1990

Developing a generic tool for identifying community leaders: the ICL

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San Jose State University, 1990

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DEVELOPING A GENERIC TOOL FOR IDENTIFYING
COMMUNITY LEADERS: THE ICL

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

By

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August, 1990

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF RECREATION AND LEISURE STUDIES

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ABSTRACT

DEVELOPING A GENERIC TOOL FOR IDENTIFYING COMMUNITY LEADERS: THE ICL

by Mark J. Morgan

This thesis addressed the topic of developing and testing a generic tool for identifying community leaders (ICL). Key individuals and organizations influential in the decision-making process in the City of Hayward (California) were identified, the affiliations of key leaders to community organizations and clubs were recorded, and the validity of the tool was tested by simultaneously utilizing the positional and reputational methods.

Results from the research indicated that the ICL tool appeared to be a valid and practical tool for researching the community leadership structure. Of the 31 individuals identified as key leaders in Hayward, 23 became the test sample and were interviewed. Key community leaders were identified as being joiners, linked to a number of community organizations and causes. Small and overlapping social worlds were identified in which the majority of key leaders held membership. Association patterns between key community decision-makers were very strong.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author dedicates this study to his beloved wife, Maria Morgan. Without her moral support, this study would have been impossible.

The author acknowledges William Domhoff, Ph.D., from the University of California at Santa Cruz, for his consistent advice and support. The original idea for this study was a result of an inspiring lecture by Gordon Imlay, a YMCA legend in his own right, and readings from Floyd Hunter, the pioneer of community leadership studies.

The author is also indebted to Charlie Whitcomb, Ph.D., and Paul Brown, Ph.D., for their unwavering assistance in the completion of the study and clarifying its value to the recreation movement.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The Importance of Recruiting Powerful
Community Volunteer Leadership

Edgren calls the modern recreation practitioner an individual who:

. . . is familiar with all aspects of the community in which he works and recognizes the importance of good public relations and uses all of the best means of communication to promote his program and to keep the public informed (Edgren, 1973, p. 367).

Recreation and community based directors are constantly confronted with the challenges of raising sufficient dollars to meet the rising expectations of their constituency for new programs and improved facilities. Presthus (1965) and Hunter (1959) pronounced the benefits of involving the "right volunteers" with a committee or cause.

Presthus emphasized the results achievable when power leadership supports an organization, and felt that these leaders do ". . . influence the allocation of scarce resources" (Presthus, 1964, p. 370). Presthus discovered that community leaders' ". . . social and organizational skills and knowledge are vital, since lively, community-wide participation is often the difference between a successful fund drive" (p. 369).

Statistics from Giving USA view American philanthropy as

increasing annually with \$79.84 billion contributed to more than 300 institutions, and over 89 million Americans volunteering time and energies to civic causes in 1986 (YMCA of USA, 1986, p. 1). A focus on corporate philanthropy revealed that 1.89% of their pre-tax net income or \$4.3 billion went to charities in 1985 (YMCA, 1986).

Yet according to Murray, fewer than 30% of United States companies gave anything to charity, and only 6% donated more than \$500 a year in 1982 (Murray, 1982, p. 57). Murray stressed the need to heighten awareness of social needs in order to spur charitable donations from corporate heads. As the Federal Government reduces tax incentives for charitable giving, and cuts social services to erase the national debt, the demands for donations by community agencies will intensify.

Panas, from Jerold, Panas, Young, and Partners' fundraising firm, validates the need to involve key leadership within the community organization. He cites the following tenets as road maps to fundraising at any YMCA:

1. Major donors give their largest gifts to those institutions where they serve on the board or in an official capacity of some sort.
2. The solicitor should be someone the prospect knows and respects, preferably a top staff person.
3. Donors must have a high regard for the volunteer leadership at the YMCA.

4. Donors must be impressed by the community's respect for the YMCA (Panas, 1980, pp. 1-4).

When considering lay leadership for recreation or community boards, staff often err by selecting the person who is the easiest to recruit and work with. This type of individual often is not well connected to the community elite, lacking the ties that would enable him to mobilize resources. The leader who is linked to various boards and the community network should always be recruited first, even though that individual might have the least time to offer and be the most difficult to recruit.

Ultimately, the community/recreation agency should strive to build a board of directors that constitutes laymen who believe in bettering the agency and the community, even though they might be motivated by status, prestige, and association with other community leaders.

