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16. Abstract

The report presents results of a study designed to examine social, environmental, and attitudinal factors associated with highway planning, with special emphases on relocation assistance efforts imposed by highway construction. Specifically, the study sought to: (1) determine the relative impact of new and improved highway construction on residential areas; (2) explore felt needs and problems relative to relocation assistance programs; (3) identify leadership and influence in two neighborhoods selected for study; (4) examine social processes -- areas of cooperation and conflict; and (5) explore and evaluate means by which highway department officials might best minimize community disruption induced by displacement; how to improve public involvement techniques and public confidence in highway improvement programs. The latter objective is best illustrated in Volume II of the report, "Public Involvement: A Guide to Action."

The findings of the research provide valuable information for use in planning public hearings and relocation assistance programs. Results are flexible enough to be used by community planners in general in their efforts to involve citizens in decision-making. The critical evaluation of the leadership structures in the two neighborhoods studied and the overall community; the perceptual and motivational factors which explain citizen behavior will provide a better understanding of the consequences of freeway/highway displacement.

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SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL, AND ATTITUDINAL FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH HIGHWAY PLANNING, RELOCATION ASSISTANCE, AND PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT

by

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Director

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This study was oriented to two main objectives: to examine social, environmental, and attitudinal factors associated with highway planning; and to identify leadership structures and patterns of influence in neighborhoods where relocation or the displacement of persons could likely occur. The data, as presented, clearly reflect the main objectives of the research.

Unlike other researches, the neighborhoods used as sample areas were pre-selected prior to the initial launching of the study project. Several advantages could accrue from this kind of consideration. One is that the findings are applicable to an actual situation and can easily be applied to the on-going planning process. Another advantage relates to the kind of insight to be gained by the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation. Transportation planning officials will be thoroughly familiar with current data on the special problems and needs of the residents to be displaced. This information is extremely valuable to planners in scheduling public hearings and implementing relocation assistance plans.

The textual materials introduce useful findings and suggestions on the social climate of the community, attitudes and perceptions regarding relocation activities, suggested approaches and techniques for public involvement, leadership patterns, and the structure of influence found in two neighborhoods in Houston, Texas.

No research is ever exclusively the product of the writer whose name appears on the title page. Research assistance and typing were tasks performed by the staff of the Research Division of the Urban Resources Center. Gwendolyn Bookman supervised the data processing phase of the study. She was assisted by Gene A. Hartin. Linda E. Brown and Kathryn A. Goode typed all drafts of the manuscript and assisted in the overall supervision of the study. Alicia H. Mathis supervised all field enumeration. She was assisted in these tasks by Rosemary Davis and Richard Santos. I am grateful for these contributions to the completion of the study.

The "Leadership Identification" phase of the project was the most difficult. Alicia H. Mathis supervised and scheduled the "snowball" or chain referral panel sessions which yielded a substantial proportion of the persons nominated for the grassroots or general leadership category. The more in-depth leadership structure analysis was completed by several of my graduate students. Using a modified power structure analysis, they were able to isolate leadership patterns according to particular institutional sectors. For instance, Lucious New, Jr. developed the leadership profile for Mass Media; Holly H. Brown, Education; Ibanga Etuk, Business-Industry-Labor; Valla Lewis, Medical Profession; Vastine Hightower, Religion; Aurineide Costa da Penha, Law Enforcement; Moses Reagans, Politics; and Aurora Vela completed the profile for Mexican-American leaders.

The verification of names and final rankings of the community leadership structure were tasks performed by Barbara Burton, director

of Community Development for the Urban Resources Center and Reynaldo Pradia of the Office of Facilities Planning in Texas Southern University.

Throughout the conduct of the study, we received complete cooperation and assistance from key officials of the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation. Neighborhood boundaries for the two study areas were delineated by William McClure of the Houston Urban Office. Planning sessions and interviewer training sessions were attended by Eddie Shafie and Clyde Bullion, our study supervisors, and R. L. Lewis and William V. Ward who provided invaluable assistance and shared with us their constructive ideas on the project. Assistance in accounting and general fiscal matters was provided by Ivan K. Mayes. Each of these individuals was actively involved in key phases of the project during very critical periods of planning.

I am especially indebted to all of the persons mentioned here for the many contributions they made to the project. Despite these very substantial and helpful contributions by all concerned, I accept full responsibility for the work as it is presented, its findings and implications.

Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas
August, 1975

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ABSTRACT

The study presents the results of a survey conducted in two neighborhoods in Houston, Texas. It focuses on social, environmental, and attitudinal variables associated with highway planning. Specific consideration is given to the needs and problems of the residents living in close proximity to the proposed freeway routes and others in adjoining areas; attitudes and perceptions toward relocation and freeway/highway location, leadership identification and patterns of local influence. Specific objectives of the project included the following: (1) to determine the relative impact of new and improved highway construction on residential areas; (2) to explore felt needs and problems relative to relocation assistance programs; (3) to identify leadership patterns and influence in two neighborhoods selected for study; (4) to examine social processes--areas of conflict and cooperation; and (5) to explore and evaluate means by which the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation could best minimize disruption caused by displacement, and how they could stimulate greater public involvement and public confidence in highway improvement programs.

The findings of the research have provided valuable information for use in planning public hearings and relocation assistance programs. The evaluation and identification of the leadership structure in the community, if contacted, will assist transportation planners in their efforts to make appropriate decisions on highway improvements.

Key concepts used in the investigation include: socio-environmental and attitudinal factors, freeway impact and location, relocation, public involvement, and patterns of influence and leadership.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

All specific objectives of the research were achieved. Three of the four chapters in the study addressed key variables in the study, including socioeconomic and environmental impact factors; perceptual, motivational, and attitudinal attributes; and leadership identification. Based on the available data, major findings of the study are listed below:

- *Social and Environmental Factors (The Social Climate)*

  1. We did not find substantial evidence to indicate significant cleavages or divisions in the two neighborhoods studied. This kind of social climate is less amenable to conflict and more conducive to planned change.

  2. Person-to-person neighboring appeared to be very prevalent among neighborhood residents. There was also evidence of a high degree of residential satisfaction and neighborhood attachment in the two study areas.

  3. Neighborhood residents tend to concentrate on social and environmental problems of their immediate areas; whereas leaders look at larger societal problems which impact the total community.

  4. Attitudes of the survey population were generally favorable toward freeway construction in Houston. This could be due to the high level of dependence on freeways in the absence of an adequate public transportation system.

  5. On the whole, the social climate of the two neighborhoods appeared to be receptive to effective transportation planning and implementation. Citizens of the various communities were committed to change orientation and economic equality. Priorities assigned to these developmental values provide impetus to this finding. Respondents were moderately committed to conflict-avoidance and less concerned about participation in decision-making regarding certain economic developments.

6. Eight possible sources of division in neighborhoods were examined. Differences in education, income, religious belief or affiliation, political views; differences in social or racial origins, and others. With respect to these cleavages, we found little division as perceived by the survey population. This lack of perceived conflict or cleavage would, again, reduce the tendency toward activeness in neighborhoods--at least on the surface. It should be noted, however, that this finding would not discount the possibility that conflict could arise. Social harmony and political uniformity are traits which cannot necessarily be construed as assets in relation to socio-technological innovations and social change. Conflict among neighborhood groups can occur at any point where populations become more diversified in terms of socioeconomic characteristics or where neighborhood stability becomes disrupted to the point where it triggers insecurity and threatens the personal lives of residents.

- *Attitudinal Factors Associated with Relocation*

1. The attitudes of both citizens and leaders were generally more positive than negative toward the concept of relocation. Over 60 percent of the respondents in the survey expressed positive attitudes; 38.9 percent indicated negative attitudes toward relocation.

2. Study results suggest that a majority of the persons opposed to relocation expressed a concern about social and economic impact as related to the proposed changes in living arrangements.

3. Elderly residents expressed insecure feelings despite evidence of their hopes for improved living facilities. The insecurity of old age, attachment to neighborhood, and rising economic costs were factors which appeared to be influencing attitudes toward relocation.

4. The willingness to relocate appeared to be contingent upon better housing, the opportunity for relocating in the same general area, and "if the living environment could be improved."

5. "Time" was not a significant factor in relocation. Most respondents felt that they would not need too much to relocate. Renters are more likely to need less time than homeowners or older persons.

6. Space, location, physical environment (trees, yards, flowers, etc.), the convenience of service facilities, and costs are

the most important features to be considered in developing relocation plans for displaced residents.

7. Daily and weekly newspapers are the best means of communicating with the leadership and the general public on proposed highway improvements, relocation assistance, and public hearings. Use of radio and television would provide greater impetus to plans for public participation.

- *Public Involvement and Public Awareness*

Suggested approaches for public involvement and making the public more aware of highway plans were ranked in the following manner:

1. Arrange for project plans to be available at times and locations convenient for citizens and leaders of the immediate neighborhood.

2. A grassroots public relations program for informing citizens of highway projects and relocation benefits.

3. Schedule individual hearings or conferences with potential relocatees to assess general and special needs.

4. Conduct a well-publicized campaign for public hearings by showing date, time and location of hearing--with special efforts devoted to getting adequate information to citizens of the immediate area as well as the community's leadership.

5. Establish a special public hearing or public involvement unit in the central office to handle matters pertaining to the highway hearings or relocation assistance projects. This practice may already be in operation. However, specific suggestions for effective public involvement activities are contained in: "Public Involvement: A Guide to Action," an accompanying document for this study.

- *Leadership Identification and Patterns of Local Influence*

1. Our analysis of the patterns of leadership in the community indicates two factors of central importance to highway and public transportation planning. First, there is evidence of an emerging multi-racial structure of leadership in Houston. Changing patterns and statuses in the Houston community have tended to influence the attitudes and values of minority group leadership. As these groups continue to achieve measures of social and political power, they are becoming less and less "race" leaders. This does not mean that minority groups will abdicate their responsibility in the struggle for equality and concern for lower-status groups.

It does mean, however, that participation in community affairs and decision-making activities demand capabilities other than those which qualify them by virtue of their race. Competent black and brown leaders are making unique contributions to the on-going progress of the city, county, and region. The kind of achieved status now held by many blacks have produced the kind of respect which would call for a complete new conceptualization of minority leadership and a realignment of Houston's leadership structure.

2. Access is the key to effective public involvement. It is necessary to develop a strategy which will provide transportation planners greater access to effective and legitimate community leadership. Good organizational techniques and approaches, outlined in the Public Involvement Model will facilitate the task of getting input and feedback from citizens and leaders on highway plans and proposals.

Generally, the objectives of the study were achieved. Specific findings relative to the study objectives are summarized as follows:

OBJECTIVE 1. To determine what characteristics describe the effects of freeway construction on residential areas...

In assessing freeway impact, it was found that such factors as level of residential satisfaction, neighborhood attachment, the extent of freeway dependency, community values, cleavages, change orientation, attitudes toward economic development, measures of conflict-avoidance, patterns of interaction, leadership and related social cost considerations are key elements to be considered in determining freeway impact. Social cost considerations must be combined with environmental and economic cost factors if total freeway impact is to be assessed.

OBJECTIVE 2. To obtain data which differentiate perceptual, motivational, and attitudinal attributes between those who respond to relocation programs...

The elderly and the economically insecure individuals are more

prone to respond negatively to freeway location than the more affluent, younger and middle-aged residents. The elderly population expressed insecure feelings despite some evidence of their hopes for improved living accommodations. The insecurity of old age, ecological variables such as "attachment to neighborhood", minority group status, and rising economic costs were factors which appeared to adversely affect relocation assistance programs.

Conflict is more likely to occur in neighborhoods where there exist divisions as to education, race, income, occupation, etc. In homogeneous neighborhoods and communities, it is easier to gain consensus relative to issues. In addition, residents are more likely to respond positively to freeway location if they are renters, and in areas where one might find inadequate systems of public transportation.

OBJECTIVE 3. To identify individual and collective leadership structures...

Leadership structures at the community level and subcommunity level were delineated. A typology of leadership was devised, reflecting traditional leadership identification techniques, issue analysis, and leadership interaction. Two major variables were used in constructing the typology: (1) the cultural orientation (change orientation and values) of leaders and (2) their place in the community social structure as determined by their position, reputation, and decision-making activities.

OBJECTIVE 4. Perceived needs, problems, and neighborhood goals were also identified. To delineate specific social, environmental, and economic impact factors....and explore means of improving public involvement...

Specific social, environmental, and economic impact factors were analyzed in the study, including type of residence, car ownership, income, property values, choice of dwelling, neighborhood needs and problems, level of residential satisfaction and related environmental factors. Organizational strategies perceived to be effective tools for facilitating greater public involvement, neighborhood role and responsibility, and possible approaches to public involvement are variables analyzed in the study.

OBJECTIVE 5. To develop...a model indicating what factors to emphasize in preparing for public hearings and relocation assistance programs...

A model for public involvement has been developed. "Public Involvement: A Guide to Action provides some flexible guidelines for improving public hearings and implementing relocation assistance programs. This document represents Volume II of this study.

IMPLEMENTATION STATEMENT

Findings resulting from this research will be reported in a series of technical reports or monographs. The data will be utilized by the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation in its development of additional public hearing techniques, in public relations activities for insuring continued public confidence in its work; for overall public involvement activities and relocation programs.

Extensive use of the data will be made in on-going planning efforts for public hearings and relocation assistance programs of the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation. The study aimed to develop from the findings improved ways to communicate with the general public and alternative ways for increasing public participation in public hearings and relocation assistance programs. These benefits are expected to accrue from the achievements of the study objectives, as outlined. Specifically, it is hoped that effective means of minimizing disruption caused by relocation efforts will be one result to accrue from the study. Another expectation is that an improved methodology will be developed whereby legitimate leadership patterns in neighborhoods can be properly identified. The other benefit will involve combining the two former expectations into a flexible model for public involvement--including improved techniques for holding public hearings and promoting greater public awareness through effective communication.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Current themes in the literature on transportation planning concepts and techniques suggest increasing concern for social, environmental, and community consequences imposed by the design and construction of major urban transportation facilities. This study presents some of the major findings of a research which examined the nature of socioeconomic, environmental, and attitudinal factors associated with highway planning. Specific aspects of the inquiry involve an analysis of substantive issues relative to freeway/highway impact, public involvement techniques, attitudes toward relocation assistance and general displacement, patterns of leadership, selected process interaction values, and patterns of conflict as dictated by actual and perceived cleavages (divisions) in the two neighborhoods studied. A portion of the study is also devoted to the interface between transportation planning and neighborhood goals and/or values as revealed through the responses and expressed attitudes of citizens and leaders included in the survey.

A basic premise underlying the study is that relocation rendered necessary by highway or freeway construction is a form of socioeconomic maladjustment for persons directly exposed to the process. There is an indirect effect on nonrelocated persons and others living in adjoining areas.[1] Thus, the kinds of behavior patterns which

emanate from affected neighborhoods may vary from one area to another according to how a neighborhood perceives its plight in the midst of disruption caused by freeway construction; it may vary according to the ideology and attitudes of its dominant groups. In a sense, the character of the neighborhood, the kind or type of conduct exemplified by its members, the nature of citizens' attitudes toward economic progress, and the social values cherished by members of the community as well as aesthetic considerations are phenomena which influence and color citizen reactions. Many of these same values are representative of those which are treasured by the dominant leadership of the larger community and, as such, should be treated as measures of influence in determining policy decisions. In general, the line drawn between conduct which accepts highway improvements and conduct which rejects such action will probably vary with the degree of congruence found in values held by neighborhood residents and those of the community-at-large. When attempting to assess total community impact, then, differential responses to highway construction, relocation or displacement, as well as common reactions must form the network from which findings are drawn.

With these measures of potential influence in mind, it becomes important for planners to study means for achieving compatibility between the urban environment and the transportation system. Initial neighborhood impact assessment, therefore, must concentrate not so much on the analysis of obvious costs to develop the transportation system, but on the determination and consistency of specific goals, objectives, attitudes, and leadership patterns found in the neighborhoods. In addition to a consideration for community development goals,

there is need for an in-depth analysis of those factors which involve human values; and there is need for aggregate weightings of the relative importance of various human activities and experiences.

This study utilizes specific variables in its examination of socio-environmental impact, and elicits suggestions from citizens relative to public input, vis-a-vis, public hearings, relocation assistance, and leadership identification. It differs somewhat from previous studies in that we are seeking answers which, hopefully, will facilitate the implementation of programs of public participation, relocation assistance programs, and techniques for increasing public awareness of highway improvements.

It should be noted that in considering any plan for transportation facilities, location and design decisions should not be determined solely on the basis of how they will serve travel needs of an area, but in a larger sense, on how they will affect residents of the neighborhoods located in paths chosen for right-of-ways. The Regional Transportation Plan for North Central Texas acknowledges the importance of citizen input and underscores the need for it when it states that "transportation planning and development must gain the involvement of people, the community, and the region in the decisions to be made."[2] Despite this declaration of concern which is shared by many transportation planners, meaningful public participation in decision-making has been difficult to achieve. This research is directed toward the determination of those socioeconomic, environmental, and motivational factors which contribute to public apathy; behavioral patterns of the citizenry, reducing the amount of citizen input into decisions; and

those factors which induce adverse reactions to freeway location and construction.

Some of the more common problems encountered by transportation professionals in developing effective mechanisms to facilitate citizen input are recounted in the next section.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

One of the goals of state highway programs throughout the nation is to provide highway facilities which in their location and design, as well as their overall functions, reflect and support the environmental values and community planning objectives of the areas for which they are proposed. Efforts to accomplish this goal have met with considerable opposition from various groups committed to protecting the environment and "safeguarding community values affected by transportation decisions."[3] In many instances, as guides are developed for highway location, development and construction, objections by groups such as conservationists, organized citizen groups, and environmentalists have tended to surface. This trend of opposition tends to cast doubts on the merits of the transportation decisions made.

Questions have also arisen regarding the relative benefits of proposed highway improvements by these same groups. Costs, measured in tangible and intangible terms, have become almost a preoccupation with those adverse to growth not constrained by environmental considerations. Relative costs and benefits of policy decisions are questions that have extended beyond the mere academic interest of scholars. There is genuine concern among planners and academicians alike for balanced growth

and planning. Recent developments in research have underscored the importance of incorporating consideration for the environmental and social consequences of the transportation program into the planning methodology.[4]

Without doubt, efforts directed toward greater public participation in planning and decision-making are being weighted increasingly more heavily by highway commissions in their review of project proposals and by the general public in its appraisal of key planning efforts. A statement which typifies efforts in this regard is contained in a circular letter of the Division of Highways in Sacramento, California.[5] In a general way, an interest in or a concern for balanced transportation planning is no longer the key issue. The major issue faced by all transportation professionals and planners is the lack of public involvement in and support for transportation planning efforts. Efforts to assess inadequacies in this regard have generally been based on restricted approaches or methodologies where interdependent relationships inherent in social phenomena are disregarded.

Another problem faced by planning groups has been the absence of substantial knowledge on social costs or the intangible benefits derived from the route location and design for transportation facilities. More specifically, attention has turned to those salient ideas necessary to develop improved means for facilitating greater public awareness of highway programs and support for transportation improvement efforts in general. Environmental impact legislation has provided impetus to sustain activities which have the potential for creating greater public input.

Coupled with the willingness of planners to develop and implement action plans to increase public involvement have been the passage of new laws with emphasis on the impact of highway construction on the natural and social environments. Problems have been encountered when attempts are made to develop and identify those methods and procedures which would insure that environmental amenities and values be given appropriate consideration in transportation planning along with other economic and technical matters. In reference to such problems, the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (EPA) called for a more careful assessment of community values and the social effects of transportation planning on affected residents.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The literature on community impact in general and the social-environmental effects of highway construction on neighborhoods in particular is rather extensive. This section comprises a review of some findings of studies completed with a focus on environmental considerations, community disruption, and the negative consequences of highway design and construction.

Often cited reasons for the relative negative impact caused by freeways are outlined by Cline.[6] He categorizes adverse impact in the following manner: (1) The freeway may disrupt the physical framework on which the community is built; (2) the freeway may create a border vacuum capable of rapid degeneration; (3) the freeway may serve to separate residents from each other and from important institutions and facilities of the neighborhood. Cline also makes reference to some

additional consequences, including the relocation of those who live and work in the path of the facility.

Another study completed by the Edmonton City Planning Department in Canada concentrates its emphasis on the adverse effects of freeways on residential areas. In this report the authors identify at least four deleterious effects of freeways on urban dwellers.[7] Traffic noise was one of the more predominant sources of annoyances to urban dwellers. Next in importance to noise generated by freeway traffic is the adverse effect of air pollution produced by traffic on adjacent residential areas. The environmental quality of residential areas was also affected by visual disturbance. The Edmonton study indicated that social disintegration was perhaps the most significant adverse effect a freeway has on residents of an adjoining area. This effect is best observed when one considers the destruction, disturbance or alteration of the patterns of daily living it brings for many residents who are located in close proximity to the facility.

