activists seek control over the local community by its residents.

Community Leadership - Process of making administered decisions that have consequences for the allocation of community resources and facilities. More simply, leadership can be defined as an activity of the few that affects many.

Community Specialists - Refers to participants whose interest is limited to a particular issue because of its effect on them. They are specialists because they have only singular participation in community action.

Concealed Leaders - Individuals who are identified as community leaders by other key leaders, but who are unrecognized by local residents or by lower ranking leaders.

Conformist - From the East Side data, this term refers to a type of issue activist whose participation results from a concern for the well-being of others, rather than from the personal effect of the issue. In ranking the authenticity of commitment of issue activists, these individuals fall in the middle range of the continuum.

Decisional Approach - Method of identifying community leaders, based on the assumption that active participation in decision-making is leadership. Leadership is thus defined by the individual's actual behavior in a number of community issues, rather than by his reputation for power or by formal positions he has held.

Decisional Leaders - Individuals who are identified as leaders because of issues facing the community. Their leadership is based on actual behavior in local action.

Economic Dominance -Mode of leadership through which influence resides in the control over economic resources in the local community, including employment, credit allowances, etc.

Extracommunity - Defining community as a subarea of a larger metropolitan area, the extracommunity is that geographical region outside the local area, including the larger metropolis, as well as other cities and states.

Horizontal Axis - Ties to the local community, where all organizations are located on the same hierarchical level. For example, local stores, owned by community residents, fall on the horizontal axis of community organization.

Impulsive Participant - From the East Side data, this term refers to a type of issue activist whose participation is generally motivated by an enjoyment in the conflict situation and who has but a low level of political differentiation. In ranking the authenticity of commitment of issue activists, these individuals fall on the lowest end of the continuum.

Indigenous - Refers to an individual who resides within the local community, and whose major activities are directed toward local affairs.

Informants - "Knowledgeables" (such as other leaders) or a sample of residents who provide information to interviewers.

Issue (Event) Analysis - Used synonomously with those methods employed in the decisional approach, in which key issues in the community and their major participants are enumerated to locate community influentials.

Issue - Specific Reputation Approach - A variation of both the reputational and decisional approaches to community leadership identification. Questions are directed to informants concerning individuals who are reputedly powerful in the local area but always with reference to particular issue areas.

Knowledgeables - Individuals who, by holding key positions in primary public and private organizations, are most knowledgeable about persons and events in the local community.

Leader - An individual who is able to:(1) make decisions as a delegate for the community that will be considered acceptable or representative of the collective opinion and (2) mold or manipulate public opinion because of the influence and authority tied to positions of leadership.

Leadership Overlap - The extent to which one method of leadership delineation identifies the same individuals as another method. If, for example, many identified reputed leaders are also decisional and positional leaders, then there is a high degree of leadership overlap.

Monopolistic (Elitist) Power Structure - Major decisions are made by a single leader or by an interacting, cohesive network of influential persons.

Panel - Simply a group of respondents; they need not be all together at one time.

Reputed Leaders - Individuals who are identified as leaders because of their general reputation in the community for having influence over local affairs. They are also known as "general influentials" because their influence is not limited to a specific area or issue.

Sampling Unit - A nonoverlapping collection of elements in a population from which a sample is drawn. In cluster sampling, for example, individual clusters (e.g., census blocks) are the sampling units and are drawn randomly from a list of all census blocks in the population. A number of elements (households) are contained in a single cluster.

Self-Protective Participant - From the East Side data, this term refers to a type of issue activist whose participation is due to the personal effect of the issue. Action taken by these individuals generally indicates an attempt to ameliorate the issue's effect (i.e., in self-protection), rather than indicating a concern for others. In ranking the authenticity of commitment of issue activists, these individuals are low, preceded only by impulsive participants.

Site Sampling - An alternative to the random sample of dwelling units. Rather, specific sites and time, such as "commercial inside day" and "residential outside night," are chosen, and individual respondents selected from these areas. This method is particularly useful in low-income minority areas, where many persons do not have a stable dwelling unit.

Snowball Technique - Sampling technique in which the number of individuals sampled grows in successive stages of interviewing. In leadership surveys, for example, an initial set of nominated leaders are interviewed, providing additional leader nominees. These additional individuals are also interviewed, and again provide a list of nominees for filling the community leader role. Further interviewing results in additional names to be added to the list of nominees, creating a "snowballing" effect.

Social Dominance - Mode of leadership in which titular heads of formal and informal organizations help on the interpersonal influence of their organizations as bases of power.