Involving key community influentials can cause an organization and its leadership to convert their organizational pipe dreams into reality. In a recent study by Tait, Bokemeier, and Bohlen (1980), community power actors were identified as ". . . having the social power to affect the outcome of community decisions" (p. 5). The study emphasized the need for community organizations (change agents) to obtain information about community information and about community power actors and their impact upon community decision making.

Primary roles for power actors within community programs include:

1. Giving sanction (the authority, justification, or license to act).
2. Suggesting ideas for improving the program.
3. Providing the sources needed to complete the program.
4. Providing access to other resources both inside and outside the community.
5. Promoting the program in the community. They may play roles in opposing community action programs (Tait et al., 1980).

In short, the mobilization of key community decision-makers in board and policy decisions, budget control, image building, and other forms of volunteer assistance are vital for community organizations to achieve success.

The Need for the Identifying Community Leaders (ICL) Tool

In order to better meet the growing needs of a community, the nonprofit and public sector must involve key community decision makers. While methods to identify these individuals have been developed by social researchers such as Domhoff (1983), Hunter (1980), Dahl (1968), Imlay (1977), and Blatzell (1958), a generic tool that can be easily used by the community professional in a variety of settings has not yet been produced. Furthermore, the knowledge of how to identify community decision makers remains isolated within the fields of sociology and political science, not easily accessible to educators and practitioners in other fields. The complexity and enormity of research processes in identifying community decision-makers has closed the door to many field

professionals in community agencies who could otherwise have achieved better organizational results through the use of top leadership.

A well established foundation for scientific community leadership research has been established by Hunter (1953) and Imlay (1977). The power elite studies were carried out in a variety of city population samples and settings. Implay's prominent studies focused on Stockton, California with a population size of 120,000; and Hunter in three cities: Chapel Hill, North Carolina (7000 inhabitants), Atlanta, Georgia (500,000 inhabitants), and Salem, Massachusetts (40,000 inhabitants).

Local research by the author did not reveal any significant community leader analysis studies done in Hayward. Thus it was determined by the author that a need existed for a research tool that could be used by recreation and other community based professionals to identify the community leadership structure. This study describes the Identifying Community Leaders (ICL) Tool that was developed and tested, as well as results of its application to leaders in Hayward.

The study had four "subpurposes":

1. To identify key individuals and organizations influential in the decision-making process of the City of Hayward.
2. To ascertain the perceived importance of the YMCA relative to other community organizations.
3. To record affiliations of key community decision-makers to community organizations and clubs.

4. To test the validity of the tool by simultaneously using "positional" and "reputational" methods.

Study Hypotheses

Five outcomes were expected from the study:

1. A list of 90 or fewer community decision makers of Hayward would be generated through the combination of positional and reputational methods.
2. Several key charitable organizations and clubs would emerge as having major influence upon the civic arena.
3. The majority of top leaders identified would be found to sit on two or more boards of directors.
4. A majority of key community decision makers would be expected to maintain affiliations typical of the "growth machine."
5. Validity of the ICL Tool would be supported by substantial overlap between names generated by the positional listing, the panel of jurors, and the top community leaders.

The "delimitations" (overall components) of the study include:

1. Basing the ICL Tool on the previous protocols of Hunter (1953), Imley (1977), and Tait (1980).
2. Preparing a list of names of potential community leaders in Hayward from various reference and archival sources (the positional method).
3. Recruiting a panel of jurors from the community to rank the influence of community leaders (the reputational method).
4. Interviewing the agreed upon subsection of top community

leaders to gain information on patterns of background, affiliation, community involvement, organizational perception, and attitudes toward growth.