Restricted approaches have been used in attempts to measure community or social consequences. Adequate information has not been developed on how to adequately assess and determine social costs and benefits. Environmental protection proponents persistently argue that freeways are detrimental to neighborhoods and the social values on which the future of the community depends. McLean and Adkins were cognizant of the various arguments when they discovered that "literature concerned with the social impact of freeways in residential areas presents contradictory findings on the subject."[8] Ellis and others also agree that there have been restricted approaches to measuring community and

social consequences.[9]

Burkhardt utilizes a different approach to understanding the community. Acknowledging that there are numerous changes which occur when highways are built through urban neighborhoods, he describes a model of urban neighborhoods in which certain physical and demographic characteristics are related to the amount of social interaction that occurs within an area. His findings tend to suggest that a neighborhood interaction index might be a useful model to be used in making decisions regarding neighborhoods through which highways will be routed.[10]

Bleiker and others explore formal and informal contacts between the highway agency and the community. The authors examine community interaction objectives and the actual tools for achieving these same objectives.[11] The findings of this study were inconclusive, leaving the reader with somewhat vague summaries which, once again, reiterate the fact that the highway agency and its decision-making processes are responsible to the public. There is also the reminder that highway agencies should generate alternative courses of action and respond to the values of the community. These ideas are not new. There is, however, need for new ideas on how to effectively implement plans for public participation and greater community interaction. How to reach goal consensus or congruence and preserve values of neighborhoods are also questions still being examined and carefully scrutinized by scholars.

Mason and Moore attempt to develop a basic rationale and to test a methodology for determining goals for highway planning and criteria for implementing the goals that have the highest priority in terms

of both desirability and importance as perceived by public officials and citizens.[12] There is an effort to determine consistency and/or congruence between the goals of the citizens and those of public officials. It is believed that this study represents an important step toward the development of a conceptual framework and a systematic methodology for priority setting and goal assessment.[13]

Burkhardt turns his attention to cost-benefit analysis. Referring to inadequacies in the literature, the author asserts that nonuser costs and benefits have not been sufficiently examined, particularly those social costs associated with changes in the social functioning of persons remaining in neighborhoods effected by highway construction. Other writers, like Burkhardt, have shown interest in the evaluation of the relative economic and social merits of highway location as they relate to various aspects of the community. For instance, Bleiker examines the community within the framework of formulating and defining objectives for achieving interaction between a highway agency and potentially impacted community groups.[14]

Kaplan, Gans, and Kahn demonstrate not so much an interest in interaction as in determining highway feasibility in social rather than physical terms. These authors develop an operational predictive model which apparently has the potential for determining social effects on four neighborhoods directly adjacent to two freeways. It is their contention that the social effects of highways are closely related to patterns of neighborhood activity and pedestrian dependence.[15] Using selected social indicators, Kaplan and others developed a methodology for

use by highway planners and engineers to assess the social effects of alternative corridors. The expressed purpose of the study was to identify relationships between neighborhood types and social effects. Four distinctly different neighborhood areas in close proximity to two different highways were used to facilitate a comparison of the social effects of highway construction. The usefulness of the Social Feasibility Model lies in its capability for identifying for the highway engineer such factors as strong pedestrian dependency areas where highways can be expected to produce strong negative neighborhood impact; and in its potential for providing a means by which all neighborhoods can be rated as to their feasibility for a highway corridor. While it does not resolve major issues relative to the total highway impact, there is some concentration on the social characteristics of neighborhoods and the extent to which their use can serve as indicators of the effect of highway improvements.

Ventura and Mehta focus their attention more on displacement than feasibility data. They present a model for the long-range prediction of the number of households that will be displaced by a planned system. The model consists of two linked submodels: a basic model whose output is the number of household units displaced per acre of right-of-way and a right-of-way model whose output is total acres of right-of-way required by the proposed system.[16] The metro guideway system study program of the Transportation and Urban Analysis Department of General Motors conducted comparative evaluation of a planned freeway and transit where a set of inputs were used. These included social and environmental impacts of two systems where specific consideration was given to the

displacement of households.[17] Both of these studies used similar methods to predict the effect of long-range transportation plans on residential land use activities and community values in general.

Negative consequences of highway construction have been well documented. The mere construction of a freeway has a tremendous bearing on the viability and social cohesion of the neighborhood through which it passes. Over a sustained period of time population shifts occur; neighborhoods decline in physical appearance and in social benefits and services. The development of large-scale traffic arteries such as freeways also affects adjoining communities. Major traffic arteries often become the catalyst or accelerator for changes which may already be operative or they may induce alterations in interrelated social characteristics. Godfrey recognizes this possibility in his discussion of some of the effects of freeway construction in the article, "Urban Freeways--Salvation of Cities or Their Death?" Citing some trends which have developed over a period of years, the author mentions shifts in public opinion about freeway construction and route location. Both user and nonuser effects are noted in the Godfrey article, including the differential effects freeways have on central city low-income neighborhoods, especially black areas. There is reference made to the fact that while freeways improve the mobility of some families with cars, they lessen the mobility of those without cars.[18]

Improved mobility for some families may be considered a positive consequence of freeway construction, while route selection and lessened mobility are more or less negative consequences. In reference to the latter, negative consequences extend beyond mere immobility.

The shift in business establishments from central city to suburbia has, in many cases, made the location of jobs incompatible with travel opportunities for latent demand groups (the poor, aged, handicapped, and minorities). These groups are composed of persons who depend almost solely on public transportation services. Some writers have suggested that public transportation tends to decline when freeway access is increased by the addition of new routes.[19]

Also related to negative consequences are physical and social phenomena not amenable to quantitative analysis. One does not discount, for example, that physical disruption caused by highway construction has a sociological as well as psychological impact on residents in neighborhoods. Some researchers have not been content only to describe and analyze specific physical and demographic characteristics of neighborhoods. They have given serious thought to those sentimental attachments which frequently influence the behavior of residents affected by freeway construction. Interest in spatial features of an area has been expanded to include the additional property of "symbolism for certain cultural values that have become associated with a certain spatial area." Firey, for instance, examined the role sentiment plays in the use of land in an overcrowded city.[20] His work appears to be a response to various hypotheses advanced by Georg Simmel in his earlier works on the study of society. It was Simmel's belief that there are ecological processes which apparently cannot be embraced in a strictly economic analysis. It is further suggested that space has an impeditive quality as well as the additional property of symbolism. Locational activities bear sentiments which can significantly influence the locational process.

Fried and Gleicher tend to support this hypothesis when they reveal findings which indicate the prevalence of intense attachments of residents to their neighborhoods and refer to the existence of positive loyalty to physical places; the social environment of relatives and friends.[21] A recognition of inculcated values of neighborhoods introduces the necessity for seriously considering "sentiment and symbolism" as important ecological variables in the transportation planning process.

Despite these earlier inquiries on spatial theory and social interaction, the true scope of sentiment and symbolism as variables which affect urban spatial structure and community dynamics has not been adequately assessed. Empirical studies on the whole pattern of social interaction within formerly cohesive neighborhoods are beginning to surface in the literature, however. Scholars in the fields of planning and spatial theory are beginning to develop what they feel are comprehensive models which may assist highway professionals in making decisions regarding neighborhoods through which highways are routed, highway location criteria, and the character the highway should have within the neighborhood.

The related studies which we have reviewed in this section examined varied aspects of community impact relative to transportation projects, but some have tended to be cursory in their treatment of subject matter relative to potentially affected neighborhoods, narrow in their conceptualization of community values, social cost considerations, and attitudinal factors which influence the behavior of residents. A great deal of the studies focused on social indicators, predictive models. Others explored the public hearing aspects of

planning and community disruption. Some were primarily concerned with environmental or pathological aspects of transportation system development. Few efforts, if any, have attempted to synthesize all of these various aspects or to examine their interrelationships or to identify their influence in the overall spectrum of adverse reactions to freeway construction, route location, and displacement caused by these activities. Instead of the old approaches which consider, in fragmented ways, the characteristics of neighborhoods or the social climate for change generated by the disruption of established patterns of neighborhood activity, we have attempted to examine--in a collective fashion--two neighborhoods in Houston. Attempts have been made to examine interdependent factors which have the potential for effectuating or negating highway system development.

Another criticism of the works cited is that most of the authors have concentrated their attention on the negative or adverse effects of highway location on neighborhoods and/or communities. A large number of studies focus on economic costs rather than noneconomic or intangible benefits. To determine social costs in the fullest sense, it is necessary to examine the neighborhood, its patterns of leadership, its values, how it copes with its needs and problems, and how it responds to changes in behavior induced by the construction of highways or freeways. In short, those concerned with comprehensive planning must consider the social matrix of the neighborhood (change orientation, level of participation, potential for conflict, leadership patterns, attitudes toward progress and general economic development, etc.) and the individual and collective attitudes and perceptions of its residents.

Particular questions must be considered in reference to neighborhood analysis. What is the nature and extent of neighborhood needs and problems in relation to freeway construction? What impact--socially and environmentally -- will freeways have on neighborhoods? What are the prevailing attitudes and perceptions of residents concerning highway construction and anticipated changes posed with the prospect of relocation? What is the nature of leadership in the neighborhoods affected? What are some strategies for greater public awareness, greater communication with the affected citizenry, and public participation in decisions made? These are vital questions which are often pondered by those with planning responsibilities. The significance of this study lies in its potential for providing both current and meaningful data which can be useful to transportation professionals in developing comprehensive plans for transportation developments.

Emphasis is placed on the sociological and environmental effects of highway construction. An effort is made to provide information which will contribute to a better understanding of the factors which impair successful relocation efforts and activities designed to increase public awareness of highway developments; public involvement in decisions made relative to overall transportation systems planning. Specifically, the study seeks to: (1) determine the relative impact of new and improved highway construction on residential areas; (2) explore felt needs and problems relative to relocation assistance programs; (3) identify leadership patterns and influence in two neighborhoods selected for study; (4) examine social processes--areas of cooperation and conflict; and (5) explore and evaluate means by which highway department officials

can best minimize disruption caused by displacement.

Research Objectives and Study Design

A basic assumption of the study is that the precise effects of freeway construction on neighborhoods are dependent on conditions other than values, and that the attitudes and perceptions of affected residents influence their behavior patterns. To investigate this premise, the study examines a combination of variables which are treated as indicators of the social climate of the neighborhoods to be affected.

The specific objectives of the research may be summarized as follows:

1. To determine what characteristics, both related and non-related to socioeconomic status, describe the effects of freeway location and construction on two selected residential areas;

2. To obtain, through a selected sample of home interviews, data which may differentiate perceptual, motivational, and attitudinal attributes between those who respond positively to relocation assistance programs and those who do not;

3. To delineate specific social, environmental, and economic impact factors, while evaluating and exploring some means by which highway department officials can improve communications with neighborhood groups and the general public; and

4. To utilize findings from a combination of social indicators in suggesting strategies for public hearings and relocation assistance programs. Within the framework of these objectives, general

requirements of the study project were divided into specific phases, as delineated below.

Phase I. The first task involved such activities as a literature survey and data synthesis. Related materials on social-environmental impact, community participation research, social indicators, relocation studies, community characteristics, physical and economic measures of neighborhood change, and other related works were synthesized for use in developing a theoretical framework for the research design.

Phase II. The second phase of the project addressed itself to the neighborhoods to be used as study areas. Several objectives were accomplished, including identifying and categorizing residents living in the study areas as to those who would be relocated and those who would be left in adjoining areas; and using current census data to determine the sample for the study. In addition, boundaries of the neighborhoods were delineated. Assistance in identifying the study areas was provided by the staff of the Houston Urban Project Office, State Department of Highways and Public Transportation of Texas.

Phase III. The third phase involved several tasks, including: constructing and testing the questionnaire, training interviewers for home interviews, conducting leadership surveys, and completing home interviews with potential relocatees and residents in adjoining areas.

Phase IV. Phase IV involved an intensive analysis of leadership patterns in neighborhoods, and criteria were established so that the total range of leadership could be determined. Data on leaders were compiled and analyzed for use in developing strategies for public participation.

Phase V. The fifth phase included data programming and processing; intensive analysis and synthesis of data and final interpretation. A concomitant task involved developing a guidebook for improving public hearing techniques and inducing greater public involvement.

Methodologically, the study employed the general survey research strategy which involved a sample of household heads and leaders drawn from the selected neighborhoods. Data collection consisted of two sources: a home interview survey and an inventory of leadership patterns. The interview schedule was designed to elicit information on household and demographic characteristics, leadership patterns, goals/value items, attitudinal and perceptual variables, neighborhood activeness items as measured by change and process interaction; identification of felt needs and problems of the neighborhood.

The basic approaches used in the study have been identified in the section on "Design and Methodology" included in the appendices. Specifics on statistical measures used, sample selection, and control of sampling errors are also explained in detail in the aforementioned section of the report.

The study is organized into several parts, following an introductory first chapter. Chapter 2 introduces the reader to the study population and to basic findings relative to the social climate of the neighborhoods studied. This section also provides information on the perceived needs and problems of the areas and sets forth valid reactions to the phenomenon of social change. Chapter 3 presents attitudinal data on relocation, explains likes and dislikes about the neighborhoods, and delineates similarities and differences in responses to certain

items which probe the inner thoughts of those residents threatened with the prospect of displacement resulting from highway construction. It also explores alternative approaches to the neighborhood's role and responsibility in planning and locating freeways; assessing organizational strategies for increasing public involvement in planning, discusses patterns of leadership in the community, social cleavages or divisions, and procedures are evaluated for determining the legitimacy of neighborhood leadership structures. The last chapter of the study summarizes findings based on the data obtained from the survey.

FOOTNOTE REFERENCES

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CHAPTER 2

SOCIOECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the survey population and the neighborhood environment, and to relate these characteristics to proposed requirements for transportation system developments. Before examining the evidence, it may be worthwhile to review some methodological considerations in relation to the collection of data for the study.

The study is based on interviews with 163 respondents. Initially, over two hundred (200) households were selected systematically from areas designated by the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation in Texas as neighborhoods where highway construction was in progress or had been proposed for the future. Interviews were successfully conducted with 82 percent of the original survey group. The reamining percentage of those attempted were discarded for one or more reasons, including vacant homes, abandoned buildings, refusals, incompleted interviews, non-eligible respondents, and dwellings displaced by on-going highway construction. The total response rate includes leaders and citizens from the neighborhoods selected for study. An additional group of leaders from various sectors of the community were interviewed in panel sessions. In the latter instance, snowballing techniques (described fully in the Appendices) were used to probe for the activity base of leaders, patterns of influences, and leaders' perceptions and

motivations about transportation planning and relocation assistance.

The interview schedule used in the home interview survey has been fully described in the Appendices. Much of the style and several items and scales used in the survey instrument were drawn from previous literature on the subject. A study on the *Socioeconomic and Community Factors* of highway planning by A. Bruce Bishop and others provided pertinent information on items used to elicit data relative to attitudes on public involvement techniques; while an international study on "Values and the Active Community" provided data for attitudinal scales designed to measure developmental values in the neighborhoods.[1] The data, as compiled, are essentially nominal; that is, based on a classification of responses according to various ranges associated with each question or set of questions; others take the form of an index where the numerical values of the responses are summed and/or combined.

Guided by an interview schedule, an attempt was made to examine the social fabric of the neighborhoods in as much detail as possible. It was felt that "within its physical and symbolic boundaries, a neighborhood contains inhabitants having something in common . . . This gives the inhabitants of such areas a certain collective character, which affects and reflects people's feelings about living there and the kinds of relationships they establish."[2] Establishing neighborhood character, then, means that consideration must be given to the socioeconomic status of the population, shared activities, experiences, and values; attitudes and perceptions about needs and problems; and other common loyalties and interests.

In this study an attempt has been made to not only provide descriptions of the population of neighborhoods faced with the prospect of disruption by transportation developments, but to evaluate the effects and particularly in balancing such effects against the overall impact of freeway or highway construction.

Data have been presented on the socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents; perceived neighborhood needs and problems; sources of divisions in neighborhoods (cleavages and conflicts), and specific attitudes toward developmental values related to change.

SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

The search for the roots of human behavior logically includes an examination of personal and social attributes of citizens as they relate to the processes of planning and determining public policy. Thus, the socioeconomic characteristics of neighborhood residents may, in part, provide some motivational relevance to shared concerns about neighborhood needs and problems, level of residential satisfaction (likes versus dislikes), common values, and the notion of a human network of attitudes and perceptions that give neighborhoods a sense of continuity; indeed, a sense of place.

For the citizens and leaders who are the objects of this study, their own descriptions provide the neighborhoods with distinctive and recognizable traits, and we analyze these traits in-depth for clues which more fully explain social and environmental factors associated with highway planning.

The survey population was almost equally distributed according to its racial make-up. Among citizens included in the survey, over 49 percent of the respondents were black; 41.3 percent were white; with the remaining 9.4 percent being classified as Mexican-Americans. Black citizens predominated the neighborhood located near the Gulf Freeway which cuts across the Third Ward area; while white and brown citizens were in a majority in areas surrounding the Alvin Freeway (State Highway 288).

The leaders included in the survey were more disproportionately represented. Half of all leaders participating in the overall survey were black, with an equal percentage of white and brown leaders. In fact, brown and white leaders comprised 20.8 percent of the leaders, respectively, with the remaining 8.3 percent being composed of other races. Tables 1 and 2 contain data on the socioeconomic and environmental characteristics of the respondents.

Age, Sex, and Marital Status. A majority of the citizens could be classified as middle-aged citizens, with the largest proportion of the citizens falling within the 30-49 years of age category. For leaders, the same pattern appeared to prevail with about 46 percent of the survey group indicating that they were in the age group of 30-49 years. Respondents (both citizens and leaders) were almost equally represented in the 50 years and over age categories. Although there was a cross-section of age groups represented, the survey population could be classified as more old than young.

Table 1

Selected Socioeconomic and Environmental Characteristics of Citizens

ITEM	Number	Percent
Race:		
Black	68	49.3
Mexican-American	13	9.4
Anglo	57	41.3
Sex:		
Male	74	53.6
Female	64	46.4
Age:		
10 - 19	1	0.7
20 - 29	22	16.2
30 - 39	29	21.3
40 - 49	32	23.5
50 - 59	24	17.6
60 - 69	12	8.8
70 & over	16	11.8
Marital Status:		
Single	13	9.4
Married	85	61.6
Divorced	12	8.7
Separated	10	7.2
Widowed	18	13.0
Number in Family:		
One	28	20.3
Two	34	24.6
Three	28	20.3
Four & over	48	34.8
Income:		
Under $3,000	28	22.8
$ 3,000 - $ 5,999	26	21.1
6,000 - 8,999	20	16.3
9,000 - 11,999	18	14.6
12,000 - 14,999	18	14.6
15,000 - 17,999	9	7.3
$18,000 & over	4	3.3
Education:		
Elementary	23	17.4
Some High School	39	29.5
High School Grad	34	25.8
Some College	22	16.7
College Grad	11	8.3
Technical/Trade	1	0.8
Advanced Degree	2	1.5

(Continued)

Table 1 (Continued)

	Number	Percent
Occupation:		
Professional	11	13.9
Non-professional	15	19.0
Skilled	30	38.0
Semi-skilled	23	29.1
Type of Residence:		
House	120	87.0
Apartment	16	11.6
Other	2	1.4
Head of Household:		
Yes	115	83.9
No	22	16.1
Mode of Travel:		
Walk	5	3.6
Motor Scooter	3	2.2
Bus	18	12.9
Private (Taxi)	4	2.9
Auto	104	74.8
Other	5	3.6
Job Status:		
Retired - Over 65	24	17.9
Not Employed-Not Looking	15	11.2
Not Employed-Looking	12	9.0
Employed	82	61.9
Who Do You Live With?		
Alone	24	17.3
Friends	4	2.9
Family	109	78.4
Other	2	1.4
Do You Own a Car?		
Yes	99	71.7
No	39	28.3
Number of Cars:		
One	51	37.2
Two	38	27.7
Three	15	10.9
Four or more	3	2.2
None	30	21.9
Is Workplace Served by Public Transportation?		
Yes	32	35.6
No	58	64.4
Is Public Transportation Convenient For You?		
Yes	35	35.4
No	64	64.6

(Continued)

Table 1 (Continued)

	Number	Percent
Was Transportation a Factor In Choosing Your Job?		
Yes	19	20.4
No	74	79.6
Do Freeways Make it Easier to Travel to and From Work?		
Yes	88	82.2
No	12	11.2
Conditionally	7	6.5
Are Your Living Quarters:		
Owned or Buying?	84	65.6
Renter Paying Cash	44	34.4
Value of Property:		
Less than $10,000	4	5.5
$10,000 - $12,999	10	13.7
13,000 - 15,999	21	28.8
16,000 - 17,999	11	15.1
18,000 - 19,999	11	15.1
20,000 - 24,999	6	8.2
25,000 - 49,000	9	12.3
$50,000 & over	1	1.4
Is Home Paid For?		
Completely	34	26.8
Making Payments	50	39.4
Renter	43	33.9
If Making Payments, Are They:		
Less than $40	1	2.4
$ 40 - $ 79	13	31.0
80 - 119	14	33.3
120 - 149	8	19.0
150 - 199	6	14.3
Willing to Pay More?		
Yes	39	34.5
No	58	51.3
Not sure	16	14.2
What Type Dwelling Would You Choose?		
Single Family	107	89.2
Apartment	5	4.2
Townhouse	8	6.7

Table 2

Selected Socioeconomic and Environmental Characteristics of Leaders

ITEM	Number	Percent
Sex:		
Male	10	40.0
Female	15	60.0
Race:		
White	5	20.8
Mexican-American	5	20.8
Black	12	50.0
Other	2	8.3
Education:		
Less than Nine Yrs.	2	8.0
Some High School	4	16.0
High School Grad	2	8.0
Some College	3	12.0
College Grad	4	16.0
Technical/Trade	6	24.0
Advanced Degree	4	16.0
Marital Status:		
Single	2	8.0
Married	18	72.0
Divorced	2	8.0
Separated	1	4.0
Widowed	2	8.0
Age:		
20 - 29	3	12.5
30 - 39	5	20.8
40 - 49	6	25.0
50 - 59	5	20.8
60 - 69	3	12.5
70 & over	2	8.3
Number in Family:		
One	4	16.0
Two	5	20.0
Three	2	8.0
Four	5	20.0
Five or more	9	36.0
Do You Own a Car?		
Yes	20	80.0
No	5	20.0
Number of Cars:		
One	10	40.0
Two	11	44.0
Three	1	4.0
None	3	12.0
Current Job Status:		
Retired - Over 65	4	16.7
Not Employed-Not Looking	2	8.3
Not Employed-Looking	4	16.7
Employed	14	58.3
Income:		
Under $3,000	1	4.5
$ 6,000 - $ 8,999	3	13.6
9,000 - 11,999	5	22.7
12,000 - 14,999	5	22.7
15,000 - 17,999	1	4.5
$18,000 & over	7	31.8

Among citizens, more males than females responded to the home interview survey; while among leaders more females than males were represented. In fact, the sex distribution for the citizens involved 53.6 percent males and 46.4 percent females; while leaders were predominantly female, with 60 percent of those participating in the survey as females; 40 percent males.