Social Location - Refers to an individual's position in the social system, or more simply, an individual's access to life chances.

Street Leader - Refers to "social leaders" in the minority community, normally having but a small and temporary constituency, and valuing more autonomy of action and militancy of action style. The street leader contrasts the more traditional minority leader--such as the black clergyman--who is less militant.

Pluralistic (Competitive) Power Structure - Decision-making is divided among many competing groups in the community, none of which hold a majority of influence over others.

Political Analyst - From the East Side data, this term refers to a type of issue activist whose participation is motivated by such higher values as universality and equality, rather than any personal effect. In ranking the authenticity of commitment of issue activists, these individuals place highest on the continuum.

Political Specialist - From the East Side data, this term refers to a type of issue activist whose participation is motivated by a desire to protect "his" ("her") community from the intrusion of non-local decision-makers. Political specialists often favor a community control ideology, and generally, they are the community's local leaders. In ranking the authenticity of commitment of issue activists, these individuals are rather high on the continuum, followed only by the political analysts.

Positional Approach - Method of identifying community leaders, consisting of the use of extensive lists of formal positions or offices to help define leadership. Those individuals holding the greatest number and most important offices in the community are considered to be the community's key decision-makers.

Positional Leaders - Individuals identified as leaders through their occupation of key positions in public and private organizations in the local area. The head of a civic club, for example, is a positional leader.

Power - Ability of an individual or individuals to select, to change, or to attain goals of a particular social system, such as a community.

Ratio of Attraction - Ratio of the number of choices concentrated on the top leadership group to the total number of choices made by nonleaders. The ratio of attraction measure the visibility of key leaders to local area residents.

Ratio of Interest - Calculates the cohesiveness of a group of local leaders by comparing the number of times leaders are nominated by other leaders to the total number of persons nominated by the leadership group.

Representative Leaders - Those leaders who hold personal attitudes comparable to residents at large and who are authentically committed to depicting collective interests.

Reputational Approach - Method of identifying community leaders, based on the assumption that those having a "reputation" for power are indeed the powerful. The method thus rests on the belief that local residents or community knowledgeables can perceive which of their associates are influential in the area.

Symbolic Leaders - Individuals who are identified as community leaders by local grass-roots residents or lower ranking leaders, but who are not nominated by key leaders. Symbolic leaders most often wield no real power in the community.

Two-Stage Systematic Sample - A variation of both cluster and systematic sampling designs. Rather than choosing individual households to interview, the researcher chooses some areal unit, or cluster containing a number of households. From each cluster chosen systematically (e.g. every third block), a predetermined number of households are chosen, also systematically (e.g., every fourth house). Starting points are chosen at random to reduce bias.

Vertical Axis - Ties to the larger metropolitan area, that is, to district, state, or national levels of organization. Vertical ties are typified for example, by the relationships of branch banks to centralized national banks.

Vested Authority - The legal or authorized responsibility for setting policy.

Visible Leaders - Individuals who are identified as community leaders by both local grass-roots residents (or lower ranking leaders) and by key community leaders.

Voluntary Association - A group freely organized for the pursuit of some interests, in contrast to officially established agencies and economic establishments.

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRES FOR USE IN LEADERSHIP IDENTIFICATION

Three schedules are presented which can be used for leadership identification: the positional approach to leadership identification (Schedule I), decision analysis as a means of leadership identification (Schedule II), and a delineation of leadership through the reputational approach (Schedule III). As has been noted earlier, either one or a combination of these approaches can be used for locating community leadership. These schedules can be included as a part of a larger community study.

MINORITY COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP IDENTIFICATION SCHEDULE _____

Interviewer _____ Date _____

Respondent _____
Address _____

_____

Where respondent may be reached normally during the day:

_____

_____

Phone _____

Hello. My name is _____, and I'm from the [State Department of Highways and Public Transportation]. The purpose of my talking with you today is to enable the [State Department of Highways and Public Transportation] to find people in this area who are thought of as being influential or powerful in community affairs--people who are capable of influencing decisions which affect this area. We would like to talk to these people to get their opinions on what they feel are the transportation needs of people around here and what issues are facing this area. Also, we will ask them how they feel about some transportation plans for the community.

SCHEDULE I: POSITIONAL LEADERSHIP IDENTIFICATION

Positional leaders can be obtained from deriving a list of known formal and informal organizations and key businesses in an area. From interviewing those in key positions in these organizations and businesses, other important community organizations can be determined. The following questions are representative of items which can be asked in this interview (see Chapter III).

Are you a member of any voluntary organizations (including church)?