Limitations

The reputational method can be criticized as personal and subjective, and open to the respondent's bias (Domhoff, 1970). However, it is arguably better than any other method available. The researcher's selective judgments might include or exclude certain data or place undue significance on one area, thus subjectively influencing the outcome of the case study (Isaac, 1983). Another limitation is that this is a new, pioneer case study, open to error in approach and application. However, many of the techniques used have shown validity in previous studies. While it is expected that the generic tool can be applied in a variety of settings, the study results cannot automatically be applied to other cities or populations. The reputational method has a lack of control of its congruent research variables and methodology, compared to other research methods. Systematic research on elites and community leaders contains no explicit guidelines, still being exploratory in nature. Therefore, the researcher's choices involve generalizations (Isaac, 1983). Verbal interview responses may be superficial (Howe-Murphy, 1985). In this study, interviewee responses were recorded as valid and straightforward. The possibility also exists that respondents might have concealed their true judgments about key leaders (Howe-Murphy, 1985). In interviews the researcher must

adhere to the interview plan in exact manner to assure uniformity of response. On the other hand, non-verbal communication and the ability of the researcher to pursue questions in length are pluses in method application (Howe-Murphy, 1985). Ultimately, interviews can provide the researcher with rich data that triangulate or multimeasure many variables.

Definition of Terms

The following definitions of concepts were used in this study. They possess common acceptance in the field of community leadership research.

Community: "A social group or class having common interests" (Morris, 1975, p. 270).

Community Organizations: For the purpose of this study, community organizations shall include service clubs, nonprofit organizations like the YMCA, hospital foundations, public agencies like the Parks and Recreation Center, the Chamber of Commerce, and other like entities that promote and contribute to the civic, political, or business welfare of a community.

Elite: "...the few who have power in society. Elites possess formal authority over large institutions which shape the lives of all of us" (Dye, 1976, p. 4).

Hierarchical Model: "A relatively small group of individuals who exercise authority in a wide variety of institutions forming a power elite" (Dye, 1976, p. 128).

Influence: The ability to lead others (Hunter, 1953). "1) A

power indirectly or intangibly affecting a person or course of events. 2) Power to sway or affect based upon prestige, wealth, ability or position. 3) An effect or change produced by such power" (Morris, 1975, p. 674).

The power of a person or group to produce effects (without the exertion of physical force or authority), based on wealth, social position, ability, etc. 'SYN. Influence implies the power of persons or things to affect others. Authority implies the power of command acceptance, belief, obedience, etc. based upon the strength of character, expertness of knowledge, etc. Prestige implies the power to command esteem or admiration based on brilliance of achievement or outstanding superiority. Weight implies influence that is more or less preponderant in its effect' (Webster's, 1966, p. 749).

Interlocking: Transitory bridges linking institutions or banks (Glasberg, 1981).

Interlocking Directors: Persons who sit on two or more boards (Domhoff, 1988).

Judge: "A person who had lived in the community for some years and who had a knowledge of community affairs, . . ." (Hunter, 1953, p. 265).

Lead: "To show the way to by going in advance, conduct, escort or direct" (American Heritage, 1975, p. 743).

Polyarchical Model: An "open leadership system where individuals of all social backgrounds can rise to the top if they have the necessary skills, information, and talents" (Dye, 1976, p. 165).

Positional Analysis: "The positional analysis approach explains

the upper social class structure in terms of occupational position" (Tait et al., 1980).

Power: "The acts of men going about the business of moving other men to act in relation to themselves or in relation to organic or inorganic things" (Hunter, 1953, pp. 2-3).

Power Actor: "A person in a community who exercises influence on the life of the community through influence, wealth, family background, or position" (Boy Scouts, 1968, p. 1).

Power Pool: "A group of key leaders in a community who must be represented on any project, if it is to succeed" (Boy Scouts of America Pamphlet, 1968, p. 2).

Power Pyramid: "A graphic representation narrowing numbers of individuals from the general population at the base to the power actors at the top in a community" (Hunter, 1953, p. 62).

Reputational Method: "A tool in common use by political scientists for the analysis of the community power structure" (Imlay, 1977, p. 93).

Sphere of Influence: "The people, economic, or social areas affected by the power actor" (Boy Scouts, 1968, p. 1).

Volunteer: "An individual who gives service or leadership to any agency or group and is not paid a salary. He may be reimbursed for travel and/or meals" (Merriam, 1974, p. 832).

The Setting: The City of Hayward, California

To understand the leadership structure in Hayward, it is

important to know something of the city's history and current characteristics.

Nearby Mission San Jose was founded in 1797 by Spanish Padres, and by 1838, Don Guillermo Castro built a hacienda at the old Hayward City Hall site. In 1851, the Gold Rush brought William Hayward to the Castro Rancho, which at that time bred over 4,000 head of cattle. Hayward built a hotel and restaurant which started a community. Don Castro divided his land grant among many immigrant settlers, and in 1965, Atherton and Cohen brought the train to Hayward. The City of Hayward was incorporated on March 11, 1876. Earlier industries included salt production, flower growing, livestock, and farming.