On the average, the survey population was composed of married adults, with relatively large households. Over 61 percent of the citizens and 72 percent of the leaders indicated that they were married. In terms of household size, the majority of respondents in both groups revealed that there were four or more persons in the households.

Income and Education. Low-income families were mostly residing in the two neighborhoods included in the survey. Over 60 percent of the citizens had incomes of less than $10,000 per year despite the trend toward larger families. About 40 percent of the leaders had incomes of less than $10,000 per year. For the most part, leaders found in the income range of no income to $11,999 per year were lay persons or grassroots leaders nominated by their neighborhood counterparts.

A substantial proportion of the citizens or residents from the neighborhood survey had less than a high school education. About half of the group indicated that they had attended high school but had not finished; while over one-fourth of the citizens stated that they had completed high school, with an equal number having college, technical, and advanced training. For leaders, the majority had attained an educational status of high school or above.

Occupational and Employment Status. Occupationally, a majority of the citizens found in both neighborhoods were non-professionals found in the labor force. Less than 15 percent of the respondents indicated that they were working in professional occupations, with over 85 percent stating that they were engaged in employment of the non-professional variety. Most of the leaders worked in professional or managerial positions.

Among the neighborhood residents, 18 percent of the population indicated that they were retired and over 65 years of age; over 20 percent were unemployed; while about 62 percent stated that they were working on regular jobs. The leaders were as varied in their employment status as the neighborhood residents. About 17 percent of the leaders were retired and over 65 years of age; with the same percentage of leaders indicating that they were unemployed and looking for work. It should be noted that there is some possible duplication in the percentages since many of the neighborhood residents were also identified as leaders in the sub-sample.

Home Ownership and Property Values. A majority of the neighborhood residents lived in single-family dwellings, with about 13 percent residing in multi-family structures. Less than one-fourth of the respondents owned or were buying their homes, while 34.4 percent indicated that they were renting the homes. We did not probe leaders for home ownership information since our main focus in the study was on those potentially affected by freeway construction.

Property values were more varied. The value of property, as perceived by the respondents, ranged from less than $10,000 to $50,000 or more. A further examination of the property revealed that about 27 percent of the homeowners indicated that they had paid for their homes in full; 39.4 percent stated that they were still in the process of making payments. When asked the amount of the payments being made, the responses ranged from $40 to about $199 monthly. We were also interested in knowing whether or not they would be willing to pay more, and the majority stated that they would not. While many preferred not to pay more for living accommodations, the largest proportion (89.2%) of those queried revealed that they wanted a single family dwelling.

Transportation Needs and Freeway Dependency. Over 70 percent of the neighborhood residents and 80 percent of the leaders owned one or more automobiles. The majority of the survey population (both leaders and citizens) indicated that they owned more than one car, with about 22 percent of the neighborhood residents and about 12 percent of the leaders stating that they did not own automobiles. This latter group is almost totally dependent on public transportation as a means of mobility.

Some consideration was given to the ability of the neighborhood residents to get to and from work. Among the employed, over 64 percent of the respondents indicated that they worked in places not directly served by public transportation. An equal proportion of the group indicated that public transportation was not convenient for them; whereas, 20.4 percent revealed that public transportation was a factor in choosing their job.

Based on limited data contained in the survey, there is evidence to suggest that neighborhood residents and leaders depend a great deal on the existing freeway system for mobility in the urban area. Over 80 percent of the respondents felt that freeways made it easy for them to travel to and from work and other places. This perceived ease in mobility coupled with inadequate public transportation and automobile ownership and accessibility appear to contribute to some dependency on the Houston freeway system.

Further evidence is offered in relation to this dependency when "mode of travel" is considered. Less than four percent of the respondents stated that they walked to work; about 13 percent used public transportation; but 75 percent indicated that they used their automobiles almost exclusively as the primary mode of travel.

The preceding materials provide a rather thorough description of the survey population and its transportation needs. Additional dimensions of the study relate to perceptions and attitudes regarding the neighborhood; its environment; its sources of divisions; its needs and problems; and values toward developmental change.

It is important to not only identify perceptions and attitudes, but also to account for variations in them. To this end, information was sought on perceptions and attitudes relating to the neighborhood environment in a variety of contexts.

Neighborhood Needs and Problems. The "needs and problems" perceived to be important to neighborhood residents mirrored concern for not only the quality of life but the material aspects as well. An

attempt was made to determine the views of the two groups as to what the major problems facing neighborhoods were, and how transportation problems ranked among these issues. As indicated in Table 3, most of the residents identified environmental quality problems and social service needs as major issues facing the neighborhoods, followed by other problems such as public transportation, neighborhood stability, more community involvement, street conditions, direct community development and the like.

Table 3

A Distribution of Respondents According to How They Perceive Neighborhood Needs and Problems

PERCEIVED NEEDS/PROBLEMS	Frequency	Percent
Environmental Quality	42	51.9
Social Service	14	17.3
Economic	2	2.5
Human Resources & City Services	5	6.2
Political	2	2.5
Racial	1	1.2
No Response	15	18.4

A content analysis of narrative responses revealed a great deal of concern among residents about the inadequacy of city services. When citizen or resident responses were compared with leaders on the subject, some areas of agreement were discovered. For instance, environmental and economic problems received considerable attention from leaders of various organizations and agencies in the community at large. Conversely, citizens agreed with leaders on this point. We compared responses, as

shown in Table 4, of neighborhood residents and leaders to the question, "What do you consider to be the most important needs and problems facing your neighborhood and/or community?" Leaders as well as a select group of citizens were asked to rank the needs and problems in the order of their importance. Needs and problems ranked first, second, third, and fourth or so on were given weighted scores of 4, 3, 2, and 1, respectively. Cumulative scores for each need and problem were compiled and used to rank needs and problems. The comparative responses to the question are included in Table 4.

It should be noted that the need for adequate public transportation ranked high in priority among other needs and problems. Neighborhood stability, quality education, more community involvement, and community development were other issues which figured in the perceptions of neighborhood residents.

The way neighborhood residents and leaders perceive problems facing their neighborhoods and specifically those relating to environmental quality has been found to be a significant factor in understanding values of the community. An attempt was made to examine perceptual and motivational factors relevant to developmental action such as highway planning and construction. The major elements envisaged in this instance included: level of residential satisfaction, social structure (lines of cleavages/patterns of conflict), structure of neighborhood influence, process interaction values; length of residency; social relationship and personal ties were variables analyzed in attempts to establish neighborhood stability.

Table 4

A Distribution of Responses by Citizens and Leaders
On Neighborhood Needs and Problems According to
Assigned Score and Rank

PROBLEM AND NEED*	Citizens (N=139)		Leaders (N=75)	
	Average Score	Assigned Rank	Average Score	Assigned Rank
ECONOMIC (Unemployment)	91	1	33	2
PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION (Inadequate service)	64	3	19	3
ENVIRONMENTAL (Noise and air pollution)	47	4	71	1
NEIGHBORHOOD STABILITY (Relocation and disruption)	33	5	31	4
IMPROVED EDUCATION (School facilities and quality of education)	33	5	30	5
MORE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT (Citizen participation)	85	2	71	1
IMPROVED LEADERSHIP (More qualified leaders; greater neighborhood progress)	40	6	29	6
STREET CONDITIONS (Drainage, flood control; improving existing conditions)	36	7	35	7
DIRECT COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (Through planning and balanced growth)	21	8	19	8
CRIME (Improve preventive techniques; law enforcement)	19	9	11	9

*The problems have been identified in the parentheses following the "perceived needs".

In an effort to determine level of residential satisfaction, we asked respondents to indicate their "likes" and "dislikes" about their neighborhoods. Table 5 summarizes responses on major areas of satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

Table 5

Level of Residential Satisfaction Among Respondents According to Neighborhood "Likes" and "Dislikes"

ITEM	Percent
LIKES	
Social Contacts (friendly people; good atmosphere)	33.3
Good Location (proximity to downtown; near center of city)	32.1
Overall Qualities of Neighborhood (Neighborly relations; sentimental reasons; convenience to area facilities)	34.6
DISLIKES	
Environmental (junky areas; noise; deteriorated buildings; blighted vacant areas; freeway disruption)	47.1
Poor City Services and Facilities (streets need repairs; code enforcement; poor garbage service)	47.1
Social Status Factors	5.8

Although a large percentage of the respondents (as shown in Table 5) indicated dissatisfaction in two major areas, an even greater number were satisfied with the particular features their neighborhoods had to offer. This evidence seems to suggest some degree of neighborhood stability. To explore this further, however, we were interested in the length of time citizens and leaders had lived in the neighborhood, and the number of years they had lived in the city. Collectively, the respondents had lived in Houston for at least five years or more; in their neighborhoods three years or more.

Table 6 gives a distribution of the survey population according to length of residency in Houston and their immediate neighborhoods.

Table 6

A Distribution of Respondents (Leaders and Citizens) According To Length of Residency in City and Neighborhood

ITEM	Percent
LENGTH OF TIME IN CITY:	
Less than one year	4.0
One to two years	4.0
More than two years, less than 3	-
Three to four years	8.0
More than five years	84.0
LENGTH OF TIME IN PRESENT NEIGHBORHOOD:	
Less than one year	4.0
One to two years	8.0
More than two years	-
Three to four years	16.0
More than five years	72.0

In addition to level of residential satisfaction, it is important to consider other social phenomena which can affect the stability of an area. The sources of divisions in the community must also be considered. An attempt was made to determine whether neighborhood activeness was inhibited or promoted by the amount of division felt over such issues as income differences, political views, religious beliefs, race or ethnic origin.

Table 7

A Percentage Distribution of Respondents According To Perceptions Regarding Cleavages or Divisions in the Neighborhoods

TYPES OF DIFFERENCES	Perceived Divisions		
	% Very Much	% Somewhat	% Not At All
Educational Differences	6.5	21.0	72.5
Income Differences	9.7	21.8	68.5
Religious Differences	3.2	19.8	77.0
Political Differences	5.9	18.5	75.6
Occupational Differences	5.0	15.8	79.2
Racial or Social Origin Differences	7.2	14.4	78.4
Desire for Social Change Differences	7.2	24.0	68.8

Our findings on citizens indicate few, if any, perceived cleavages or divisions in the neighborhoods studied. Responses to the question, "To what extent do the following tend to divide people in your neighborhood?" reveal that less than 10 percent of the sample population believed that socioeconomic, ethnic, and religious

differentials existed in their neighborhoods. The result of these collective responses tends to suggest that there are no contending forces in the community. To the contrary, it is difficult to judge whether neighborhood conflict would necessarily follow certain lines of cleavage or would be minimized in the absence of any identifiable differences. No allowance was made for the possibility that while people may find themselves living in relatively homogeneous areas, intergroup conflict might occur over issues that divide them.

As the demographic data reveal, the two neighborhoods included in the survey were virtually populated by members of one race--one neighborhood was predominantly black; the other predominantly white, with a less than 10 percent Mexican-American population. In segregated situations--whether by race or class--the lines of cleavage are less distinguishable. To this end, it becomes necessary to assess the incidence of conflict, as perceived by the residents, which may relate to issues facing the community rather than concentrate on socioeconomic (SES) status variables. Respondents were asked to express their views concerning what they perceived to be actions which interfered with the development of their neighborhoods. Half of the respondents or 50 percent perceived of no conflict; 12 percent perceived racial, political and socioeconomic conflict, but 38 percent indicated that there was no cooperation among residents and that apathy did exist in their areas. This would seem to suggest that conflict and cooperation are at odds with what is generally characterized as conditions for a satisfactorily stable, developing community.

Table 8

Attitudes of Respondents Concerning Perceived Neighborhood Conflict

ITEM	Percent
NEIGHBORHOOD CONFLICTS:	
Racial	2.0
SES (Socioeconomic Status)	2.0
Political	8.0
No Cooperation/Apathy	38.0
No Conflicts	50.0
TOTAL	100.0
TO WHAT EXTENT DO CONFLICTS HINDER?	
Very Much	57.7
Some	42.3
TOTAL	100.0

In weighing the impact of socioeconomic and environmental factors, it is important to consider neighborhood goals and values as part of the total social matrix for development in communities. Central to any investigation of the dynamics of behavior is the concept of "values" as one of the basic imperatives of human action. The concept, "value,"is a standard or principle used by human beings in justifying or opposing a course of action.

DEVELOPMENTAL VALUES

The values expressed by respondents in the study were in response to scaled items on the questionnaire used in the survey and pre-tests.

In addition, techniques of content analysis were developed to measure the frequency and intensity of values expressed in narrative statements or opinions and general comments recorded from the "snowballing" or panel sessions in order to gain insights into citizens' and leaders' value orientations.

The basic methodological strategy for the study was designed to get at priorities among some of the values espoused by leaders. In measuring the values of leaders and citizens, responses to several questions were used for each value. Each item was scored in terms of four response categories ("strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," and "strongly disagree").

Six specific values (using three sub-categories) were thought to be essential to an understanding of the collective motivations and aspirations of citizens and leaders. These were values we presumed might influence citizens/leaders to favor or to resist social change induced by transportation construction. Values considered relevant to motivation, and processes of social change included the following:[3]

I. Acceptability for Change

   a. Commitment to Innovation (Change Orientation)
   b. Action Propensity

II. Economic Values: Objectives for Change

   a. Concern for Economic Development
   b. Concern for Economic Equality

III. Process Values: Leader-group Interactions

   a. Citizen Participation in Decision-making
   b. Conflict-Resolution-Avoidance

A brief explanation of the scales used to assess development values related to social change follows:

Commitment to Innovation was measured by a set of questions that cast acceptability of new ideas and the needs to seek new solutions to new problems against the "status quo" or being satisfied with things as they are. It is a scale which measures orientation to social development and change in the community. In relation to our survey, it was assumed that if the residents of a neighborhood or community had negative attitudes toward social development and change, they would--in all probability--resist highway/freeway plans.

Action Propensity assesses an individual's personal disposition to act despite risks or uncertainties. The scale also gauges feelings of self-containment and satisfaction which one has, as opposed to a need for acquisition and achievement. The items used measure "action propensity" by emphasizing caution rather than risk-taking. One assumption underlying the study was that if neighborhood residents, as a collectivity, were not in favor of taking risks, relocation assistance would be more difficult to implement.

Economic Development. Items on this scale measure commitment to material progress and well-being, the desirability of subjugating immediate gratification of need to long-term economic gains. Items were designed to give priority to future growth over fulfilling immediate needs.

Economic Equality. An attempt was made to measure attitudes toward disparities in wealth and material well-being.

Participation in Decision-making. This scale was intended to measure concern for popular involvement or citizen participation in the political process.

Conflict-Resolution-Avoidance. This scale's purpose was to measure the extent to which leaders and citizens were willing to proceed with programs in spite of opposition and frictions within the neighborhood or community.

Each of these scales were used to construct an index which, when utilized on the basis of respondent reactions, provide evidence bearing on both the structural pattern of influence in the limited sense, and the underlying bases of contending interests within the neighborhood. In the broadest context, an effort is made to develop a social matrix of local development which recognizes such variables as cleavage, conflict and the structure of influence. The State Department of Highways and Public Transportation must come to grips with the inevitability of contending interests and the pattern of human relations in neighborhoods and communities where transportation planning activities will take place. To this end, we sought to look into the very roots of the community itself for answers to many of the problems inherent in the implementation of a successful program of highway planning and relocation assistance.

It should be noted that the developmental value scales were intended to measure concern for national interests as opposed to local interests and problems. However, these same value scales were used in

several cities in the United States, and proved to effectively measure values relative to local neighborhoods and communities.[4] Utilizing such scales in a study of *Social Cost Considerations and Legal Constraints in Implementing Modular Integrated Utility Systems*, Lede', *et al.*, found the scales to be relatively adequate tools for providing in-depth information on the collective character of neighborhoods.

The principal point of interest for understanding the social matrix for local development is the uniformity of values or the level of consensus within neighborhoods. We were concerned with whether the amount of consensus on values between leaders and citizens differed from neighborhood to neighborhood. An analysis of responses to items designed to measure developmental values shows that local leadership is somewhat more homogeneous in their values than neighborhood residents. However, when responses are considered as a whole, it was found that no one value has equivalent cutting power. Respondents were more positive in their value orientations than negative. Table 9 summarizes the six developmental values considered pertinent to understanding the social climate of neighborhoods.

Table 9

Responses to Select Developmental Values for Respondents In Two Neighborhoods

SIX DEVELOPMENTAL VALUES	Value Orientations	
	Mean Av. (+)	Mean Av. (-)
Conflict-Resolution-Avoidance	58.4	41.6
Action Propensity	41.2	58.8
Change Orientation	59.2	40.8
Economic Development	57.3	42.7
Participation	50.8	49.2
Economic Equality	61.7	38.3

Taking an inventory of the developmental values used to assess the social climate of neighborhoods, we found that the following findings appeared to be most relevant: (1) Economic Values (commitments to local development goals and economic equality) appeared to be relatively strong among residents; (2) the value of Conflict-Resolution-Avoidance received a strong positive reaction from respondents, and tended to suggest that avoiding conflict should not be a critical factor in decision-making unless there were extenuating circumstances arising from intervening variables not accounted for in the scale; (3) the participation issue and action propensity ranked lowest in positive value orientations among all other values; (4) change orientation and economic equality appeared to dominate all other values among respondents. When viewed within the framework of averages, there were important points to remember. The residents in both neighborhoods appeared to be committed to innovative change; leaders in both neighborhoods appeared not to be action-proned; and respondents were less decisive on action propensity and the value of participation.

Putting these findings together with previous discussion of certain social and environmental considerations, a prototype of the neighborhoods can be drawn or portrayed, in a collective fashion, to reflect neighborhood character.

GENERAL IMPLICATIONS

1. In general social class and status differences were not found among the survey population in either of the two neighborhoods. Such information should guide planners in their relocation efforts, particularly where decisions have to be made concerning suitable housing and choice of place of residence.

2. Person-to-person neighboring is more prevalent and significant in the neighborhoods. We found evidence of some degree of residential satisfaction. Much of the satisfaction could be attributable to the friendship ties and interpersonal relationships observed in the areas.

3. Respondents were somewhat united in their strong commitment to change orientation and economic equality. They were moderately committed to conflict avoidance and economic development. They were less concerned about action propensity and participation in decision-making. It would seem that the two latter values represent a most interesting contrast in value orientation. Though concerned for their neighborhood, and highly committed to change and economic development and equality, there is the tendency to be less committed to participation in decision-making regarding such developmental activites. This may be due to the fact that traditional exclusion of minority group from decision-making processes has served to engender some apathy in this regard. This would not necessarily be true among low-income white respondents in the survey, but it should be understood that there is the tendency for this latter group to be psychologically committed to the preservation of the status quo. In addition, we were able to glean from the narrative comments some evidence that the low-income white segment of the survey population appeared to place a higher premium on carefully calculated action, and wanted to avoid making hasty decisions.

4. Neighborhood residents tended to concentrate on problems and needs of the immediate local area; whereas leaders essentially looked at broader societal problems. All were concerned with environmental problems as well as social problems which directly affected the quality of life and their general well-being.

5. We did not find a great deal of hostility among neighborhood residents or leaders. In fact, leaders were very favorable toward freeway construction in Houston. Details regarding these responses will be treated in the next chapter on "Attitudes Toward Relocation and Patterns of Leadership."