[ ] Yes [ ] No [ ] Don't know

What organizations are you a member of?

[1] _____
[2] _____
[3] _____
[4] _____
[5] _____
_____

Are you an officer of any one of these organizations?

[ ] Yes [ ] No [ ] Don't know

If yes, what position do you hold?

[1] _____ (position)
[2] _____
[3] _____
[4] _____
[5] _____
_____

Do any of these organizations have members which do not live in this community?

[ ] Yes [ ] No [ ] Don't know

If yes, which organizations are these?

[1] _____
[2] _____
[3] _____
[4] _____
[5] _____
_____

What is your occupation (in as precise terms as possible)?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Do you do any volunteer work for the community?

[ ] Yes [ ] No [ ] Don't know

If yes, where?

_____
_____
_____

Often, there are small neighborhood clubs, or block clubs, in a community.

Do you know of any [or other] such clubs in this area?

_____
_____
_____

If yes, do you know of any members [or officers] of this [these] clubs?

_____
_____
_____

Which of these organizations you have mentioned, including churches, are the most important organizations? Could you rank them in order of importance?

[1] _____
[2] _____
[3] _____
[4] _____

What are the most important businesses in this community?

[1] _____
[2] _____
[3] _____
[4] _____

SCHEDULE II: LEADERSHIP IDENTIFICATION THROUGH DECISION ANALYSIS

Those individuals mentioned in written accounts of salient community programs or issues can be interviewed (see Chapter IV). Other key decision-makers will be nominated during this interview.

What major issues or programs, that you can think of, have affected this community--that is, that community members have participated in? [List]

[1] _____
[2] _____
[3] _____
[4] _____
[5] _____
_____

Who were the major participants in this [#] issue?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Did all members of the community agree on the goals of this [#] action, or did some groups contest it?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Who initiated action on this [#] issue, i.e., how did local interest arise?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Who first organized support? How did [he, she, they] do this?

Who organized the opposition to this action? [if applicable]

How were the strategies for [objectives of issue] set? Who made the decisions for actions to be taken in this way?

How did participants acquire the resources--like people, money, etc.--to continue support [or opposition] to this action?

What was the outcome of the action?

What specifically did you do in the issue?

What persons did you work most closely with, that is, had most frequent contact?

Has your organization attempted to accomplish any particular goals or objectives--that is, make any changes in your community in the past five years?

[ ] Yes [ ] No [ ] Don't know

If yes, who was involved in this issue?

SCHEDULE III: THE REPUTATIONAL APPROACH TO LEADERSHIP IDENTIFICATION

A sample of residents or those considered knowledgeable about community leaders are questioned regarding key leadership. Those nominated as reputed leaders also are interviewed (see Chapter V).

There are often people whom one would find in positions of leadership time and again on many types of issues. Who in your opinion are the general leaders that get things done around here? (Please rank these individuals by degree of influence.)

[1] _____
[2] _____
[3] _____
[4] _____
[5] _____
[6] _____
[7] _____
[8] _____
[9] _____
[10] _____
[11] _____
[12] _____
[13] _____
[14] _____
[15] _____
[16] _____
[17] _____
[18] _____
[19] _____
[20] _____

Is there any single person whose opposition would be impossible to overcome or whose support would be essential if someone wanted to organize a campaign for better schools in the area?

[1] _____ [4] _____
[2] _____ [5] _____
[3] _____

Is there any single person whose opposition would be impossible to overcome or whose support would be essential if someone wanted to get the city to repair and improve the city streets in the area?

[1] _____ [4] _____
[2] _____ [5] _____
[3] _____

Is there any single person whose opposition would be impossible to overcome or whose support would be essential if someone wanted to get a better public transit service for the area?

[1] _____ [4] _____
[2] _____ [5] _____
[3] _____

Is there any single person whose opposition would be impossible to overcome or whose support would be essential if someone wanted to have better police protection in this area?

[1] _____ [4] _____
[2] _____ [5] _____
[3] _____

Is there any single person whose opposition would be impossible to overcome or whose support would be essential if someone wanted to get the city to undertake an urban renewal project in this area?

[1] _____ [4] _____
[2] _____ [5] _____
[3] _____

Is there any single person whose opposition would be impossible to overcome or whose support would be essential if someone wanted to get a highway [freeway] constructed in this area?

[1] _____ [4] _____
[2] _____ [5] _____
[3]

Which leaders do you interact with, if any? Can you please rank these individuals by the extent of your interaction with them?

[1] _____
[2] _____
[3] _____
[4] _____
[5] _____
_____