Today, Hayward has a population of 103,396, located 30 miles northeast of San Jose and 16 miles south of Oakland, at an altitude of 140 feet above sea level, with an average rainfall of 17.58 inches, and an average mean temperature of 57 degrees (Hayward Chamber, 1988, p. 35). The racial makeup of the City is 75.4% Caucasian, 10% Hispanic, 7.5% Asian, 5.7% Black, and 1.5% other origins (Calame, 1984, p. 11). The median income is \$19,987 (Calame, 1984, p. 70). Hayward has shown a remarkable population growth since 1950: 1950, 14,246; 1960, 72,700; 1970, 93,058; 1980, 94,223; and 1988, 103,396 (Hayward Chamber of Commerce, 1988, p. 31). For community facilities, Hayward boasts 5 general hospitals, 115 churches, 20 banks, 14 savings and loan institutions, 23 public elementary schools, 4 junior high schools, 5 high schools, California State University at Hayward, and Chabot College. The Hayward Area

Recreation District (HARD) owns 46 parks, including Don Castro, Garin, and Cull Canyon Parks, and 4 swim centers. Youth and family service organizations, such as the Eden Area YMCA, Eden Youth Center, Hayward Boy's and Girl's Club, are active (Hayward Chamber, 1988).

As a major distribution and commerce center, Hayward is located conveniently in the center of a 30 mile radius of the Bay Area's four and one-half million people. Highways 880, 580, and 92 are readily accessible. The majority of truck and auto travel in the San Francisco Bay Area between San Jose and Oakland, and to Sacramento, Stockton, Livermore, and the San Joaquin Valley, must travel through Hayward. Hayward is served by BART and an airport.

The community political agenda in 1988 included the surprise election of a no-growth majority on City Council. Issues included to build or not to build an expressway on the hillside to relieve traffic from downtown, to plan comeback and revitalization of the city center around the B Street Plaza, to develop or not develop the hills known as Walpert Ridge with luxury homes, and the development of the baylands known as the Shorelands Racetrack and Business Project.

Over 300 manufacturing plants exist in large expanses of industrial parks including nationally known firms such as Computerland Corporation, Mervyns, Shasta Beverages, Qantel, Friden-Alcatel, and others.

Prominent features of downtown include an 11 story City Center building that was built on the old site of historic Hayward High

School, 500 new hillside condominiums, a Japanese Garden and Portuguese Centennial Park that represent the sister city exchanges with Faro, Portugal and Funabashi, Japan, Mervyn's corporate offices, and the new Plaza Center development.

Transportation and manufacturing industries have replaced the cattle ranches, orchards, salt mine, and farms of yesteryears.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Power Structure Analysis

Is there a power elite group at the top exercising control within our local community or do, in fact, all interest groups have equal opportunities to exert control in a democratic system? To better identify power structures, one must define power and its dimension. Many writers have discussed the nature of power.

Robert Schultze, in the Bifurcation of Power in a Satellite City, defines power as ". . . the capacity or potential of persons in certain statuses to set conditions, make decisions, and/or take actions which are determinative for the existence of others within a given social system" (Dye, 1976, p. 6). Dye believes that power ". . . is the position itself that gives an individual control over the activities of other individuals" (p. 6).

The ability of power to influence is further denoted by Imlay (1977), who places power in a social context as the ability to influence, have clout, or control. He continues by stating that "Every society and community must have people who are decision-makers if society is able to achieve social goals" (p. 20). Domhoff (1970) relates this social control to dominance, stating: "By ('dominance') I mean members of the upper class who sit in pivotal government offices, define most major policy issues, shape the policy proposals

on issues raised outside their circles, and mold the rules of government" (1970, p. 105).

Power held by a small group of individuals can control the social direction of the community. Social and political power often coincide, as is evidenced by acquaintance patterns of the powerful. An analogy from mountain climbing may be helpful in understanding this concept.

As a group of mountain climbers attempt to ascend the summit, they must be roped in a variety of ways. The climbers intend to reach the summit first, before other parties, and tend to focus on their own needs and progress. The ropes that bind the climbers together can be viewed as interlocking networks of a local community power structure. In order for the climbing party to conquer the summit it must be securely roped in.