FOOTNOTE REFERENCES

1. Suzanne Keller, *The Urban Neighborhood: A Sociological Perspective*. New York: Random House, 1968.

2. See: A. Bruce Bishop, *et al.*, *Socio-Economic and Community Factors in Planning Urban Freeways*. A Project on Engineering-Economic Planning, Stanford University, in cooperation with the State of California Transportation Agency, The Department of Transportation and the Federal Highway Administration, September, 1970, pp. 188-91; and *Values and the Active Community*, New York: The Free Press, 1971.

3. *Values and the Active Community, ibid.*

4. Naomi W. Lede, *et al.*, *Social Cost Considerations and Legal Constraints in Implementing Modular Integrated Utility Systems*. A project funded by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and administered by the Johnson Space Center, December, 1974.

CHAPTER 3

ATTITUDINAL FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH RELOCATION ASSISTANCE AND PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT

The preceding chapters provide an introduction to related literature on the subject of relocation and community interaction. Information on the socioeconomic characteristics of the survey population, and selected environmental data on the two neighborhoods studied have also been included. This portion of the study is concerned with identifying and analyzing attitudes and other features of the neighborhood environment which influence motivations and impact on the behavior of residents. In doing this, we have attempted to define the social climate as a set of measurable properties of the neighborhood environment perceived directly or indirectly by the people who live in that same environment.

Determining the impact of freeway location on neighborhoods is central to transportation planning and the accompanying problems of relocation. The most direct impact of a freeway is the destruction of individual homes or groups of individual houses lying in its path. Displacement problems resulting from highway construction have been recognized, not only in Houston, but in other cities throughout the nation. Commenting on problems of relocation, Christensen and Jackson had this to say:

> When expressways are run through a major city, large numbers of people and many businesses are displaced. Unfortunately, the expressways are frequently routed through the least desirable sections of the city, and those who are displaced are the poor, the aged, and those who are least able to take care of themselves, and there is little likelihood that many of them will use the expressway that displaces them . . .[1]

The authors also remind the reader that "in theory, relocation is simple." In practice, it is difficult, complicated, and time-consuming. Frequently, successful relocation depends on solving personal problems--both financial and social, in addition to finding suitable homes for those to be displaced.

It is generally known now that problems of relocation are not new. A great deal of criticism has been directed toward slum clearance, displacement, and rehabilitation. The most severe criticism has been related more to federal housing policies than displacement resulting from highway construction, although in the latter instance there have been protests over route location and environmental effects.

The adverse effects of freeways on neighborhoods are no longer debatable. It is felt that what is needed now is an understanding of the ways in which neighborhood residents--in terms of their particular circumstances and attitudes--view situations in which they make locational and participation decisions. It may even be hypothesized that certain measurable properties of the neighborhood environment transcend the purely socioeconomic characteristics of residents. As such, other factors influence the choices of a substantial number of individuals. There are affective elements which can be derived from feelings and emotions; and cognitive elements grounded in ideas derived from an objective examination of the facts. To this end, evaluative components of human behavior

are a combination of the cognitive and affective. They operate as preference choices; they are revealed through attitudes and perceptions.

The behavior of a neighborhood resident separately or as a member of a group is influenced by his "belief" system, that is, by his view of the world in which he lives--his deepest convictions. The very core of this belief system consists of fundamental perceptions, attitudes, and values. By values we mean preferences and choices on a scale of things that people desire and want. In this section of the study, we examine attitudinal and perceptual factors which we believe may influence the motivations and conduct of individuals in situations where they must make key choices regarding highway/freeway location and displacement.

In an attempt to examine the impact of freeways on neighborhoods, we concentrated on the belief systems or social cost considerations such as: (1) the identification and analysis of attitudes toward relocation; (2) an analysis of factors which could influence decisions regarding freeway location as perceived by residents and leaders; (3) a measurement of expectations of residents to be displaced; (4) a determination of sources utilized by respondents in obtaining information on highway plans and proposals; and (5) an analysis of attitudes on public involvement approaches and techniques.

ATTITUDES TOWARD RELOCATION

The attitudes of both citizens and leaders were generally more positive than negative about the concept of relocation. Over 60 percent of the respondents in the survey expressed attitudes which were positive toward relocation; while 38.9 percent stated that they were

not in favor of any type of relocation.

We probed deeper for motivations concerning relocation. When asked if they would be willing to relocate, again, the respondents were more in favor of relocation than against it. A percentage distribution of responses shows that 70 percent of the respondents revealed that they would be willing to relocate, with 30.4 percent stating that they would not. Of those willing to relocate, less than half or 48.8 percent said that they would relocate voluntarily; while 51.2 percent (a slightly higher percentage) felt that they would not be willing to do so. Table 10 gives a frequency distribution of responses to selected questions on relocation.

Table 10

A Numerical and Frequency Distribution of Responses Concerning Relocation

ATTITUDES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
In general, how do you feel about relocation?		
Positive	77	60.2
Negative	51	39.8
Would you be willing to relocate?		
Yes	87	69.6
No	38	30.4
Would you relocate voluntarily?		
Yes	59	48.8
No	62	51.2

The study results suggest that a majority of persons who were opposing relocation were concerned about economic and social aspects as related

to the proposed change in living arrangements. Some of the typical comments made included the following:

ECONOMIC	SOCIAL
● As long as they are not made (sic) to give up a loss.	● They should be told the truth about being displaced and be aware of alternatives.
● The poor suffer the most. They do not know the law and don't get a fair market value for their property.	● Forced displacement is always bad. Individual sacrifices for the community are not good. Full consideration must be given to the rights of the individual.
● Displacement is OK if the people who are relocated get enough money without being in debt the rest of their lives.	● Relocation always creates psychological and financial problems. It means adjusting to a whole new lifestyle which will probably be on a lesser level than previously experienced.
● Every effort should be made to make relocation as painless as possible, particularly the financial part.	

We also found some evidence of neighborhood attachment and even fear on the part of the elderly. In expressing her feeling in a simple fashion, one elderly respondent said, "I am too old to move." Other concerns included: "disruptive to the sense of community or disruptive to a viable community;" and the belief that "the costs are greater than the benefits."

Despite these negative statements, most of the respondents were willing to relocate if it involved moving to a better house, relocating in the same area, and "if present living conditions would be improved."

Other concerns of the study involved choices relative to distance from city and perceived problems in moving. A very relevant

aspect of relocation relates to the desires and needs of the persons to be displaced. In the survey, respondents were asked where they would like to live in relation to the city and whether or not moving would pose any great problems for them. The data indicate that 42.7 percent of the residents preferred to remain where they were; 31.3 percent expressed some interest in moving farther from the center of the city; 14.5 percent stated that they wanted to remain closer to the center of the city; and 11.5 percent stated that they had no particular choice.

When asked if they would have problems if they moved, a slight majority or 50.8 percent revealed that they would have problems if they moved; while a somewhat smaller proportion (49.2%) indicated that they would not have problems. Table 11 outlines responses relative to where the respondents preferred to live in relation to the city and the problems they expected to encounter in moving.

Table 11

A Distribution of Responses Concerning Choice of Distance From City and Perceived Moving Problems

ITEM	NUMBER	PERCENT
Preferred Distance from City:		
Closer to Center	19	14.5
Farther from Center	41	31.3
Just Where you Are	56	42.7
No Particular Choice	15	11.5
Perceived Problems in Moving:		
Would Have Problems	63	50.8
Would Not Have Problems	61	49.2

Time was another factor considered in our examination of attitudes toward relocation. In terms of the amount of time needed to relocate, most of the respondents felt that they would not need too much time to relocate. A substantial proportion of this group included renters, with some homeowners involved also. The majority or 51.7 percent stated that they could relocate within a period of less than one year; 37.1 percent stated that it would take from one to three years (1-3 yrs.) for them to relocate; while 11.2 percent felt that it would take three years or more before they could successfully relocate.

As another means of assessing the impact of freeway location on neighborhood residents, we asked the survey population to list for us the factors they would consider if they were relocated or moved to another place to live. The factors included were: employment opportunities, recreation for adults and children, shopping centers, medical facilities, churches and schools; banks. In terms of rank, the most important factors were shopping centers, churches and schools; medical facilities; and employment opportunities. Although recreational opportunities and banking were concerns of the group, these service facilities were not as important as shopping, employment, and convenience of other service facilities. Table 12 shows how specific factors considered to be important in relocating were ranked.

Table 12

A Distribution of Responses on Key Factors Considered in Relocation

KEY FACTORS	Numerical Rank "Yes"	Percentage* Rank
Shopping Centers	79	56.8
Churches and Schools	78	56.1
Medical Facilities	76	54.7
Employment Opportunities	66	47.5
Recreation for Children & Teens	53	38.1
Recreation for Adults	44	31.7
Banks	25	18.0

*Responses were based on the percentage of respondents answering "yes" to the question. Subtracting the percentage of "yes" responses from 100 will provide the negative responses.

Successful relocation depends on solving personal problems. The relevant questions that we asked were about the kind of house the potential relocatee likes and features considered most important in locating a suitable house for them if they were forced to move. In relation to this concern, we asked the respondents to describe their "ideal" house. Both interior and exterior features were included in the descriptions given. Most of the respondents appeared to want better living facilities than those where they currently lived. The typical house described by the respondents included a 6-10 room house or medium-sized, brick, single-family dwelling. In addition to describing the ideal house, the respondents also gave their views on what they considered to be the ideal neighborhood where they would like to live. It was noted that factors which figured prominently in the minds of the survey group included social

relationships, environmental features, and easy access to service facilities. Table 13 provides data on the ideal house and the ideal neighborhood as perceived by the respondents.

Table 13

Responses to Questions Regarding Housing and Neighborhood Features

FEATURES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Ideal Size of House	(N=121)	
Small	22	18.2
Medium	76	62.8
Large	23	19.0
Ideal Number of Rooms	(N=112)	
1-5	30	26.8
6-10	70	62.5
More than 10	12	10.7
Ideal Exterior	(N=110)	
Frame	30	27.3
Brick	80	72.7
Ideal Type of Dwelling	(N=125)	
Single-family	116	92.8
Multi-family	9	7.2
Ideal Neighborhood (Factors)	(N= 47)	
Social Aspects	19	40.5
Environmental	27	57.4
Facilities	1	2.1

Once the ideal house and the ideal neighborhood had been assessed, we probed for suggestions about the kind of living facilities the respondents wanted if they found that they had to relocate. Space, location, physical environment (trees, yards, flowers, etc.), the convenience

of service facilities, and costs were important factors which influence decisions on relocation assistance. Over half of the respondents mentioned housing costs; while less than one-third indicated that living in a rural area was an important preference in relocation. In Table 14, it is evident that respondents wanted more room and space after arriving at the destination point; they were concerned about where they would move and whether or not the new residence would be convenient to work, churches, schools, and medical facilities. These features were extremely important to them, particularly those indicating that they would relocate voluntarily.

Table 14

Important Features in Relocation as Perceived by Respondents

FEATURES	MOST IMPORTANT		LEAST IMPORTANT	
	No.	%	No.	%
More Rooms or Space	97	78.9	29	21.1
Basement, Stairs, etc.	66	55.5	53	44.5
Yard, Trees, etc.	83	70.3	35	29.7
Floor Plan	68	57.1	51	42.9
Better Physical Structure	71	60.7	46	39.3
Location, etc.	105	86.1	17	13.9
Convenient To Work	85	73.3	31	26.7
Convenient to Schools & Churches	83	72.2	32	27.8
Convenient to Medical Facilities	70	61.9	43	38.1
Live in Rural Area	36	31.3	79	68.7
Housing Costs	59	52.7	53	47.3

In order for residents to prepare for a smooth transition from their former place of residence to the new one, it is necessary for them to have certain facts regarding the transportation project. The exchange

of information and public awareness of freeway planning activities are important elements in a successful relocation assistance program.

Information Sources. In the survey, it was found that neighborhood residents rely on daily and weekly newspapers for information on housing or announcements regarding highway plans and public hearings. A substantial proportion of the survey population indicated that real estate agents and individual referrals were the main sources of information about housing.

Contrary to what is generally assumed, neither minority-owned or minority-oriented newspapers were used with any degree of frequency as information sources. Minority-oriented newspapers and efforts by officials of the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation were used less than other information sources. Only 5.8 percent of the respondents revealed that they used minority newspapers as sources of information despite the fact that more than 40 percent of the total population was black; and an even larger percentage was nonwhite (if one includes Mexican-Americans). Personal visits by officials from the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation ranked very low, and mailings from the same source were received by less than one percent (0.7%) of the total survey population. In relation to the latter statement, it is suggested that this source of information could be improved considerably by developing a mailing list which includes citizens, agencies, organizations, and institutions. Table 15 gives a frequency and percentage distribution of responses concerning information sources.

Table 15

Sources Used by Respondents for Information on Housing and Relocation Activities

INFORMATION SOURCES	Percentage (Cumulative)
Newspapers (Daily)	41.0
Newspapers (Weekly)	12.9
Minority-Owned or Minority-Oriented Newspapers	5.8
Real Estate Agents	36.0
Individuals or Others	10.8
For Sale Signs	18.7
*THD Personal Visits	8.6
*THD Mailing	0.7

*Formerly Texas Highway Department; now, the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation.

FACTORS IN FREEWAY LOCATION

To be more explicit in describing highway impact within the general framework of social cost considerations, it was necessary to not only identify a set of factors which was capable of measuring specific user and community effects, but it was necessary to evaluate the relative impcrtance of these factors in the light of the perceptions and attitudes of citizens and leaders. A total of 27 factors were used as items designed to measure community or user effects of freeway location. The items or factors were: local transportation effects, community planning and environment, neighborhood and social structure, community economic and fiscal structure, and citizens factors.

Previous researchers have experienced some difficulty in assigning

values to items similar to those used in the study. Despite this inherent difficulty, however, writers have proceeded to assign values and find common units of measurement or numerical ratings for use in evaluating neighborhood impact. Hill, for instance, utilizes separate weighting as a method of evaluation in his goals-achievement matrix.[3] In his article, as in this study, opinions were weighted to reflect the relative importance of a set of factors. Variables were grouped together according to common user and community factors. Six categories were established, and respondents were asked to reflect the relative importance of each group of factors.

As shown in Table 16, items are grouped according to six major categories. Each set is designed to reflect user and community factors in urban freeway location. Respondents were asked to indicate which factors they considered to be of major importance in freeway location.

Given the exploratory nature of the research, influence factors were grouped to provide greater meaning to the specific categories. A principal component used was factor analysis where varimax rotation was done on 27 factors. Individualized items and their factor loadings are presented in Table 16.

Table 16

Influence Factors and Factor Loadings Developed from 27 User and Community Factors in Urban Freeway Location

Local Transportation Effects		**Community Planning and Environment**	
Traffic Service to City	(.448)	Land Use Plans	(.360)
Local Transportation	(.550)	Aesthetics of Freeways	(.557)
Regional Access	(.593)	Noise	(.788)
Highway Design Standards	(.382)	Air Pollution	(.768)
Neighborhood and Social Structure		**Direct Costs and Benefits**	
Property Values	(.915)	Cost of Highway	(.679)
Neighborhood Impact	(.895)	Motorists' Safety/Comfort	(.776)
Parks and Recreation	(.480)	Travel Time Savings	(.867)
Cultural/Religious Center	(.482)	Vehicle Operating Cost	(.813)
Economic and Fiscal Structure		**Citizens Factor**	
Effect on Tax Base	(.528)	Active Participation in Planning	(.879)
Community Services	(.660)	Making Statements of Specific Nature	(.579)
Commercial Activity	(.424)	Cooperation with State Department of Highways and Public Transportation	(.913)
Employment	(.765)	Response of Ordinary Citizens	(.660)

Neighborhood impact or disruption (.895), property values (.915), relocating residents (.720), and travel time savings (.867) were considered by the respondents to be the most important factors influencing urban freeway location. Active participation in planning and cooperation with the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation were the citizens factors considered most important. Based on the findings in Table 16, it might be suggested that a great deal of emphasis should

be placed on elements of the neighborhood and its social structure; and direct costs and benefits associated with route location. The factors and suggested measures in Table 16 can serve as a basis for evaluating overall neighborhood impact and the differential effects of highway/ freeway location on neighborhood stability.

Citizens factors were explored further. We were interested in eliciting responses to the question: What is the community or neighborhood's role in planning and locating freeways? When the responses of leaders and citizens are compared, some differences do exist in their perceptions of neighborhood role and responsibility. Leaders felt that the neighborhood residents should actively participate in planning; and that they should become involved by making statements on neighborhood goals. A majority of the leaders or 65 percent perceived the neighborhood role in terms of the aforementioned functions.

On the other hand, citizens felt that making statements on neighborhood goals, and active participation in planning were not enough. They felt that "cooperating with highway department officials when requested" represented an additional responsibility to be assumed by neighborhood leaders and residents. Less than 17 percent of the citizens and 7.5 percent of the leaders agreed that neighborhoods should wait until proposals are made, then respond with suggestions and/or complaints. Collectively, both groups (as indicated in Table 17) perceived the neighborhood role and responsibility to be that of active participation in planning, with more citizens than leaders favoring cooperating with the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation.

Table 17

Neighborhood Role and Responsibility in Planning as Perceived by Respondents (Neighborhood Residents and Leaders)

NEIGHBORHOOD ROLE	Neighborhood Residents %	Leaders %
Active Participation in Planning	18.5	30.0
Making Statements on Neighborhood Goals	4.6	35.0
Combined Responses (a) and (b)	34.3	0.0
Cooperation with Highway Department When Requested	22.2	17.5
Wait Until Proposals are Made, Then Respond	16.7	7.5
Other	3.7	10.0

In order to gain even more insight into feelings and attitudes of the survey group, we asked them, "Who should represent the neighborhood's interest in dealing with the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation?" Findings in Table 18 reveal differences in the attitudes of leaders and citizens on who should represent the neighborhood interests in dealings with highway officials. To the citizens or neighborhood residents, their interests could best be served if homeowners and renters would deal with highway department officials individually. However, a majority of the leaders felt that neighborhood leaders along with citizens could provide the best representation. Too, leaders were more inclined to favor engineers, planners, and elected officials than citizens; while neighborhood groups were favored more by citizens than leaders.

Table 18

Attitudes Toward Representation of Neighborhood Interests in Dealing with Highway Department Officials

REPRESENTATIVES	% Neighborhood Residents	% Leaders
City Engineering or Planning Staff	6.9	17.8
City Engineering and Elected Officials	16.1	17.8
Individual Homeowners and Renters	48.3	8.9
Neighborhood Groups	14.9	6.7
Neighborhood Leaders	13.8	13.3
Other (Neighborhood Leaders & Citizens)	0.0	35.5

PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT AND PUBLIC AWARENESS

The public discussion of freeway impact, costs and benefits of relocation takes place at formal hearings designed to facilitate effective community agreement on a course of action with respect to transportation plans. An effective public involvement program achieves public understanding of the transportation problem and the proposed alternatives.

The survey group was asked to choose from among several approaches those they felt could be effectively used to achieve more public involvement and public awareness of transportation system developments. They were asked to give their reactions to specific organizational strategies for increasing public participation and selected approaches to techniques for use in disseminating information to citizens. In ranking the suggested approaches on the basis of their importance and potential effectiveness, five received the greatest amount of consensus from the

sample population. These included the following:

- Arrange for project plans to be available at times and locations convenient for citizens and leaders of the immediate community.
- A grassroots public relations program for informing citizens of highway projects and relocation benefits.
- Schedule individual hearings or conferences with potential relocatees to assess general and special needs.
- Conduct a well-publicized campaign for public hearings by showing time, date, and location of hearing, with special efforts devoted to getting adequate information to citizens of the immediate area as well as the community leadership.
- Establish a special public hearing unit in the central office to handle all matters pertaining to the highway hearings on relocation assistance projects.

The approaches listed above were those considered to be effective organizational strategies for increasing citizen participation in highway planning. As indicated in Table 19, more than three-fourths of the respondents agreed that these approaches had the potential for developing an effective program. Sponsoring tours of proposed areas (63.6%) and holding meetings with real estate persons (74.6) were considered less effective than the more comprehensive approaches previously cited.

Table 19

Organizational Strategies Perceived to be Effective Tools for Facilitating Greater Public Involvement

ORGANIZATIONAL STRATEGY	Percentage of "Yes" Responses
Establish Special Public Hearing Unit . . .	75.6
Grassroots Program . . .	81.0
Public Relations Program (Using Communications Media) . . .	71.7
Sponsoring Tours of Proposed Areas . . .	63.6
Arrange for Project Plans . . .	83.9
Conduct Well-Publicized Campaign . . .	79.2
Schedule Individual Hearings. . .	78.7
Schedule Meetings with Real Estate Agents . . .	74.6

Specific information was sought on proposals for getting the public involved in decision-making activities involving transportation. The following five approaches (as shown in Table 20) received the highest rankings: Highway Department Controls (5.24); comprehensive planning approach (4.80); workshop groups (4.51); ombudsman (4.38); and use of public hearing officer (4.23). Respondents suggested utilizing a comprehensive planning approach, with highway department controls. "Use of the public hearing officer" ranked lowest among the top five suggestions. The *Public Involvement Model* (prepared as a separate document) is based primarily on a comprehensive planning approach, and included in it are some elements involving a pluralist approach to planning.

Table 20

Mean Rank of Items Suggesting Possible Approaches to Public Involvement by Respondents

POSSIBLE APPROACHES	MEAN RANK
Highway Department Controls	5.24
Comprehensive Planning Approach	4.80
Workshop Groups	4.51
Ombudsman	4.38
Use of Public Hearing Officer	4.23
Coordinated Planning with Field Office	4.21
Plurality in Planning--each group plans but works together	4.14
Highway Department with Community Feedback	4.05

The findings presented in this chapter seem to have several important implications for transportation planning. Evidence of some positive feelings about relocation tend to suggest that neighborhood residents will accept or have become resigned to the proposed transportation changes or innovations in their neighborhoods. This may be due to the fact that the apparent positive feelings now held were preceded by a period of protest, particularly in the area surrounding the Gulf Freeway project.

Neighborhood impact or disruption, property values, displacement, and travel time savings are important factors to consider when decisions are made relative to freeway location. In areas where potential route location will take place, it would be advisable to begin establishing rapport with residents several years prior to the unveiling of plans for the neighborhood.

The data indicate differences in perceptions between citizens and leaders on neighborhood role and responsibility. All agree, however, on the importance of active participation in planning and the need for residents to make statements reflecting neighborhood goals.

As a means of concluding this chapter, it seems appropriate to suggest that efforts be made to incorporate many of the suggestions and findings of this chapter into plans for relocation; and that efforts be made in each case to: (1) survey and determine major needs and problems of neighborhoods where displacement will take place; (2) determine the important social functions taking place in areas, and any special individual needs; (3) assess the level of residential satisfaction and compare this information with those persons willing to relocate voluntarily; (4) identify the spatial arrangements within which these functions and needs operate; and (5) identify neighborhood leadership at all levels and determine patterns of influence in the larger community. Each of these tasks should be accomplished through a partnership arrangement, involving the cooperation of neighborhood citizens and transportation planning officials.

Adequate planning for highways and public transportation depends on social, physical, and environmental phenomena. Conditions within the environment provide opportunities for and constraints on effective planning and implementation. The focus of this chapter has been to analyze and explain those attitudes and perceptions that relate specifically to relocation and public involvement in transportation planning. We devoted full attention to a review of key factors influencing

freeway locations, variables which might enhance or hinder residential choice and satisfaction with the new environment made necessary when individuals are displaced; and informational sources utilized by residents as reference guides to information on highway plans and public hearings. Briefer attention has been given to organizational strategies and suggested techniques for public hearings believed to be capable of facilitating greater public involvement and public awareness of highway and public transportation plans.

The next chapter of this study simply identifies leadership structures in two neighborhoods and the larger Houston community. Values, aspirations, and qualities of leadership are additional conceptualizations and analyses provided in our attempt to shed greater light on the leadership process. It is felt that explicit attention should be focused upon the neighborhood, with an analysis of its patterns of influence and leadership structures.

FOOTNOTE REFERENCES

1. Arthur G. Christensen and Alvin N. Jackson, "Problems of Relocation in a Major City: Activities and Achievements in Baltimore, Maryland," *Highway Research Record*, No. 277, Washington, D.C., pp. 1-2.

2. Morris Hill, "A Method of Evaluating Transportation Plans," *Highway Research Record*, Washington, pp. 21-34.

CHAPTER 4

THE IDENTIFICATION AND INFLUENCE OF LOCAL LEADERSHIP

One of the objectives of this study was to identify individual and collective leadership structures in neighborhoods; perceived needs, problems, and values of the study areas. The latter variables have been discussed in preceding chapters. The leadership identification issue will be examined in this section, with special emphasis on patterns of influence and types of leaders.

Varied approaches have been used by previous researchers in their attempts to assess leadership effectiveness; to analyze leadership structures, community power and decision-making. In fact, during the past several decades inquiries into community power, decision-making, leadership and influence passed through a number of conceptually distinct stages; stages marked by changes in analytic focus and/or methodology. The first stage involved those studies concerned with power and decision-making structures in isolated, small communities such as Lynd's Middletown, U. S. A. The second stage involved a comparison of leadership studies and an assessment of influence and decision-making on the basis of reputation, position, and decision-making capabilities. Much of the research on leaders at the community level has been concerned with the "attributes" of leaders rather than with their actions within a particular situation.[1] Few studies have attempted to utilize approaches which combine reputation, position, and decision-making power, and the interactional sequence of activities at the community and subcommunity levels

into a comprehensive methodology. This study considers this approach in efforts to delineate and understand leadership patterns at all levels of influence.

The interactional approach focuses on the relationship of individuals and groups in a sequence of actions. When combined with specific attributes of position, reputation, and decisional variables, important elements in the leadership structure are revealed. At one extreme, according to Bonjean and Olson, "are the covert economic elites -- small, relatively cohesive groups operating behind the scenes influencing public officials and associational officers."[2] This is clearly illustrated in Jennings' study of the elites of Atlanta. He concentrated on three select status groupings which were characterized as economic dominants, prescribed influentials, and attributed influentials. One point which the author emphasizes is that central decisionmakers are not uniformly drawn from the ranks of those with the highest economic status; that economic position is invariantly correlated with political power.[3] He did acknowledge that some economic notables are influential.

The Jennings study was published in 1964. Prior to this time, the questions of leadership and decision-making were answered in a manner which reflected assumptions based on position and reputation. It was assumed that those persons occupying important offices -- elected political officials, higher civil servants, business executives, officials of voluntary associations, heads of religious groups, leaders of labor unions and others -- were considered to be those persons making key decisions affecting the lives of residents at the community level. Some attention was given to legitimate pluralistic structures where pub-

lic administrators were considered to be the decisionmakers, with some degree of influence exercised by their constituencies.

In recent years, attention was turned away from purely comparative research on leadership, decision-making, and power relations. Studies have attempted to examine leadership within the context of a relational system characterized by certain norms and patterns of interaction. Gouldner seems to recognize this when he asserts: "That leaders have important relations with other leaders, not merely with their followers, is a fact often neglected in the researches of social psychologists. Focus on the leadership corps, the groups' leaders treated as an entity, may also serve to highlight this crucial area."[4]

Bonjean and Olson provide an extensive discussion of research on community leadership and certain salient characteristics of leadership identification techniques. It is their contention that most studies on community leadership have used one of three techniques (or a combination or modification of the three) to identify community leaders. These techniques include the positional approach, the reputation approach, and the decisional approach. Each of these approaches is considered inadequate, if used singly, particularly at the subcommunity or neighborhood level. Although the positional approach, for instance, has been widely used, it cannot stand alone because the assumption upon which it is based, according to Bonjean, et. al., may not be valid for all communities. This is due primarily to the fact that such an approach precludes accepting the legitimacy of leadership structures as problematic.[5] The reputational approach to a study of community leadership has also been criticized. Some critics contend that it does not measure leadership

per se, but rather the reputation of leadership; that a reputation of power is, at best, symbolic, and is not a valid index of power.[6] Proponents of the reputational approach argue that perceptions of power affect behavior and, as such, we are dealing with very meaningful and useful considerations. Another criticism of the reputational approach is that it incorporates an "a priori" assumption of a monolithic power structure."[7] Others indicate that different groups of elites have different scopes of interests, and that leadership structures apparently vary from one community to another as well as in the same community over time. A final observation relative to this approach is that the technique may not yield an accurate identification of leaders because of discrepancies in the concept of power and basic methodological procedures utilized to elicit perceptions; and unreliability in measurement devices. The latter problem has been confronted to some degree by the employment of a panel of experts which provides a kind of "snowball" variation of the reputational technique. This kind of methodology was utilized in this investigation.

The decisional approach has also many inherent limitations. In relation to interviewing techniques used to ascertain information on certain informal acts, motives, and influence, there is some question as to whether those individuals in decision-making positions are free of influence by others who are more or less concealed from the general public. To deal with this apparent limitation, some investigators have recommended supplementing this approach with the reputational technique. Another criticism has been that the decisional approach ignores key actors in situational events who may be able to keep latent issues from

emerging into open controversy. Also, there is the absence of a mechanism for examining non-decisions and influentials who may keep them concealed.

Whereas the decisional approach fails to consider certain relational elements which would influence the decision-making apparatus, the interactional method of leadership identification does. The latter technique focuses on the relationship of individuals and groups in a sequence of actions, generally within a specific problem context.[8] In line with this approach, importance is placed on the participants or actors and the relational system in which action takes place. Recent studies have recognized that when applying social system analysis to the community, three elements are important. These include activity, interaction, and sentiment. The activities, interactions, and sentiments of group members, together with mutual relations of these elements with one another form a social system. Hence, it is important to include interactional elements in any examination of leadership patterns of communities and subcommunities.

This study proceeded on the assumption that leadership at the subcommunity level had to be approached from additional dimensions, particularly where minority groups are involved. In the absence of broad institutional sectors, it would be difficult to delineate patterns of minority leadership, especially black leaders. Another assumption was that because of traditional exclusionary policies regarding decision-making positions in the past, perceptions of leadership by respondents in one of two neighborhoods chosen for study would necessarily introduce the need for analysis of community dynamics -- where actions of participants and functional relationships within a situational context would

yield norms and patterns of leadership which were intertwined with leadership at the subcommunity or neighborhood level.

This section of the study focuses on leadership at the community and subcommunity (neighborhood) level, and discusses its broader influence in reference to issues and its impact on the overall structure of the community. A distinction must be made between the concepts of "neighborhood" and "community." For sake of clarity, the community -- as used in this study -- is viewed as a social system, having external and internal patterns; instrumental and expressive aspects relating the system to its environment and its units to each other while at the same time performing the function of boundary maintenance. The neighborhood is perceived as a subsystem, consisting of groups of individuals and families who live in close proximity to each other. There is awareness of mutual rights, obligations, and respect; there is differentiation of interests and association, but common goals, needs, and concerns are shared by the groups. In short, the community is perceived as the larger social system; the neighborhood is a subsystem -- a part of the total community.

There is some logic in the conceptualization and differentiation of community and neighborhood. Thinking of the community as a social system implies that some pattern of interaction exists among members. In relatively small communities or in neighborhoods, persons identified as leaders tend to form a subgroup where some linkages exist between subcommunity influence and the larger community. Linkages range from kinship ties to membership in formal organizations and associations or some

overlapping of influence exists. In connection with this kind of possible linkage, it should be pointed out, however, that not all community leaders have extensive interactions in the subsystem or vice versa. There is some variation in the degree of influence exercised by individual leaders at both levels. One leader may be more influential than another by virtue of his ability to affect, pattern, or control the behavior of other persons more effectively than others sharing the same distinction.

Leadership structure, like influence, varies in many ways. In some communities and subcommunities, leaders may be active in decision areas, while in others the decisional roles of leaders fluctuate. In some neighborhoods and communities there is both familiarity and contact between leaders and followers. In others, rivalry exists. Basically, researchers generally ascribe to the belief that apparently no single description can be applied to community or neighborhood leadership. Yet, some criteria must be applied if one is to attempt to identify leadership patterns and/or structures. A series of characteristics have been operationalized to the point of assessing leadership phenomena. Measures of legitimacy, visibility, scope of influence, cohesiveness, dominance, and interaction have been used to examine leadership patterns and structures.

This study is another in a series of attempts to shed greater light on leadership patterns and structures in communities and subcommunities. Methodological techniques used are outlined in the section which follows.

METHOD OF PROCEDURE

After careful examination of previous methodologies, it was felt that combining methodologies utilized in related studies would be tested

in this study because of some apparent shortcoming in the more individualized approaches. A three-phase relational analysis -- reputational, positional, and decisional -- combined with sociometric and interactional data on activity patterns and issues comprised the specific methods employed in collecting information.

More specifically, respondents were asked during the home interview survey to nominate individuals on the basis of their perceptions of leadership capabilities and influence at the neighborhood level and in the community. In reality, these initial respondents became informants. Their nominations were tabulated and weighted for the neighborhood and the community in general. Utilizing the "snowball method," we interviewed neighborhood respondents in panel sessions and delineated a chain of sociometric relations and actions in the neighborhood and probed for relationships with community leaders. The snowballing sessions yield some first and second level influentials.

Criteria were used in identifying types of leadership structures Legitimacy -- which was measured by collecting information on each leader (identified by either the reputational or decisional technique) in relation to their political and/or appointive offices. Officeholding in the political and associational arenas represented, then, a measure of the legitimacy of leadership. Visibility was another criterion considered in leadership assessment. This element is separate from legitimacy. The reputational approach was used to measure visibility. In this instance, we compared the nominations and rankings of a panel of judges and or the leaders themselves with the nominations and rankings of the general public

and neighborhood-based informants. Three types of leaders were categorized from this comparison, including visible leaders (those recognized by both the judges and the general public); concealed leaders (those recognized by the judges or leaders themselves but not by the general public); and the symbolic leaders (those recognized by the general public but not by the judges or community-based leaders).

Scope of Influence was measured in terms of the degrees of respect revealed through information collected on the Home Interview Survey and the panel sessions. Using the decisional approach, we probed for participation in actual decisions and policy formulation. An issue analysis was also conducted so that neighborhood level leadership could be more carefully assessed. Some attempt was made to determine the role played by the leader in different types of decisions and issues. Another criterion involved cohesiveness. This variable was measured by assessing the degree to which leaders nominated one another. This level of analysis reduced the number of original nominees, and tended to reveal multifactional patterns which cut across the community rather than a unitary neighborhood pattern similar to what emerged during the first level of analysis. Interaction and/or relational patterns of individuals and groups in a sequence of action resulted from the final phase of the combined approach used. A chain reaction occurred in nominations as we moved from one level of analysis to the next.

The final phase involved the panel method. This method differs from the snowball technique only in the selection of respondents. A three-directional orientation guided this phase. The panel nomination

approach involved the selection of individuals on the basis of positions held, reputation in the neighborhood or community, and decisional activities. One consultant firm, thoroughly familiar with individuals, groups, and organizations throughout Houston, assisted in the identification of persons from various sectors of the community. These individuals were subjected to panel interviews on questions used in previous phases and a discussion of issues relative to employment, education, transportation and relocation and related urban problems. When this phase was completed, some of the neighborhood leaders who had survived the first several phases were eliminated and the influential structure gained new members. The final selections were, again, exposed to a representative panel of community residents, including neighborhood persons of all racial groups. Extensive interviews were conducted with these representatives of "special publics." The specific institutional categories from which the "special publics" were drawn included business and industry, religion, health and medicine, civic affairs, politics, social welfare, labor, education, communications (mass media) and related sectors. These individuals were finally ranked according to their influence at the neighborhood level and the community level; they were ranked by degrees of respect by social class levels.

In a general way, the study incorporates a broad concern for leadership at all levels, including a network of informal and especially formal social relationships developed between neighborhood resident populations and individual or reference groups in the larger community to whom they turn for support. This chapter identifies a network of

interactional activities which, when combined with such variables as reputation, position, and decisional phenomena, reveal leadership patterns and styles. The identification procedure begins at the subsystem level and, as it progresses, a sequence of interactional processes tend to give rise to a broad spectrum of influence at the community level.

An analysis of the findings begins with a discussion of intervening elements which may impact power relationships and influence. Values, qualities, and aspirations of leaders are examined; the interest level of leaders and their attitudes toward relocation are noted. The concluding section explores perceptions relative to the neighborhood role and responsibility in transportation planning and leadership patterns at the subcommunity level and the community level.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LEADERS

Some specific characteristics of the leadership survey are briefly summarized here. In age, the most frequently named leaders were relatively young (as indicated in Table 2, Chapter 2), falling within the age range of from 30 to 55 years. The educational level of the leadership sample was quite high. Community leaders had high educational levels as opposed to lower levels of education for neighborhood persons found in the more or less general leadership categories.

Employment characteristics show that leaders included in the sample were employed in education, government, business, industry, the professions and religion. Leaders nominated for the religious

category were not of the traditional type. A substantial proportion of the religious leaders in Houston are also educators, reflecting a new style of leadership which challenges the traditional model found in rural communities.

On the whole, minority groups look to educated neighborhood colleagues and community influentials with relatively high achieved status, prestige, and influence for guidance on decisions affecting their neighborhoods. In some extreme cases, black neighborhood residents perceive standards of leadership which require greater involvement and commitment by the leadership than they are capable of giving. They want leaders who actually champion the goals of the immediate neighborhood but stand out in the larger community; they require their leaders to embrace a value system which incorporates a commitment and dedication to equality and justice; and they want their neighborhood leaders and community influentials to assume leadership in removing the constraints on their power to act, to participate, and share in decisions affecting the stability of their neighborhoods and their personal lives.

Instead of becoming trapped in the moral dilemma attached to leadership, minority group leaders (particularly blacks) have developed attributes which accommodate the expectations of their constituencies while participating fully in decisions common to the total population. This was clearly illustrated when we examined the values of leaders and their perceptions of neighborhood roles and responsibilities.

Values and Aspirations of Leaders. To probe the values and qualities of leadership included in the survey population, we used a

battery of situation-specific questions in which the respondents were asked to decide on the importance of certain values and ideals. Values measured included economic development, conflict-avoidance, selflessness, national commitment, honesty, participation, equality and change. As indicated in Table 21, economic development, participation, equality, honesty, and change were values and ideals judged to be most important by the leadership sample.

Table 21

A Distribution of Leadership Responses
According to Value Priorities

VALUES AND IDEALS*	Mean Rankings
Economic Development	.640
Conflict-Avoidance	.127
Selflessness	.130
National Commitment	.040
Honesty	.373
Participation	.601
Equality (Social and Economic)	.347
Change	.739

*Includes responses for total leadership sample, irrespective of race.

Leaders placed less value on avoiding conflict than citizens, but were highly committed to economic development, participation, and change.

In further pursuit of the motivations and values of leaders, one direct question was asked in an attempt to measure aspirations: "What are your wishes and hopes for the community?" The use of thematic

content analysis revealed a rather consistent pattern of values which was more or less incongruent with that of their constituencies. Table 22 provides data on the aspirations of leaders.

Table 22

Summary of F-Ratios, Analysis of Variance of Aspirations Expressed by Leaders and Citizens

ASPIRATIONS	F-Ratios	Level of Sig. (P)
Improved Health and Welfare	3.03	.05
Economic Progress	5.20	.01
Social Services	9.08	.001
Improved Governmental Performance	7.59	.001
Increased Avenues of Public Participation	7.01	.01
Community of Local Unity	5.21	.01
Neighborhood Organization	6.45	.002

Table 22 presents mean scores for the citizen sample and the leadership group on their aspirations concerning the future of the community. A simple one-way analysis of variance was performed to see if there were differences between the aspirations of citizens and leaders. Our findings indicate significant differences in what citizens forecast for their communities and what the leadership perceives. Although the themes used were the same, the major differences were in the priorities assigned. When race is held constant, however, there is greater congruence in the values and aspirations of citizens and leaders in the black community.

Respondents were asked to respond to questions regarding what traits were admirable in leaders. The traits most admired included

honesty,knowledge, general leadership ability, impartiality and good relations with people. One respondent summarized what she perceived to be admirable qualities this way: "Some important qualities for a good leader to have should be knowledge and respect for others; he should be concerned, committed, honest, fair, and knowledgeable about the needs of people . . ." Another respondent, while recognizing the need for honesty, emphasized the additional qualities of diversity in leadership and the need to select leaders on the basis of their ability to balance priorities and to recognize public/private sector values.

The final measure used to assess the qualities of leaders involved items which elicited responses to questions on leadership responsibilities. We asked the leadership sample to tell us the most important group for whose interests and welfare they felt responsible. As indicated by the responses, most leaders in the sample felt accountable to the people in the community whose interests and welfare they seek to advance. Table 23 gives a distribution of responses on leaders' loyalties.

Table 23

A Distribution of Responses to Items Measuring Leaders' Loyalties

LEADERS" LOYALTIES	PERCENT
Political Party	8.7
Friends	8.7
People in Community	65.2
Nation	13.0
Other	4.4

Although leaders were somewhat decisive in their desire to respond to the interest and welfare of their constituencies, they were not too decisive about where they would turn for information about highway plans. "The general public or citizens generally" category received the largest percentage of responses as an information source, with 18 percent; the mayor and local civic groups ranked second with 16 percent, respectively; and local elected officials were chosen by 14 percent of the respondents. These data are shown in Table 24.

Table 24

A Percentage Distribution of Responses on Data Sources for Information on Highway Plans

SOURCE	PERCENT
Local Party Leaders	8.0
Local Elected Officials	14.0
Local Newspapers	8.0
City Manager or Mayor	16.0
Local Civic or Reform Groups	16.0
Local Business Groups	10.0
State, County, or Federal Administrator	10.0
Public or Citizens Generally	18.0

Leaders of the community, like citizens, acknowledged that they did have difficulty in securing factual information on highway plans. It should be observed that no mention was made of efforts to contact highway officials at the state or local level for information on proposed highway construction. This tends to suggest that, perhaps, what is needed most is a more effective program of public awareness and an

identification of those leaders capable of helping the public develop an understanding of the actual role the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation plays.

Essential to planning for all forms of transportation, including highway construction is an understanding of the characteristics and values of leadership in communities where such activities are to take place. Preceding sections of this report contain findings relative to socioeconomic, environmental, and attitudinal factors associated with highway planning. The first part of this section provides data on the general characteristics of the leadership found in two neighborhoods used as sample populations in this study. The final portion of this study will be devoted to analyzing data and presenting findings on the nature and influence of local leadership, with specific emphases on interactional relationships and typologies.