The mountain-climber group can be called a "clique," which can be defined as the tendency of certain people with similar interests to be present together in one set of organizations (Domhoff, 1988). Cliques may open and close doors to suit their own business and self interests. For example, a local banker complained that while she perceived the Chamber of Commerce as being one of the most influential groups in town, she did not participate because members had discouraged her participation. It turns out that she probably was discouraged from entry because of another banker who wished to create a monopoly on interests for his bank. She was not a member of his "climbing party."

This phenomenon has been discussed in the power literature. Cheek, Field, and Burdge (1976) introduced the concept of social worlds, which "... are made up of norms, expectations, roles, and special communication systems. Social worlds may also have special meanings and symbols which further accentuate difference and increase social distance from outsiders" (Murphy, 1986, pp. 116-118).

In many cases, a corporate or business leader from top leadership might be associated with numerous boards from a variety of corporations or foundations. These associations can be described as "interlocking directorates," as in Gabriel Kolko's studies of corporations, or Dye's research on the national power structure where 5000 positions in the nation being occupied by 4000 power actors (Dye, 1976, 128).

From studies in 16 communities, Mills (1956) concluded that persons who owned commercial properties on "Main Street" interacted socially at clubs, on boards of directors, and in other gatherings, thus holding "the keys" to community decision-making. Dahl (1961), in his decision-maker studies, discovered "social and economic notables" who tended to be the community decision-makers. Imlay (1977) developed a power actor profile to reveal common characteristics, traits, and membership patterns among the elite.

These interlocking systems were further identified by Domhoff (1970) who recorded acquaintance patterns that developed among prominent social families in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Beverly Hills, California. From these acquaintance patterns, often listed in

the Blue Book and California Register, a high acquaintance percentage was compiled. Citing studies of E. Digby Baltzell and utilizing his own case study results from the Bohemian Grove research near San Francisco, Domhoff (1974) also discovered strong evidence for club, summer and winter resort, business, and school acquaintance patterns among the social elite.

However, it is important to remember that the social circles that make up social worlds can cut across social strata, maintaining both a closed and open social class structure (Murphy, 1986).

The expectation that acting and controlling are possible and legitimate between individuals, paved the way for research into the nature of power as related to elite groups and their influence (power) exerted upon others.

Power is often used by community leaders to press for economic growth. The term, "growth machine," was coined by Harvey Molotch in 1976, and further expanded by John Logan, another sociologist, in 1987.

Domhoff defines Molotch's concept of growth machine as:

... a community power structure ... at the bottom an aggregate of land-based interests that profit from increasingly intensive use of the land. It is a set of property owners who see their futures linked because of a common desire to increase the values of their parcels (Domhoff, 1986, pp. 166-167).

The local elite and city officials are constantly in search of a 'good business climate': ". . . low business taxes, vigorous law

enforcement, an eager and docile labor force, and a minimum of business regulations" (Domhoff, 1983, p. 167).

Since government decisions can weigh heavily upon land values and growth potential, growth machine participants are over-represented in local government organizations such as city councils, planning commissions, water and zoning boards, and parking authorities. Growth machine participants often use the Chamber of Commerce as a springboard into city commissions and committees in an effort to exert control over the direction of growth machine policies. Manufacturers, on the other hand, are not concerned with rising land values locally, as their focus is placed upon making profits from nationally, regionally, and internationally marketed products. The local growth machine is anxious to satisfy the requests of manufacturers, so that they do not move or close their plants (Domhoff, 1986).

Positional and Reputational Methods

Positional and reputational analyses are two ways in which the researcher can show how a network of interlocks of common club memberships, directorships, boards, neighborhoods, schools, intermarriages, and charities links leaders into cliques, classes, and groups (Domhoff, 1978).

The positional analysis approach explains the upper social class structure in terms of occupational position. Names of community leaders are found by consulting archival materials listing

members of governmental, civic, business, professional, fraternal, and other organizations.

The advantages of the positional method include the easy identification of power actors and the low cost of developing a list of leadership. By gaining knowledge about the formal position of a power actor, the researcher can gauge the relationship of authority to the decision-maker's role in community development (Tait et al., 1980). The inaccuracy of this method is its inability to predict covert power actors, those persons who are actively using their power to shape community events, as opposed to those who, because of position, have the potential to become active in the community, but never do.