THE STRUCTURE AND INFLUENCE OF LOCAL LEADERSHIP

A combined approach to community influence and power attribution was used to assess the structure of leadership at the system (community) and subsystem (neighborhood) levels. As indicated at the beginning of this section under "Method of Procedure," an examination of leadership incorporated patterns of influence in the community as well as a delineation or identification of power wielders and influentials.

For sake of clarity, leadership identification is based on a definition of the community as a social system, implying that some pattern of regular interaction exists among members. Additionally, it is assumed that neighborhood leadership (respondents in smaller geographic

areas) form a subsystem in which members are linked by a variety of contacts ranging from kinship to membership in formal and informal organizations. In line with these possible linkages, it should be noted that not all community leaders have extensive interaction patterns in the subsystem (neighborhood). There are some community leaders who exercise as much influence at the subsystem level as they do in the larger social system; others communicate with only a few members or none at all. Succinctly put, there is wide variation in the amount of influence exercised by leaders at the community level and subcommunity level.

The findings indicate that when leadership is examined at the subcommunity or neighborhood level, there is a high degree of unstructured activity among groups and individuals. Patterns of leadership are both formal and informal. Leaders in the subsystem appear to rise to power and influence by virtue of the force of their personality and their abilities to win the support of a substantial number of residents in the immediate area and adjoining neighborhoods. Territorial restrictions notwithstanding, some of these same leaders catapult to a position of leadership at the community level. The attitudes which were elicited from the respondents suggest that this "rise to leadership stardom" can be attributed to an admixture of charisma and economic support and independence. There is also indication that this leadership potential is conditioned by a given neighborhood setting; by how leaders articulate specific neighborhood-based issues to influential sectors of the larger community.

Neighborhood leaders operate on the basis of unstable clientele, weak institutional and status positions. The strength of popularity,

support, and influence at the neighborhood level -- all depend upon neighborhood leaders' ability to satisfy the needs and demands of the constituencies they represent. These same criteria are controlling forces in determining the rise and fall of leaders at the subsystem level. Their constituencies (followers) determine not only what neighborhood leaders will represent them at the community level but also the position they take on issues; they determine the source of their authority.

It is difficult to develop flexible models for involvement of "publics" on neighborhood-based leadership unless careful consideration is given to community leadership. This is necessary because of the structure of influence in communities, particularly minority subcommunities. The relational aspects of the leaders at both levels must be carefully examined. Neighborhood leadership is vulnerable to challenges by "pseudo" leaders, rival candidates, and the longevity and legitimacy of issues that reinforce worth and popularity. Its vulnerability is also extended to the extent that leaders can and do maintain meaningful interaction with more powerful leaders at the community level. In other words, neighborhood leadership must be involved in planning, but their involvement in such planning (particularly in Houston) is almost controlled and dictated by larger influential sectors of the community. Economic dominants and political leaders are key actors in this interactional drama.

A neighborhood leader's movement from a subsystem to a system level -- from neighborhood leadership status to community leadership status -- rests with a constituency which divides its loyalty between

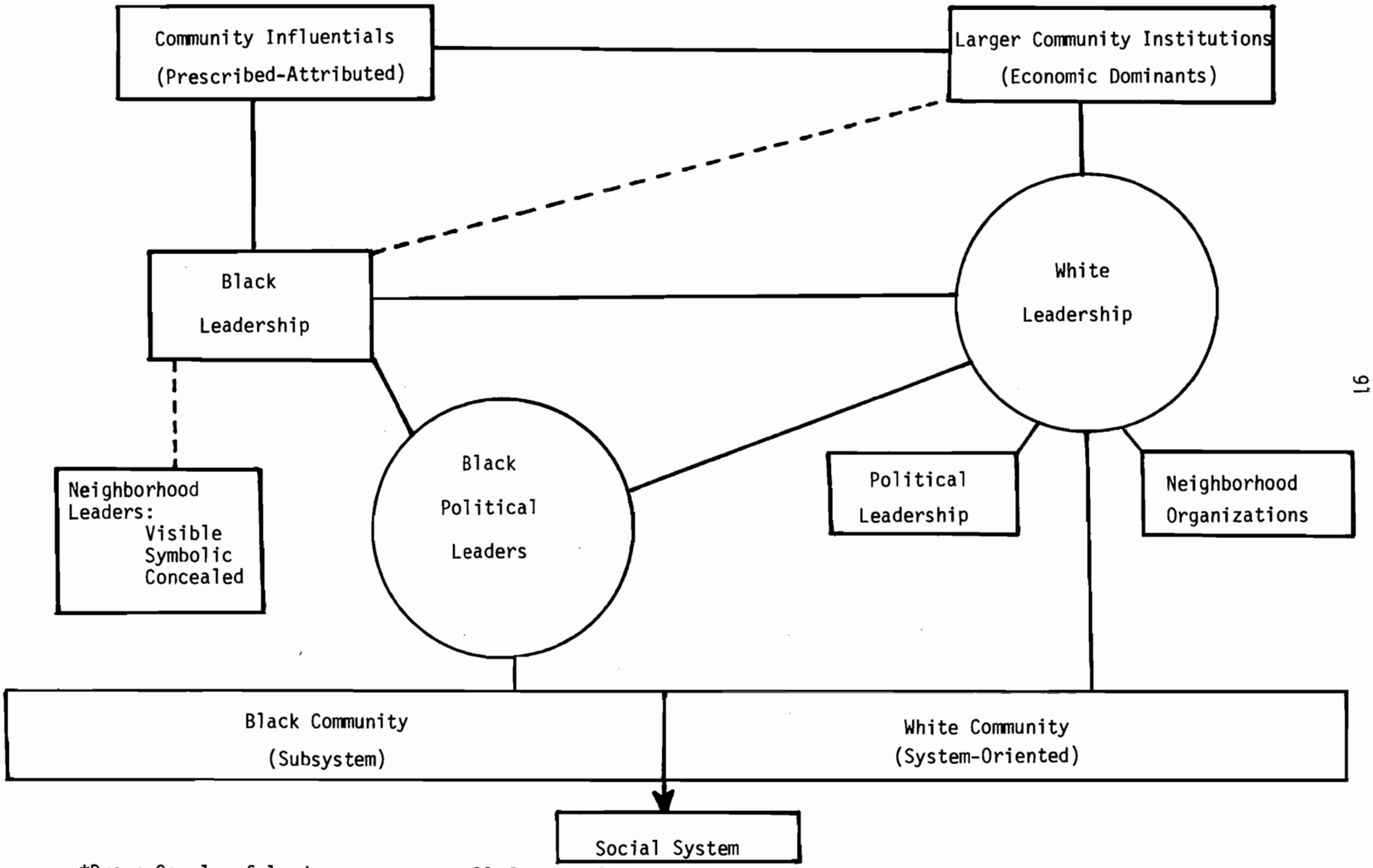
formal and informal relationships comprising social, economic, and political contacts with leaders of the larger community. In Figure 1, an attempt is made to illustrate a broad conceptualization of the structure of leadership in Houston.

Black Leadership. According to Ladd, black leadership "has been and remains issue leadership, and the one issue that matters is race advancement."[9] While Frazier acknowledges that functional leaders are judged by their stands on integration and absorption into particular spheres of American life, he also emphasizes that as ethnic minorities become accepted or absorbed into the larger culture, the less firmly will such leadership be identified with the interests of the ethnic or racial group."[10] In other words, "minority group leadership becomes," says Ladd, "differentiated by nonethnic considerations: they become Republican and Democratic leaders; upper class, middle class, and lower class leaders; business, social welfare, labor, and intellectual leaders."[11] Occupational differentiation gives rise to a functional leadership in minority communities.

Black leadership patterns in Houston were examined within the framework of the aforementioned hypothetical situations. In the study of two neighborhoods in Houston, we were able to differentiate several patterns of leadership in a neighborhood in close proximity to the Gulf Freeway Project of the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation. Several patterns of leadership were identified at the neighborhood level. Each pattern appeared to have its origin in an informal rather than formal mechanism, generated by in-group rather than

Figure 1.

Broad Conceptualization of Leadership Linkages, Houston, Texas (1975)



*Brown Sample of leaders was too small for an adequate analysis.

out-group selection. There is evidence of a functional relationship among followers and leaders at the neighborhood level, with direct linkages with political leaders and other influentials at the community level. As indicated in Figure 1, black leadership in Houston apparently has intergroup linkages and contacts, and neighborhood actions influence and are based on advice and consent from a community wide and multi-racial coalition. In essence, to deal with neighborhood leaders one must be cognizant of the combined dimensions of minority group issues and interests as they impact the total community.

Black political leaders, for instance, are part of a "general public" and a "special public." As part of the general public, they respond to and participate in a series of situations and play generalized leadership roles. As part of a "special public," they make politically relevant decisions affecting the general community and peculiar to their constituencies. In his relationship to his affected constituency, the black political leader occupies a key position. He utilizes his skills, influence, and socioeconomic and institutional position in a "concealed" manner when dealing in matters peculiar to a small neighborhood or geographic area. This is necessary if he is to exercise his decision-making capabilities and influence in the larger community leadership arena.

The leadership structure at the subcommunity level transcends color. It is multi-racial in character, multi-dimensional in scope and structure. Again, Figure 1 reveals a graphic presentation of linkages. What it does not show is that part of the leadership structure is non-black. The functional nature of this multi-racial structure comes into play when issues of a non-racial nature are pursued and where the benefits

to be accrued have the potential for mutual satisfaction.

Neighborhood leadership, then, can best be classified on the basis of influence and interaction within a leader subsystem. Because of minimal differentiation in social, economic, and class status, neighborhood leaders demonstrate a pattern of behavior in a single situational context. To this end, a logical classification of leadership at the subsystem level, with particular emphasis on minority groups, would involve three possible types: Visible, concealed, and symbolic. Concealed leaders are often more influential than visible or symbolic leaders. They provide substantial input into decisions made by community leaders. In a later section on "Types of Leadership", specificity regarding neighborhood leadership typologies is broken down, clarified, and expanded.

Table 25 provides ratings by occupational categories and patterns of leadership interaction. It should be noted that the community leadership structure is classified on a somewhat broader scale because many of the individuals and/or institutional categories could not be fitted into the narrow scope provided by the subsystem classifications used. Economic dominants, prescribed influentials, and attributed influentials were categories used for classifying community leaders. Judges, state representatives, city executives, and appointed administrative officials ranked highest in influence in Houston. On the average, a greater percentage of neighborhood respondents perceived political leaders as visible types; citizen representatives, labor leaders, transportation agency representatives, and educators as "concealed" types; and policemen, priests/ministers, county officials, and social activists as "symbolic types."

Table 25

Neighborhood/Community Leadership Ratings By Occupational Categories and Patterns of Leadership Interaction

Occupational Category	Total* Rating (By Level of Influence	Neighborhood Leadership % Visible	% Concealed	% Symbolic	Community Leadership %Economic Dominants	Prescribed Influential	Attributed Influential
Judges	94	71.1	15.6	13.3	17.2	62.9	19.9
State Representatives	93	54.2	37.2	8.6	18.5	74.1	7.4
City Executives (Mayors,etc)	87	52.8	20.1	27.1	34.0	57.1	8.9
Appointive Admin. Officials	86	20.9	32.1	47.0	18.4	70.1	11.5
Physicians/Pharmacists	85	51.3	10.7	38.0	75.6	21.8	2.6
Lawyers	81	46.4	22.9	30.7	20.0	27.7	52.3
Banker, Realtor, Insurance	81	31.7	60.1	8.2	50.0	20.8	29.2
Citizen Representatives	80	12.2	81.4	6.4	9.5	72.6	17.9
Postal Workers	72	12.5	80.5	7.0	0.6	74.0	25.4
College Professors/Adm.	66	43.6	42.9	13.5	27.1	50.0	22.9
County Judge	66	42.0	12.3	45.7	33.3	44.0	22.7
County Commissioners	65	40.9	51.1	8.0	10.2	29.8	60.0
Television,Radio, Newspaper Representatives,etc.	65	49.0	30.0	21.0	88.9	0.0	11.1
Labor Leaders	59	39.9	59.7	0.4	50.0	33.3	16.7
School Board, Inc. Pres.	56	38.9	31.1	30.0	42.9	14.2	42.9
Transportation Agency Representatives	44	34.5	49.3	16.2	16.7	68.9	14.4
Priest/Ministers	39	33.6	4.2	62.2	10.3	14.1	75.6
Policeman	39	13.9	26.0	60.1	8.9	33.9	57.2
Appointive Adm. Ass'ts.	35	28.3	59.1	12.6	8.6	62.9	28.5
Social Service Agency Rep.	34	30.5	55.3	14.2	33.3	37.0	29.7
Public School Teachers	33	32.5	34.7	32.8	3.0	91.0	6.0
Machine Operators	22	9.6	75.2	15.2	33.3	37.0	29.7
Truckdrivers	19	9.6	80.1	10.3	**	**	**
Retail clerks/Bus. Prop.	29	22.8	51.3	25.9	59.1	20.9	20.0
Social Activist	9	3.5	10.9	85.6	0.0	90.0	10.0

*Total Number of nominations for all phases of Leadership identification process.

**No responses by community leadership or panel of judges

It is suggested that, on the basis of the perceptions given in Table 25, planning efforts in transportation should be directed toward securing citizen input from visible and concealed leaders at the Neighborhood level rather than "symbolic" leaders. Criteria for delineating these types of leaders will be indicated in the last section of this report. Leaders designated as "symbolic" -- with some exceptions -- are similar to the so-called Uncle Tom or "pseudo decision-makers." They are generally supported by conservative whites, but they do not enjoy too much support from blacks and other minorities at the neighborhood or community level. Neighborhood residents often view the actions and decisions of symbolic leaders with skepticism; they perceive of this kind of leadership as "accommodating the status quo."

Neighborhood leadership can be differentiated from black community leadership. (See: Figure 1-A), and this distinction may be attributed more to the degree of influence and power exercised in the total community than any particular categorization. Black leaders at both the system and subsystem level are part of a relational system which provides mutual support for and the reinforcement of issues articulated and decisions made. Certain norms and patterns of interaction characterize an interdependency between black neighborhood leaders and their community counterparts in Houston.

Neighborhood Leadership: A Resource Base for Community Leadership. In keeping with our study objectives, explanation was first sought for leadership patterns at the neighborhood level. The patterns of leadership at the subcommunity level were then developed into a

composite profile of leaders of the larger community.

The composition of neighborhood leadership patterns and the distribution of ratings as per occupational categories are compared with community leadership in Table 25. Based on the data given in this table and narrative responses elicited from panel sessions, shifts in leadership occur as nominees are exposed to different judges (representatives from various sectors) throughout the assessment of influence and power attribution. Neighborhood leaders were gradually eliminated as the identification process passed through various phases. Some individuals nominated in Phase I did not survive the identification process in Phase II and/or Phase III despite their apparent prominence at the neighborhood level. This is primarily due to the fact that the criteria for leadership became much more comprehensive at each successive stage of leadership assessment and identification.

Two patterns developed during the various assessment phases. On the one hand, neighborhood leaders tended to decrease as we progressed toward the final selections. On the other hand, some names of persons with broad neighborhood support and reputation at the community level survived all phases, inducing not only a kind of "influential longevity," but implying a higher degree of respect; thereby establishing some degree of legitimacy. These patterns tended to produce a more legitimate community-based leadership that appeared to be more influential than their neighborhood leader counterparts. The final list of names reflected a diverse leadership structure at the community level in terms of institutional sector, degrees of respect, and level of influence. Table 26 provides a frequency distribution of leadership by institutional sector

based on the cumulative judgments of all respondents, including responses elicited in the home interview survey and the series of panels composed of community representatives and leaders (chosen on the basis of reputation, position, and decisional variables).

Table 26

A Distribution of Leadership By Institutional Sector Based on Judgment of Respondents

INSTITUTIONAL SECTOR	Levels of Influence* First Level (Local Only)	Second Level (Local-State)	Third Level (Local-State-National)	Degree of Group Respect**
Business and Industry	122	93	180	U-M
Health and Medicine	102	49	166	U-M
Civic Affairs	79	26	61	U-M-L
Religion	45	122	103	L-M
Politics/Government	108	197	292	U-M-L
Social Welfare	61	191	208	M-L
Labor	90	122	197	M-L
Communications (Media)	148	193	316	U-M-L
TV	(90)	-	-	-
Radio	(30)	-	-	-
Newspapers	(28)	-	-	-
Education	81	162	166	U-M-L
Others (General Neighborhood Leadership)	75	93	153	M-L

*Frequencies reported are the total number of distinguishable references made by respondents during Taped Panel Sessions and responses to queries in Home interview survey. All responses were combined for a given category, vis-a-vis, all levels of analysis, beginning with the neighborhood level informants and ending with panel judges' assessment of leadership by reputation, position, and decision-making capabilities. The frequencies given represent responses to items by perceived level of influence.

**(U)=upper class; (M)=middle class; and (L)=lower class.

The combined dimensions of influence indicated by the varied phases utilized in leadership identification and the extensiveness of interaction at the subsystem level posed some difficulty in the final selections of leaders. In each case where a dichomitization of leaders by race was attempted, a multi-racial pattern of leadership surfaced. Black informants at the neighborhood level demonstrated a great deal more respect for leaders from the general public than did white informants. The latter group was more prone to name persons variously classified as economic dominants, prescribed influentials, and attributed influentials. Except for leaders of neighborhood organizations, civic clubs, and political associations, whites generally respond to leadership questions in a manner which indicate community choices rather than neighborhood leaders. This is not unusual since whites generally do not feel estranged, alienated, rejected, and isolated from the larger society. They are more likely to differentiate leaders by non-ethnic considerations. Leadership distinction is made more in terms of the skills, socioeconomic, and institutional positions held. The basis for choice selection was a combination of three approaches -- reputational, positional, and decisional.

Black Bourgeoisie Class. On the basis of information in Table 27 black leadership in Houston is diverse in its occupational make-up. Increasing occupational differentiation of the black population, the combined effects of better educational opportunities and newly acquired political clout have led to the acquisition of dominant positions in the leadership structure of Houston. The influence and power attributed

to the black sector is more concealed than visible, but the strength of the positions held and the reputations enjoyed are revealed in top level decisions relative to Houston's growth and progress.

These assumptions are supported, at least in part, by the increasing number of blacks moving into middle class status coupled with a more diversified employment picture. Such changes have given rise to a "black bourgeoisie" -- a new middle class. This bourgeoisie is different from the group described by E. Franklin Frazier in 1957. It represents a neo-sociopolitical group which can be characterized as influential at the local, state, and national level. It is a group that is small (comprising less than 1,000 blacks) in number when compared with the white middle class, but much more influential than many realize, particularly at the neighborhood level. Neighborhood leaders share with them their concerns, mutual problems, and needs. It is a community leadership which is capable and committed to articulating issues peculiar to the subcommunity; it maintains contact with neighborhood leaders at all times; and, at the same time, shares equal representation with white leaders on important matters relative to the general community's welfare. Tables 27 and 28 provide information on leaders by race, rank them on the basis of influence and respect, and itemize choice selections according to occupational categories.

Table 27

Top Black Community Leaders By Average Rankings and Occupational Categories

OCCUPATION	Overall Rating	Rank
Judge	91	1
Congressional Representatives	80	2
Former School Board Members	79	3
U.S. Attorney	71	4
Mayor/Councilmen	70	5
Educator	70	5
Chamber Executive	70	5
Researcher/Urban Analyst/Educator	70	5
Minister	69	6
State Representatives	69	6
Labor Leader	60	7
County Official	58	8
Architect	57	9
Realtor	56	10
Civic Leader/Educators	56	10
Funeral Directors	56	10
Community Workers	56	10
Urban League Executives	56	10
College Administrators	55	11
Physicians(Medical-Dental)	53	12
Pharmacist	51	13
School Board Members	45	14
Politicians/Precinct Judges	42	15
Business Proprietor	41	16
Newspaper Executive/Owner	40	17
Accountants	36	18

Table 28

Top Community Leadership By Rank, Race, and Occupational Categories, 1975-76

OCCUPATION	(White) Leadership Ratings	Rank	OCCUPATION	(Brown) Leadership Ratings	Rank
Chamber Executive	81	4	Judge	89	1
Mayor	80	5	City Controller	89	1
Business/Oil Executive	80	5	State Agency Officials	89	1
Medical Researcher	80	5	State Representatives	72	2
Attorney/National Statesman (former U.S. Cabinet Officer)	90	2	Restaurant Owners	72	2
			Social Agency Directors	57	9
			Businessman	72	2
Entrepreneur	79	6	Attorney	56	10
Savings & Loan Executive	72	9	Former School Board Member	69	5
Brown & Root Executive	70	11	Education Council Director	60	7
Newspaper Publisher	60	14	Civic Leaders	61	6
Political Leaders	78	7	Educators	59	8
Regional Agency Exec.	71	10	Community Workers	56	10
Lieutenant Governor	86	3	Labor Leaders	71	3
Realtor/Builder/Developer	60	14	Congressman	70	4
Political Analyst	40	7	Medical/Dental	69	5
Civil Engineer	52	10	Priest	69	5
Media Representatives	54	3	Neighborhood Organization Presidents & Leaders	61	6
Dept. Store Executives	54	14			
Labor Leaders	52	20			
Economists	45	17			
Scientists (Space, etc.)	60	16			
Bankers	69	16			
County Judges	51	17			
Neighborhood Association Presidents	40	19			
Minister/Priest/Rabbi	40	14			
Architect/Builder	59	12			
Heart Surgeon	79	18			
Physician/Dentist	51	20			
Federal Judges	61	13			
Lawyers	60	14			
Congressional Rep.	77	8			
Heads of Large Corporations	91	1			

An observation of Table 27 and Table 28 reveals that some variations occur when the perceptions of respondents by race are compared. Individuals affiliated with economic institutions (the Economic Dominants) are ranked highest among whites; while political leaders are ranked highest by black and brown respondents.

Table 29

Typology of Community Leadership By Race and Level of Influence

LEADERSHIP TYPE*	Level of Influence			Influence by Race		
	Low	Medium	High	Black	White	Brown
Economic Dominants			----	Low	High	Low
Prescribed Influentials		----		High	Medium	High
Attributed Influentials	----			Medium	Low	Medium

*Economic Dominants -- the occupants of major economic posts in the community; Prescribed Influentials -- those who hold positions formally designed to facilitate and sanction the exercise of influence at the community and/or neighborhood levels; and Attributed Influentials -- those perceived by significant others as being the most influential in community decision-making.

Table 29 provides a typology of community leadership by race and level of influence. It should be noted that the ranks assigned represent relative degrees of influence in decision-making structures. Again, economic dominants rank highest among whites; prescribed influentials among black and brown respondents. White respondents perceive "prescribed influentials" as having moderate influence; whereas, they rank "attributed influentials" in terms of power and influence.

The Change-Oriented Leaders. A special analysis was undertaken to identify those leaders who were distinguished by their positions on select developmental values considered relevant to transportation/highway planning. The analysis is confined to a bimodal basis of classification used to construct a value profile as revealed through certain developmental values used in the survey. Several explanatory factors were used in developing the profiles for community leaders. Leaders who progessed eagerness for change and a strong commitment to national goals and interests were considered to be of a "national innovator" type. If the leaders appeared to be more strongly devoted to local interests, they were assigned to the classification of "local conservors." In terms of planning for highway and public involvement in relocation assistance projects, both types are necessary for a comprehensive planning approach.

Specific types were treated as subsets to the overall bimodal classifications given. Under the "national innovator" heading, a leader could be one of several types: a general innovator, participationist, equalizer (if one supported economic equality), and a technocrat. Local

conservors were delineated as to these possibilities: a general conservor, equalizing participant, participationist, and a technocrat.

Various other combinations were utilized in order to establish (by combining and controlling various development value components for change) a basis for identifying the following:

A. Those whose desire for change was primarily linked to a commitment to the nation (national-general innovator);

B. Those whose interest in change was mainly concerned with achieving or maintaining democratic decision-making processes (participationists);

C. Those who look for change out of a concern for reducing economic inequalities (equalizers); and

D. Those whose eagerness for change is goaded by a combination of motivations, including the previous classifications (the technocrats).

Using these classifications and explanations for subsets, we developed a typology for community leadership. As indicated in Table 30, the "high" and "low" used in illustrating the findings represent a classification based on whether the leader's score was above or below the mean score for the sample of leaders. "High" equals above the mean; and "low" implies below the mean.

Table 30

Profile of Change-Orientation of Community Leaders

Type of Orientation*	Degrees of Leaders' Commitment to Value Change	
	Value: Change** Orientation	Value: Participation
Innovation: National	Innovative Leaders	
General Innovator	(Score High)	High
Participationist		High
Equalizer	+	High
Technocrat		Low
Conserver: Local	Local Conservors	
General Conservor	(Leaders Score Low)	Low
Participationist		High
Equalizer	-	High
Technocrat		Low

*($\bar{x}$) Mean Score = 46.5, "High" means above mean; "Low" means below Mean.
**Summary score for all variables.

The classification in Table 30 provides some information on community leadership types. Commitment to change orientation is a value held by national innovators more than local conservors. Community leaders are apparently more in favor of broad political participation. Both national innovators and local conservors hold similar orientations relative to change. Local conservors are more skeptical to innovations. Those leaders more committed to change orientation can be considered socially active; while those not ascribing to this value are not. In terms of the community leadership sample used in this study, leaders from the political sector and representatives of citizen groups were more change oriented than the economic sectors.

This section has been devoted to a cursory examination of leadership patterns at the community level. Having given an account of the community leadership structure in terms of system and subsystem elements, attention will now be given to some specific types of leadership role and behavioral patterns which have been shaped principally by situational phenomena.

TYPES OF LEADERSHIP ROLES: NEIGHBORHOOD LEVEL

A typology of leadership at the neighborhood level or community level and other citizens or followers is not a one-way affair. Some reciprocity is required if prestige is to be maintained. The authority and prestige a leader enjoys have their counterparts in the responsibilities, goals, and objectives set forth by followers; in the expectations of followers for his fulfilling them. The leader is expected

to perform his role consistent with the norms and values of the groups which hold him accountable. To this end, leaders in general are subject to a narrow range of tolerable behavior than the shared membership of groups or followers.

Additional limits are imposed upon minority group leadership. Central to any categorization of leadership in minority communities (particularly black communities) -- at both the system and subsystem level -- are behavioral and motivational patterns relative to race and race relations. Attitudinal and perceptual factors are other elements to be considered.

In our study of two neighborhoods in Houston there was a tendency for respondents to view patterns or types of leadership within the confines of a leadership continuum considered amenable to facilitating change. Instead of the limits being based on a negotiating strategy for race relations as has been the case in the past, patterns or types of leadership were perceived in relation to a composite of neighborhood values, vis-a-vis, community goals; of economic and social sanctions; of influence, power, status, and prestige in community decision-making. The perceptual elements coupled with interactional phenomena comprise a portion of the leadership continuum construct that enable us to introduce different styles of leadership for Houston.

The typology presented in this study utilizes the findings of the study and prior categorizations found in related studies. Previous researchers, using the judgments of others, emphasize leadership behavior in terms of roles which individuals play in given situations. Gouldner, for instance, asserts that "a leader is not a total personality,

but a person who in certain situations emits legitimate group patterning stimuli."[13] He further advises that the same individual can be both follower and leader in two different "segments" of his life, or in the same segment at different times. Fanelli believes that persons play recurrent roles in their actions in a social system. These roles determine positions of power and influence in the social structure.

An attempt was made to identify leadership types by issue analysis. The intent was to locate individuals at particular points in the decision-making process. Using a panel of judges, we sought to analyze certain individual actions in a sequence of interactional activities relating to select issues. Individual and group actors were the analytic unit for this phase of the study, and these actors were delineated by their degree of influence and participation in policy-making.

The general procedure involved selecting community issues, documenting principal participants in the issues, and delineating influence and power exercised by key actors. Four issues were selected: Employment, housing, transportation and relocation assistance, and economic development. These issues were revealed through "snowball interviews" in panel sessions on leadership identification. The findings are more or less tentative, and are more applicable to the black subcommunity since blacks comprised the bulk of the study population.

Some added dimensions of leadership in the black subcommunity are revealed. There is evidence to suggest that the actions taken during each cycle of decision-making represent only a phase in leadership identification at the community level. We found that there appears to be

subsidiary roles found in the leadership subsystem (neighborhood level). Actors influence community or other individuals by personal interaction. They communicate with representatives of various pressure groups, ordinary citizens, the communications media, lawyers, judges, the clergy and other symbolic community agents.[14] They are not visible but "concealed" influentials. Their actions are, in essence, unintended effects which can be infinitely diffused in complicated ways. As complicated as the analysis proved to be, we were able to isolate several types of leaders at the neighborhood level which could be variously described as confidants, advisors, and technical experts. These "power figures" and/or subsystem leaders -- many of which are concealed from the public eye -- are classified as change agents in an action subsystem. They are the least visible, more concealed, but perhaps the most legitimate. The official endorsements of proposed changes and innovations in the overall system are generated by the actions of concealed leaders.

Five possible types of subsystem leaders emerged in the issue analysis phase of this study: The idea-generator-innovator; the communicator; the access person; the symbolic leader; and the change agent. The idea-generator-innovator type represents a person playing a combined role. He is a person with a significantly different view of problems -- one who has a particular philosophy or ideology of how the system works. This individual is also a legitimate agent at all levels of decision-making and exercises influence rather than control. A former member of the Houston School Board is a good representative of this type. The idea-generator-innovator type leader can get majority group leaders at the

community level to compromise (within a zone of acceptance) rather than respond exactly to minority interests and desires. Leaders of organizations such as the local head of the Houston Area Urban League, the Houston Citizens Chamber of Commerce, and other social and economic organizations may fall within this category.

The communicator is the weakest type of leader. He is reminiscent of a magic leader who moves between subsets and discrete sets; he indicates who speaks to whom and how much. A favorite phrase is "let me see if I can put you in touch with the right person." Or, "I will be able to assist you in opening some doors." This type of leader's influence pattern lies in his ability to communicate with those who make decisions, and who can give orders to whom. Examples include leaders of pressure groups and neo-political organizations; social welfare agencies and fraternal organizations.

Roles of the access leader and the symbolic leader appear to interface somewhat. The access person also has knowledge of what is going on, and is an important key in providing understanding of the issues. This leader has access to factual information; provides information and resources for use in articulating certain concerns, needs, problems, and demands; and is an important key in providing interorganizational linkages for proposed changes and innovations. Leaders of this type are found in educational institutions. Administrators and academic researchers are generally found among this type. Directors of major research ventures; sponsors and planners of projects; as well as key representatives of agencies may also be classified as access persons.

The symbolic leader is less influential than all other types. This leader is not cognizant of his loss in prestige when it occurs. A conservative, the leader is more acceptable to the white dominant community than the black subcommunity or those black leaders who function within the overall community leadership structure. This type of leader maintains relationship with the various influentials in the community, but exercises little clout in the approval-disapproval decisional arena. This leadership type parallels Ladd's "accommodating leadership;" and its acceptability is one notch above "Uncle Tomism." Some religious, educational, and social leaders at both the community level and subcommunity level meet the criteria for this leadership type.

The final characterization is the change agent -- the most powerful and influential of all previous types. This type of leader exercises influence at the entry point in the system, introduces the change needed, and performs acts amenable to resolving issues and conflicts. The individual may be a politician, director of a community center, a judge, lawyer, educational researcher, or leader of groups. Some religious leaders are also found to be change agents. There are instances where leaders in the other categories play recurrent roles in their actions in the social system. A change agent proposes strategies and tactics for change; makes decisions relative to the advisability of protest; provides input in situations requiring conflict resolution; and develops power-oriented and solution-oriented approaches.

The change agent is neither liberal nor conservative. Attitudinally and perceptually, this type of leader is the functional equivalent of an

advocate. The change agent understands the workings of the system, and pursues welfare goals more than status goals. The welfare goals sought involve "gut needs;" "bread and butter" issues such as economic security, better housing, more efficient and better medical services and police protection; safe and efficient transportation facilities, and greater influence in determining fiscal responsibility or priorities for spending tax dollars. In recent years, urban researchers and urban planners have assumed advocacy roles. Individuals considered to be change agents seek ways of legitimizing change by offering reforms in rational, coherent, and intellectual ways -- an approach favored by academia and professional consultants. In other words, "knowledge in the rationalistic-scientific tradition in general and knowledge derived from empirical research in particular can provide a basis for legitimacy because, presumably, it can yield valid solutions," according to Rein.[15] He further advises that "reform stakes out a claim for legitimacy when it is based, not upon political consensus or ideological bias, but primarily upon hard dispassionate facts provided by a rigorous analysis.

The change agent is the empirical-rational leader. This individual is an advocate of collaborative planned change, where the approaches used are based on reason and utilitarianism; the leader is a definer of social reality; and representative of the embodiment of change. The change to be effected is demonstrated to be desirable and expedient before it is brought to the attention of the leader at the community level.

To summarize this section of the report, neighborhood leaders play subsidiary roles to community leaders when analysis is made of pat-

terns in subcommunities. They are skillful in articulating the needs, aspirations, and demands of neighborhood residents; they are avenues to appropriate channels in the larger community. They influence and are influenced by community leaders. To deal with one without the other would be an unwise decision relative to planning; indeed, transportation planning and relocation assistance activities. In terms of power and influence, the actions of the latent leaders (subcommunity influentials) emphasize unintended effects in understanding leadership phenomena. To this end, planning strategies must take into consideration a comprehensive leadership approach where the relational aspects of neighborhood leaders and community leaders are emphasized.

IMPLICATIONS OF STUDY

At this point it appears appropriate to place in sharper focus some of the key assumptions and limitations of this study. The purpose for doing this is not only to caution readers, but more important, to encourage others to engage in research that might overcome some of the problems encountered in this study. After a review of some of the crucial assumptions, limitations, and future research needs, we will discuss policy implications, emphasizing those fundamental elements considered useful in transportation planning and decision-making.

Leadership patterns at the neighborhood level are important linkages to the overall community leadership structure. In comparing our findings with previous studies in leadership, we found some evidence of a fundamental change in the total concept of leadership in minority subcommunities. According to one writer, "the institutional and psychological structure of traditional patterns and attitudes is collapsing."[16] Leadership identification methodology has been caught up in this change. The changing structure of race relations in the South has contributed to induced changes in essential features of leadership in neighborhoods and communities.

While these changes have been occurring, a new type of leadership has emerged among minority groups. It is a pattern of leadership predicated on the assumption that directions, goals, means, and purposes are essential elements to pursue in a concerted fashion; that leadership in minority communities must be more diversified to accommodate values held in common by all classes and groups. Minority group leadership (especially black) is still predominantely issue leadership. This

continues because of past exclusion from various institutional sectors. In the absence of a strong institutional base, black leadership and prestige may be considered dependent upon approval at both the neighborhood (subcommunity or subsystem) and community (system) level, particularly where strategies are required for advancing and resolving issues. Because of the issue-orientation of their constituencies, minority group leadership remains vulnerable in terms of maintaining a level of prestige and influence.

In Houston, there is a gradual transition from a sharply polarized community leadership structure which was more pronounced during the 1960's to a more differentiated leadership structure which combines civic responsibility with the quest for racial advancement; Houston's growth and progress. Black leadership is more dominated by ascribed and attributed influentials, with some specialized types at the subcommunity level; white leadership is still characterized by economic dominants or the so-called "power elite."

Greater civic participation at the local level has strengthened black leadership immeasurably. There appears to be evidence of a gradual trend toward full political socialization on the part of this segment of Houston's population. This newly acquired political sophistication parallels, to some degree, rising expectations and upward mobility in the economic structure. Houston, like Atlanta, has a rising, identifiable middle class. Blacks are found in positions of power and influence. More than this, middle class blacks have the ability -- and exercise that ability -- to translate issues into action; they have demonstrated the ability to make critical decisions affecting goals and objectives of

neighborhoods and the community at large, and/or to facilitate goal performance and implementation.

Political leadership in the black community and a few other minority areas interfaces with leadership found in other institutional sectors. It represents a kind of relational construct where leadership types at the system and subsystem levels are merged on some common issues -- the old "leadership guards" join ranks with the neo-political leadership structure. This type of collectivity in leadership is most effective, and is acceptable to significant segments of all class levels, particularly among lower to lower-middle class residents. This kind of coalition of leadership types was illustrated in the 1975 local School Board Race in Houston when a 71-year old former Principal was elected. His ability to articulate issues and his general appeal to a cross-section of voters may have contributed to his victory. Supporters campaign on the slogan that "he rejected the status quo and stood up for human rights when it was unpopular to do so." In short, leadership based on racial accommodations, militancy, and self-proclamation (self-appointment) is no longer acceptable to a majority of blacks; thereby, rendering such leadership styles ineffective.

Finally, leadership styles -- whether at the neighborhood level or community level -- are not fixed in time or locality. Leadership patterns vary according to the etiquette of race relations in communities and subcommunities; with emerging issues which have the potential to affect neighborhood life and quality; and styles vary with economic situations, changing attitudes and values.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We have attempted to integrate socioeconomic, environmental, attitudinal, and leadership structural variables into highway/public transportation phenomena. We believe that this has important implications for research on public involvement. The study was confined to neighborhoods in the City of Houston. This limitation suggests the need to further test the research strategy used in this report in randomly selected neighborhoods in other parts of the nation. The methodological techniques should be systematically reviewed to further validate their potential for use in socioeconomic and environmental impact assessment.

Based on the assumptions and findings of the report, it is recommended that researchers examine the interrelationship of organizational behavior to various aspects of the environment and, more specifically, focus on the interaction between leaders at the community and subcommunity levels and how this kind of relational phenomena impact the transportation planning process. Several other recommendations for future research are presented below:

1. There is need to develop a series of flexible models for public involvement as dictated by the social matrix of the neighborhood, vis-a-vis, the social climate; where consideration is given to variations in time, locality, and differential leadership structures.

2. Cost-benefit studies should be conducted. These studies would combine direct and indirect costs (social and economic) such as real estate values and how they impact the relocation of low income minority families in a tight housing market situation. The same procedure could be applied when majority groups are involved.
3. The applicability of the methodology used in the study should be carefully analyzed and tested further for its effectiveness. Special efforts should be made to develop a set of social-economic indices which can be uniformly applied to areas where environmental impact data are needed. Uniformity in assessing environmental impact would facilitate comparative analyses, making it easier to differentiate those variables which induce adverse effects on highway/public transportation planning and relocation efforts. An "environmental checklist" would greatly enhance the comprehensive planning process.
4. Variables which determine the relationship of the various styles of leadership, the psychological dimensions and structural aspects, and the relationship of one type to another should be studied. Answers should be sought to such questions as: What factors determine leadership style among nonethnic groups? Are leadership patterns representative of a kind of relational construct?
5. Studies should be conducted on a continuing basis in neighborhoods where highway construction is in progress so that data on social costs and community values are updated periodically.

In this way, a series of community profiles could be developed and integrated at the continuing phase of the comprehensive planning process.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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APPENDIX B
QUESTIONNAIRE

Regional Transportation Study
North Central Texas Council
Of Governments

Schedule A
Socio-Economic and Travel Characteristics

Interview Number:

(Col. 78, 79, 80)
Do Not Write in this Space

Last Name | First Name | Middle Initial | Date of Birth (mo) (day) (year)

Street Number | N/S/E/W | Street Name | Apt. No. | Zip Code | (Optional) Telephone Number

---

1. Race: (Observe, Do Not Ask)

Negro	1
Mexican-American	2
Indian (American)	3
Other	4

2. Sex:

Male	1
Female	2

3. Type of Residence:

House	1
Apartment	2
Rooms	3
Mobile Home	4
Other	5

4. Are you head of the household and/or family?

Yes	1
No	2

5. What was your age at your last birthday?

Under 10 years	1
10-19 years	2
20-29 years	3
30-39 years	4
40-49 years	5
50-59 years	6
60-69 years	7
70 & over	8
Refusal/NA	9
Don't know	0

6. What is your marital status?

Single	1
Married	2
Divorced	3
Separated	4
Widow(er)	5
Refusal/NA	9
Don't know	0

7. Number in Family:

One	1
Two	2
Three	3
Four or more	4

8. Income:

Under $3,000	1
$3,000 - 5,999	2
6,000 - 8,999	3
9,000 -11,999	4
12,000 -14,999	5
15,000 -17,999	6
18,000 & over	7
Refusal/NA	9
Don't know	0

9. Last Grade of Schooling Completed:

Elementary through 8th grade	1
Some high school	2
Graduated from high school	3
Some college (incl. Jr. college)	4
Graduated from college	5
Technical/Trade school	6
Advanced degrees	7
Refusal/NA	9

Schedule A
Socio-Economic and Travel Characteristics

10. What is your current job status?

Retired, over 65	1
Not employed, not looking	2
Not employed, but looking	3
Employed, including part-time	4
Refusal/NA	9
Don't know	0

11. Who do you live with?

Alone	1
Friends	2
Family	3
Other	4

12. Do you own a car?

Yes	1
No	2
Refusal/NA	9
Don't know	0

13. Number of cars in Family:

Two	1
Three	2
Four or more	3

14. What is your current occupation?

_____

a. (If not clear, ask): What do you do in this job? _____

_____

b. Where is your place of work?

_____
(Street and Number)

_____
(City) (State)

c. Is this workplace served by public transportation?

Yes	1
No	2
Refusal/NA	9
Don't know	0

15. Is public transportation convenient for you to take?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	0

16. Was transportation a factor in choosing your job?

Yes	1
No	2

In what way? _____

_____

17. How do you generally travel to and from work?

Walk	1
Private auto (self-operated)	2
Private auto (operated by someone else)	3
Taxicab	4
Private Bus Company	5
Public bus	6
Other	7
Refusal/NA	9
Don't know	0

Schedule A
Socio-Economic and Travel Characteristics

18. How much money do you spend on transportation to and from work each week? (on gasoline, bus, or car fare)

Under $2.00	1
$2.00 - 4.99	2
$5.00 - 7.99	3
$8.00 & over	4
Refusal/NA	9
Don't know	0

19-20. Within the metropolitan area, would you be willing to pay more money to take these trips?

	yes		no	
To go to school		1		1
To go to work		2		2
To shop		3		3
To visit doctor		4		4
For entertainment		5		5
	(17)		(18)	

21. How many trips have you made in the Dallas-Fort Worth area during the last three months? (List number of trips taken by each means of transportation)

Mode	(Write in) Number of Trips	
Private auto (self operated)		1
Private auto (operated by someone else)		2
Taxicab		3
Bus		4
Train		5
Airplane		6
Other		7
Don't know		0

22-24. Recognizing that improvements to both highway and transit systems are needed, from your point of view, which of the following ought to receive the major emphasis, which would receive the second most emphasis, and which would receive the third most emphasis?