On the other hand, the reputational analysis approach forgoes formal listings and asks expert informants in the community about who holds power. Reputational mapping can be accomplished in three ways, by:

1. Interviewing a cross-section of people, thereby eliminating criticism that informants or judges selected by the researcher may be biased.

2. Obtaining nominations from leaders of local voluntary organizations and going directly to those nominated.

3. Interviewing positional leaders active in several organizations (Domhoff, 1978).

Once the list of names is obtained from one of these approaches,

the researcher should discover that the same names will be identified repeatedly by respondents.

The reputational method's advantages are that it can determine a wide scope of top community leadership, including those influentials who operate behind the scenes. Key issue areas in the governmental, civic, and business sectors can be examined through questionnaire design. Another benefit is the relative ease with which the reputational tool can be applied to a small sample of knowledgeable or panel of jurors (Tait et al., 1980).

The key disadvantages of the reputational approach include its tendency, according to critics, to identify the elitist social group and not the true power wielders in community affairs. Second, it perhaps discounts too severely the options that individuals have in a democratic society to access the top social ranks of local communities.

Dahl's Decision-Maker Method

Another approach to studying community power is the decision-maker research by Dahl (1961). In his New Haven, Connecticut study, Dahl introduced the concept of community power revolving around key social issues such as urban renewal, transportation, and busing. According to Dahl, pyramids of power are created by those citizens who have the most to gain or lose from these social issues. The top of the pyramid is composed of a small group of persons of political or status office, followed by persons who are out-front on a project, succeeded by the next pyramid level of those who carry out the

decisions, and finally, at the bottom of the pyramid, those who are impacted by the decisions made (Dahl, 1961). The participation of citizens in the community decision-making process is established as a criterion for determining community power.

The weakness of this method lies in its assumption that no central power pool exists which affects all issues of the community. Also, the method is time consuming and costly, and fails to identify behind-the-scenes leadership.

Specific Case-Studies: Hunter, Imlay, Tait, and Colleagues

Pioneer studies by Hunter, Imlay, and Tait, and colleagues form the framework of the research design used in the present study. Therefore, it will be helpful to look at these studies in some detail.

Hunter's community studies. In his 1953 landmark study of Regional City, Hunter began by developing a basic list of power personnel. He included the Community Council, civic organizations, the Chamber of Commerce, employers with 500 employees or more, the League of Women Voters, and lists of societal and wealthy leaders, and wealthy leaders and newspaper editors. Four lists of names were derived from the gross list in categories of civic, governmental, business, and status. These were typed separately and then administered to a 14-member panel of expert jurors.

Hunter found that a high degree of correlation existed among the choices of the panel of jurors.

In his earlier trial study of Poplar Village (6000 inhabitants),

Hunter (1953) had also received a high degree of agreement from the panel of jurors on the elite leaders in four fields. From an original gross list of 200 names, 43 names were selected by the panel as the key decision-makers of Poplar Village. Since Poplar Village was a smaller community than Regional City, 6 rather than 14 jurors were used to validate the study. The jurors were instructed to act as follows:

Place in rank order, one through ten, ten persons from each list of personnel--who in your opinion are the most influential persons in the field designated--influential from the point of view of ability to lead others. If there are persons . . . you feel should be included in the ranking order of ten rather than the ones given, please include them (Hunter, 1953, p. 265).

The panel was also asked to place in rank order the top 10 organizations from a compiled list of 50. Finally, the 43 most influential persons selected by the panel were interviewed, beginning with questions about age, sex, birthplace, occupation, kinds of property owned, number of employees supervised or directed, education, place of residence, and length of residence in Poplar City (Hunter, 1953).

Hunter (1980) also developed a modified version of a power analysis tool in his more recent Atlanta study. He accompanied reputational interviews with top-rated power wielders in Atlanta with the use of a "power scale" to measure the impact of top leadership. The scale rates the power elite's influence in areas such as association, membership, personal qualities, span of control over

employees, family succession in business, and political popularity. While the new methodology was useful in determining community power succession, it appears too complex and detailed for use by novice community professionals who wish to obtain general community data. Hunter's original study was deemed more applicable towards the development of the research instrument in this study.

Imlay's study of Stockton, California. Imlay (1977) followed similar methodology in his study of the City of Stockton, California. He developed a gross list of 443 names from civic and service clubs, newspapers, etc., over a six-month period. To refine the gross list, he followed Hunter's approach in selecting 12 expert jurors, who selected 26 names as most influential from the list of 443. Each name was selected by more than one judge. Imlay used the categories of government, business, and agriculture. Imlay added a new question to select the top 10 leaders: "If a major community project, such as a new hospital or convention center, was to be planned, financed, and sold to the voters, which individuals would have the power and influence to accomplish the task?" (Imlay, 1977, p. 42).

Imlay actually performed interviews with 26 influentials. The interviews were conducted in the following manner: The respondent was thanked, told that confidentiality would be upheld, asked to Q sort the 70 names from the juror's refined listing and thanked for his help. The interview schedule included the following questions: Frequency of contact and association with other power actors, perceptions of community organizations, and understanding of local

Parks and Recreation Department and nonprofit youth agencies. Power actor profile data was gathered, including age, sex, race, approximate income, educational level, number of people supervised or directed, property owned, duration of habitation in Stockton, location of home, and birthplace (Imlay, 1977). His results highlighted key community organizations, cliques of power concentration, and power actors' participation in community organizations.

Imlay also wished to assess the Park and Recreation Department staff's perception of power actors. A Spearman rank correlation produced a comparison in mean scores between power actors' answers and those of the Park and Recreation staff.

Obtaining a 45-minute to 1-hour interview with community influentials proved to be difficult. The time consuming part of the interview was the Q sort ranking of 3 x 5' cards.

Tait and colleagues' study of rural Iowa. Tait, et al. (1980) developed an excellent summary of applicable tools in community leadership research for the layman. Their target for use was farmers from rural communities of Iowa, funded through the Farm Foundation and Rural Extension Service.

In addition to the use of knowledgeable and occupation in building leader listings, the authors added an issue orientation to the tool. They highlighted issue areas of tourism, health, housing, youth, and transportation, but left the door open to other areas. Differences from Hunter and Imlay studies included asking for the top

5 leaders instead of the top 10, and excluding questions about associations, land, and salary. Including more in-depth questions about the leader's role in community organizations, and the minimization of background questions allowed the tool to be easily used by a layman. Furthermore, the Tait tool allows farmers to use the study results to take a proactive role in the community.

The studies of Hunter, Imlay, and Tait and colleagues point to the importance of using both positional and reputational analyses in studying community leadership. As Domhoff (1978, p. 138) notes:

. . . the reputational method complements positional mapping in three ways--by revealing which leaders are the most active and important, by ascertaining the actual nature of the relationships among specific leaders, and by finding those leaders who do not hold formal positions.

Other studies. Undoubtedly, many variations of leadership identification tools have been utilized by private, non-profit agencies in an effort to expand voluntary and financial resources in human service. Every large organization in the private, non-profit sector has begun to perform these inquiries to some extent, especially the United Way, private universities, charitable foundations, nonprofit hospitals, newspapers, YMCAs, Boy Scouts, and other similar institutions. Research comparing state-of-the-art methods used by nonprofit organizations to identify top leadership would be fertile ground for another study. There was not time, however, in this research paper to carry out such a monumental project.

CHAPTER III

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

A combination of the positional analysis and reputational method approaches was used in this study. First, the interview schedule (ICL Tool) was constructed. The positional method of library research to compile a gross list of leadership names began in November, 1987 and was completed by September, 1988. A panel of experts was selected and interviewed beginning in October, 1988, and completed in November, 1988. The interviews with 23 key leaders were initiated in February, 1989, and were completed by April, 1989.

The Interview Schedule.

In order to create the ICL Tool, the tools of Hunter, Imlay, and Tait were modified.

Questions about property owned and economic level were eliminated because they did not meet objectives of the ICL Tool study since they were designed for developing a power profile in Imlay's study. Educational level was replaced with names of schools attended to further identify associations and networks.

Questions about perception of park and recreation personnel and rankings of city services were eliminated because these issues did not concern this study.