Improvements	(1) First Emphasis		(2) Second Emphasis		(3) Third Emphasis	
Rapid transit system		1		1		1
Better system of highways		2		2		2
More and better bus service		3		3		3
Express buses on reserved lanes		4		4		4
Commuter trains		5		5		5
Other		6		6		6
Refusal/NA		9		9		9
Don't know		0		0		0
	(22)		(23)		(24)	

NOTE: Check one in each column

25-27. Check the appropriate blank you feel needs improvement for these transportation systems? (Check only one in each column)

Item	Would Provide Faster Time		Would Eliminate Traffic Congestion		Would Accommodate More People	
Rapid Transit		1		1		1
Better highways		2		2		2
Better bus service		3		3		3
Express buses		4		4		4
Commuter trains		5		5		5
	(25)		(26)		(27)	

Schedule A
Socio-Economic and Travel Characteristics

28-29. Check any criticisms you have of the following:

Public Transportation		Automobile	
Bad weather	1	Irritating traffic	1
Overcrowding	2	Bad weather	2
Waiting problem	3	Parking place hard to find	3
No seat	4	Parking expensive	4
Slower than car	5	General operating expense	5
Can't choose own time to come & go	6		
Not as dependable as car	7		(29)
Hot	8		

(28)

30. Mode of Travel (how you get from place to place?)

Air	1
Auto	2
Rail	3
Bus	4

31-32. Rank the following items in terms of what you consider to be the attributes of ideal transportation (Modal choice factors)

Value	Item	Public Mode (Rank)	Auto (Rank)
(1)	Arrive without accident	1	1
(2)	Arrive at intended time	2	2
(3)	Safest vehicle	3	3
(4)	Avoid stopping for repairs	4	4
(5)	Shortest distance	5	5
(6)	Fast as possible	6	6
(7)	Avoid changing vehicles	7	7
(8)	Vehicles affected by weather	8	8
(9)	Protected from weather while waiting	9	9
(10)	Shortest time	10	10
		(31)	(32)

33. Please look at this list of improvements in the Public Transportation System. Which of these improvements, if made, would encourage you to use public transportation? (Check)

	(Check)
A. Better protection from bad weather	
B. More comfortable waiting area	
C. Stations closer to home & destination	
D. More courteous service from drivers and other personnel	
E. Better provisions for personal safety	
F. Brighter, more modern stations	
G. Shorter waiting time	
H. More comfortable temperature for waiting and riding	
I. Increased reliability, so that arrival on time is assured	
J. A transportation system designed so that you could use all stations and vehicles	
K. Better provisions for reading	
L. Less crowding on vehicles	
M. Better chance of getting a seat	
N. More privacy while in vehicles	
O. Better information system (maps of routes, stops announced)	
P. Improved pedestrian traffic	
Q. Better maintenance of terminals and vehicles	
R. Better routes with no transfers	
S. Better provisions for storing parcels or packages during the trip	
T. Park-and-Ride Facilities	

34. If you were able to make changes in the present transportation system, which specific changes would you make? (List)

35. Is there anything else you would like to say about your transportation needs and problems which we have not discussed? (Record all answers)

Schedule A

Leadership Identification:

	1st Leader	2nd Leader
36. Who would you say are the three most important (Black or Mexican-American or Indian) leaders in this community, i.e., people who have the most say about the way things are run here? (Enter names)	Name: _____ _____	Name: _____ _____
36a. What does he do?	36a. Occupation or Position _____	Occupation or Position _____
(Each Leader, in Turn) 36b. How much would you say (1st, 2nd, 3rd Leader) is respected by the Black , etc. community as a whole -- a lot, some, or not much?	36b. A Lot / Some / Not Much / Don't Know	A Lot / Some / Not Much / Don't Know
36c. How much would you say (1st, 2nd, 3rd Leader) is respected by the white community as a whole -- a lot, some, or not much?	36c. A Lot / Some / Not Much / Don't Know	A Lot / Some / Not Much / Don't Know
36d. Have you ever talked with these important people you just mentioned about some problem you were interested in? (If "yes")	36d. Yes / None	Yes / None
36e. Which ones?	Talked with:	Talked with:

Schedule A

Leadership Identification:

	1st Leader	2nd Leader
37. Who would you say are the three White people who have the most say about the way things are run here?	Name:	Name:
37a. What does he do?	37a. Occupation or Position	Occupation or Position
(Each Leader, in Turn) 37b. Do you know how much (1st, 2nd, 3rd Leader) is respected by the black, etc. community as a whole -- a lot, some, or not much?	37b. A Lot / Some / Not Much / Don't Know	A Lot / Some / Not Much / Don't Know
37c. How much would you say (1st, 2nd, 3rd Leader) is respected by the White community as a whole -- a lot, some, or not much?	37c. A Lot / Some / Not Much / Don't Know	A Lot / Some / Not Much / Don't Know
37d. Have you ever talked with any of the White people you just mentioned about some problem you were interested in?	37d. Yes / None	Yes / None
NOTE: Repeat all questions for each leader.	Talked with:	Talked with:

Schedule A
Socio-Economic and Travel Characteristics

38. How close in distance would you say a transit line comes to serve you? (That is, distance from home to the nearest bus stop)

Less than one block	☐
1 to 2 blocks	☐
3 to 4 blocks	☐
5 to 6 blocks	☐
7 to 8 blocks	☐
Over 8 blocks	☐

39. Are there other things which make it inconvenient for you to use transportation, even if it is available? (Check the appropriate space and list any additional comments made)

Travel to central business district	☐
Car ownership	☐
Live close to shopping centers Not in CBD	☐
Distance to bus stop	☐
Access to other means of transportation	☐
Other (please list)	☐

_____

_____

40. How far do you travel by these modes of transportation?

Mode	Distance (in miles)	
Automobile	_____	1
Bus	_____	2
Taxicab	_____	3
Other (list)	_____	4
_____	_____	5
_____		

41. Would your family need transportation for any of these reasons?

Travel to airport	☐
Travel to educational centers	☐
Travel to medical facilities	☐
Shopping	☐
Outdoor Recreation	☐
Welfare Agencies	☐
Day Care Centers	☐
Church	☐
School	☐

42. General Comments by Interviewer:

STUDY NUMBER: _____ AREA AND CENSUS TRACT NUMBER: _____

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LEADERSHIP SURVEY - SCHEDULE B

Part I

Nominations

The purpose of this interview schedule is to collect information which will aid in the identification of a cross-section of various types of leaders in your neighborhood and the larger community. We will talk to these leaders and get their view on what they see as needs, problems, and issues of the community. We will also ask them how they feel about some transportation plans for the immediate area.

NOTE: The information given to us will be treated as strictly confidential. We want you to nominate persons in the neighborhood and the community whom you consider to be most capable of taking action and influencing decisions on needs, problems, and issues affecting the immediate area and the community at large. Do not fail to nominate yourself if you believe yourself eligible. The same person may be nominated for different types of leadership.

I. GENERAL LEADERSHIP

A. Please name about four persons whom you consider to be most influential in general affairs in your immediate neighborhood, regardless of whether or not you approve of the way they use their influence. (It will help if you can give us the address and telephone number.)

Name of Leader	Address and/or Telephone Number	
1. _____	_____	Phone _____
2. _____	_____	Phone _____
3. _____	_____	Phone _____
4. _____	_____	Phone _____

B. If you feel that some affairs of the neighborhood are significantly affected by local leaders not living in your neighborhood, please name such leaders. (Note: Probe for leaders at the local, regional, and state levels.)

Name and Address	Position	Telephone	Name and Address	Position	Telephone
1. _____	_____	_____	3. _____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____	4. _____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

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LEADERSHIP SURVEY - SCHEDULE B
Part I (Cont.)

II. SPECIALIZED LEADERSHIP

A. Now would you please nominate two or more people you consider to be the most influential leaders in each of these areas: (These persons may or may not hold official positions in the areas named)

1. Business and Industry:	2. Health and Medicine:	3. Politics:	4. Labor:	5. Education:

6. Religion:	7. Civic Affairs:	8. Social Welfare:	9. Communications (Mass Media):	10. Others:

B. Of all the leaders listed above, which three persons would you rank as first, second, and third in terms of their influence in your neighborhood, the community, and the particular areas listed above?

1. First Leader Choice _____ _____

2. Second Leader Choice _____ _____

3. Third Leader Choice _____ _____

THANK YOU FOR ASSISTING US IN THIS PROJECT!

AREA AND CENSUS TRACT NUMBER: _____

LEADERSHIP INVENTORY - SCHEDULE B

Part II

VALUES, QUALITIES, AND ASPIRATIONS OF LEADERS (For Snowballing Session)

1. Below is a list of values and ideals which some leaders feel are important. Please tell us which three of these are most important for you, if you were to make a choice.

A. To work for higher standard of living for people		
B. To avoid conflict and maintain good relations among people		1
C. To sacrifice your own interests for the interests of others		2
D. To give priority to the national goals over the requirements of the local community		3
E. To keep public leaders honest and truthful about public affairs		4
F. To promote citizen participation in deciding about community affairs		5
G. To equalize differences and distinctions based on economic and social discrimination		6.
H. To look for new solutions to problems rather than be satisfied with things the way they are		7
I. N/A - Refusal		8
		9

1. (a) Now please tell us which one of these you have chosen is most important to you. LETTER

2. As a leader in your neighborhood and the larger community, what are your wishes and hopes for the future of the community? (OBLIGATORY PROBE): Anything else?

2. (a) If you could picture your neighborhood in the best possible light, how would things look, let us say, ten years from now?

3. What kinds of people would you like to see as community leaders? That is, what do you think are the most important qualities for a good leader to have? Anything else?

LEADERSHIP INVENTORY - SCHEDULE B

Part II (Cont.)

Conflicts and Cleavages: Support and Reference Groups

4. In many neighborhoods and communities there are conflicts which interfere with effective action to meet problems. What are some major conflicts, if any, that interfere with getting things done in your community? (Name one or two)

   a. _____

   b. _____

5. To what extent do these conflicts come in the way of the development of your community? Your neighborhood?

	Very Much	Some	Not At All	DK
a. Neighborhood	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. Community	☐	☐	☐	☐
	1	2	3	9

6. To what extent do differences such as the following tend to divide people in your community? Your neighborhood?

DIFFERENCES Community	Cleavages: VERY MUCH	SOME-WHAT	NOT AT ALL	N/A
a. Differences in education	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. Differences in income	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. Differences in religious belief or affiliation	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. Differences in political views	☐	☐	☐	☐
e. Differences between those desiring social change and those opposing it	☐	☐	☐	☐
	1	2	3	9

7. Of the following groups, whose interests and welfare do you as a community leader feel the most strongly committed to advance? (Alternative: "neighborhood leader")
   PLEASE CHOOSE ONE:

a. Your political party	☐	1
b. Your friends and loyal supporters	☐	2
c. The people in your community	☐	3
d. The nation as a whole	☐	4
e. Other _____	☐	5
f. N/A - Refusal	☐	9

8. When you as a leader are in a situation in which support from others is necessary, to whom do you usually turn?
   PLEASE CHECK:

a. Local party leaders	☐	1
b. Local elective officials	☐	2
c. Local newspapers	☐	3
d. City manager or top administrative official at local level	☐	4
e. Local civic and reform groups concerned with local politics	☐	5
f. State, county or higher administrative officials	☐	6
g. Local business groups (ex. Chamber of Commerce)	☐	7
h. Public or citizens generally	☐	8
i. N/A - Refusal	☐	9

9. In your opinion, what is the neighborhood's role and responsibility in planning and locating freeways?

a. None at all	☐	1
b. Cooperating with the Highway Department when requested	☐	2
c. Wait until proposals are made and then respond	☐	3

LEADERSHIP INVENTORY - SCHEDULE B
Part II (Cont.)

10. Who do you think should represent community and neighborhood interests in dealing with the Texas Highway Department at a time when it is desirable to do so?

a. Elected officials	☐	1
b. City engineering and planning staff	☐	2
c. Individual citizens	☐	3
d. Each group representing its own interests	☐	4
e. Neighborhood leaders	☐	5
f. Neighborhood leaders and citizens	☐	6
g. Other (list) _____	☐	7
h. Refusal/DK	☐	9

11. Generally, how do you fell about persons being displaced by highway routes? (PROBE)

11. (a) The phrases and words listed below have been used from time to time to describe user and community factors in urban freeway location Tell me which ones you think best describe your concerns about freeway construction and highway construction and highway improvements in general.

Factors	(1) Yes	(2) No
(12) Cost of highway	☐	☐
(13) Vehicle operating costs	☐	☐
(14) Travel time savings	☐	☐
(15) Motorists' safety, comfort, and convenience	☐	☐
(16) Property values in the community	☐	☐
(17) Local transportation	☐	☐
(18) Relocating residents in area	☐	☐
(19) Traffic service to city	☐	☐
(20) Highway design standards	☐	☐
(21) Land use	☐	☐
(22) Aesthetic quality of highway	☐	☐
(23) Noise	☐	☐
(24) Neighborhood and community disruption	☐	☐
(25) Air pollution	☐	☐
(26) Recreation and park system	☐	☐
(27) Regional access	☐	☐
(28) Historical sites and areas of unique quality	☐	☐
(29) Commercial activity	☐	☐
(30) Employment	☐	☐

11. (b) Now, which three mentioned above would you say come closest to describing your concerns about freeway construction and highway improvements.
NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: Enter # only.

First Choice
Second Choice
Third Choice

LEADERSHIP INVENTORY - SCHEDULE B
Part II (Cont.)

Descriptive Data

12. Now, we would like to get some information about your background. For example, how long have you lived in Houston?

Less than one year	1
1 Year	2
More than one year	3
2 Years	4
More than 2 years	5
3-4 Years	6
5-9 Years	7
10 Years and over	8
Refusal/DK	9

13. How long have you lived in your present neighborhood?

Less than one year	1
1 Year	2
More than 1 Year	3
2 Years	4
More than 2 years	5
3-4 Years	6
5-9 Years	7
10 Years and Over	8
Refusal/DK	9

14. SEX:

Male	1
Female	2

15. RACE:

White (Anglo)	1
Brown (M-A)	2
Black	3
Other	4

16. What is the highest grade of regular school ever attended?

No school through 8th grade	1
Some high school	2
Graduated from high school	3
Some College (including Jr. Coll.)	4
Graduated from College	5
Technical/Trade School	6
Advanced degrees	7
Refusal/DK	9

17. MARITAL STATUS:

Single	1
Married	2
Divorced	3
Separated	4
Widowed	5
Refusal/DK	9

18. What was your age at your last birthday?

Under 10 years	1
10-19 Years	2
20-29 Years	3
30-39 Years	4
40-49 Years	5
50-59 Years	6
60-69 Years	7
70 and Over	8
Refusal/DK	9

19. NUMBER IN FAMILY:

One	1
Two	2
Three	3
Four	4
Five or More	5

20. Do you own a car?

Yes	1
No	2
Refusal/NA	9

LEADERSHIP INVENTORY - SCHEDULE B
Part II (Cont.)

21. NUMBER OF CARS IN FAMILY:

One	☐	1
Two	☐	2
Three	☐	3
Four or More	☐	4
None	☐	5
Refusal/NA	☐	9

22. What is your current job status?

Retired, Over 65	☐	1
Not employed, not looking	☐	2
Not employed, but looking	☐	3
Employed, including part-time	☐	4
Refusal/NA	☐	9

23. What is your current occupation? _____

_____

a. (If not clear, ask): What do you do in this job? _____

b. Where is your place of work?

_____
(Name of Firm)

_____
(Street No.) (City,State, Zip)

24. Which of the following categories would you say represents your total household (family) income?

Under $3,000	☐	1
$ 3,000 - 5,999	☐	2
6,000 - 8,999	☐	3
9,000 - 11,999	☐	4
12,000 - 14,999	☐	5
15,000 - 17,999	☐	6
18,000 and over	☐	7
Refusal/NA	☐	9

Specific Leadership Responsibility

25. Would you be kind enough to list your memberships in any civic and other agencies and/or organizations? What position, if any, do you hold in these groups or agencies?
(Record the four most important group affiliations)

a. _____
(Group or Agency)

_____
(Position)

b. _____
(Group or Agency)

_____
(Position)

c. _____
(Group or Agency)

_____
(Position)

d. _____
(Group or Agency)

_____
(Position)

26. Below are some statements reflecting leadership responsibility. Please tell me whether you "strongly agree" with the statement, "agree," "disagree," or "strongly disagree."

(Place an "X" in appropriate box)

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LEADERSHIP INVENTORY - SCHEDULE B
Part II (Cont.)

		Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Disagree (3)	Strongly Disagree (4)
P	1.				
P	1. If there is disagreement about a program, a leader should be willing to give it up.				
N	2. Leaders who are overly concerned about resolving conflicts can never carry out community programs successfully.				
P	3. A good leader should refrain from making proposals that divide the people even if these are important for the community.				
P	4. A proper neighborhood leader puts the interest of his community foremost (or first).				
P	5. Leaders born and brought up in a community can serve it better than those coming from the outside.				
N	6. It is important to bear in mind the interests of all of Houston when making any decision in the neighborhood.				
P	7. Decisiveness is the most important characteristic of a leader.				
N	8. A leader is obligated to follow the wishes of the community or neighborhood even if he thinks the citizens are mistaken.				
N	9. Strong opposition to policies should not in the least deter neighborhood or community leaders from acting.				
P	10. Improving conditions of life in your community or neighborhood is the best way to serve the nation.				
N	11. Neighborhood leaders should always be prepared to adjust their programs to the larger community goals and policies even if this is disadvantageous to the neighborhood.				

THANK YOU FOR THE INTERVIEW

Snowball Interview Sessions
(Phases II and III)

Introduction

Thank you for consenting to participate in this informal discussion about Urban Transportation and Leadership at the Neighborhood level as well as the community at large. We are going to ask you some general questions about the community, its transportation problems, and we want you to tell us about the leaders, individuals you depend on for guidance, direction; those you respect; those having power and influence; those with reputation and serving positions for decision - making. We would like your permission to tape this discussion. Please enter names of leaders on the form (Schedule B) and return to us. We do not need your name.

Part I- Problems and Leadership Activities

1. Can you tell us about some of the most pressing problems in your Neighborhood? The Community ? (Probe)

2. Please look at this list of activities (Hand Card) of Neighborhood and Community leaders. Will you check those in which you are a participant, those in which the leaders you have nominated are active, etc.

3. We are also interested in knowing those areas in which you feel you have influence on what is accomplished? Areas involving other leaders you have listed.

Snowball Interview Sessions
Page 2

Part I - Problems and Leadership Activities

a. Will you examine this same list of activities and indicate those in which you have a great deal of influence, only some, or none at all.

b. In the areas where you feel you have a great deal of influence, what was the single most important recent action in which you participated, and how did you participate?

4. List the main obstacles, if any, which limit your effectiveness as a local leader.

5. We have listed (pass out Cards) some questions faced in the daily life of Neighborhood or Community leaders. Please read and indicate whether you agree or disagree with them.

6. Also listed on these cards are descriptions of types of leaders such as concealed, visible, and symbolic (Neighborhood level); or, economic dominants, prescribed influentials, and attributed influentials (Community level). Write in name of leaders you feel fall into each of the categories.

7. How important do you think it is to achieve or avoid (Hand Card) each of the following when making decisions?

8. Tell us some of your wished and hopes for your Neighborhood, the Community?

9. Which kind of people would you like to see as Neighborhood leaders? Community leaders? What are the most important qualities for a good leader to have?

Snowball Interview Sessions
Page 3

Part II- General Questions on Transportation

1. How do you feel about freeway construction in Houston?
2. Tell us some advantages in relocating residents. Some disadvantages.
3. What would you do if a highway or freeway was routed through your neighborhood? (Probe) To whom would you turn for support? Name some leaders.

Part III - Increasing Public Awareness and Participation

1. Have you ever attended a public hearing?
2. (Scenario-building) If you were a highway planner, what would you do to get people to attend public hearings?
3. How would you conduct a public hearing? (Probe for suggestions)
4. What methods would you use to get people to actively participate? What kind of people would you invite to participate? Neighborhood leaders? Community leaders?

General Leadership (Typologies)

1. Different terms are used to describe persons in positions of leadership. I am going to show you (using overhead projector) these descriptions: *Symbolic, concealed, visible;* then - *Economic dominants, attributed influentials, and ascribed influentials.*
   a. We want each of you to name persons which could be listed under each category. Let us start with the person on the left ...
   b. What would you say are the main goals emphasized by leaders at the neighborhood level? Community level? (probe for means leaders use to emphasize goals).
   c. What factors determine the relationship of one type leader to another? Of a neighborhood leader to a community leader?