Only three categories of influence were analyzed: Civic/association, governmental, and business. A question was added asking "Who are the five 'up and comers' who are likely to become key

leaders within the next 5 years?" The assumption was that some community decision-makers, if approached by a recreation director to join the organization, might refuse participation due to age or time constraints. Therefore, if the director could identify likely future entrants into the community power structure, these up and comers could be recruited to grow with the organization.

A major innovation in the ICL Tool was the incorporation of a Likert scale, at the recommendation of Bethney Schiflett, Ph.D. (personal communication, 1988). Rather than forcing respondents to do exclusive rankings as the Q sort, the Likert scale format asks subjects to rate each person and organization on a sliding scale of 1 ("most influential") to 10 ("least influential").

The Likert scale allows calculation of useful descriptive statistics of central tendency and variability. The following formulas were used:

$$\text{Mean} = \frac{\sum x}{N}$$

$$\text{Standard deviation} = \sqrt{\frac{\sum (x - \bar{x})^2}{N}}$$

By adding the total rankings per individual or organization selected, then dividing by the number of panel members, a statistical mean per individual was calculated, and a ranking of the most influential individuals and organizations was developed.

Questions in the ICL Tool were written with the following suggestions by Tait et al. (1980) in mind: Questions should be easy

to read, clear, and to the point; questions should be tested by practicing out loud ahead of time; appropriate space should be allotted on ICL Tool for answers; a cutting-off point should be established so valuable time is not wasted. The Tool was constructed so as to be able to be used in a variety of settings by laypersons.

The entire questionnaire and method were evaluated and approved by William Domhoff, Ph.D., before application. The resulting ICL Tool consists of two parts—one for the panel of experts and the other for top community leaders.

The "Inquiry Schedule for Panel of Experts" (see Appendix A) asked respondents for information from 11 categories:

A. Background Information

- 1) Name
- 2) Home address
- 3) Number of years lived/worked in Hayward
- 4) Name of business
- 5) Title

B. Respondent's Perceptions of Individual/Organizations

- 6) Ranking of leaders by civic/organizational category
- 7) Ranking of individuals by governmental category
- 8) Ranking of individuals by business category
- 9) Listing of the top 10 most influential leaders
- 10) Listing of the most influential person
- 11) Listing of the five 'up and comers' likely to become top leaders within the next 5 years.

The "Interview Schedule for Top Community Leaders" (see Appendix B) asked respondents for information from 20 categories:

A) Background Information

- 1) Name
- 2) Home address
- 3) Birthplace

- 4) Number of years lived/worked in Hayward
- 5) Number of years lived in California
- 6) Ethnicity
- 7) Schools attended
- 8) Name of business
- 9) Title
- 10) Number of persons under supervision or direct influence
- 11) Organizational membership in areas of: business, professional, service, civic, social, country club, boards, commissions, and community organizations.
- 12) Ranking of leaders by civic/organizational category
- 13) Ranking of leaders by governmental category
- 14) Ranking of leaders by business category
- 15) Listing of the top 10 most influential leaders
- 16) Listing of the most influential person
- 17) Listing of the five 'up and comers' likely to become top leaders within the next 5 years
- 18) Categorizing degree of acquaintance with other top leaders
- 19) Ranking of community organizations
- 20) Selecting the top fund raiser.

A Trip to the Library: Positional Method

A trip to the library was made to gather names from a variety of archival sources and produce a sum list of community leaders, their positions, and affiliations with boards and institutions. The most important sources were:

1. Dunn and Bradstreet's Million Dollar Directory: Identifies all top offices and directors of locally owned businesses as well as persons who sit on two or more corporate boards.

2. Chamber of Commerce: Provides trade, commerce, and industrial listings, as well as describing community and union organizations.

3. Martindale-Hubbel Law Directory: Identifies all partners in local law firms. The researcher noted which partners sat on boards

in local businesses, and which law firms listed local businesses as clients.

4. Foundation Directory: Lists boards of directors of local foundations.

5. Hayward Historical Society.

6. The Daily Review Newspapers: Clip files from 1970.

7) Other sources: California Social Register, civic and service club rosters, city commissions' membership lists, city and county elected officials lists, Hayward Education Foundation roster, California State University of Hayward affiliates, Hayward Zucchini Festival officials list, Commerce and Industry listing of the Bay Area. Hayward, the First Hundred Years, hospital and bank boards, trade unions, Democratic and Republican forums, and organizations such as Hayward First, Hayward Downtown Association, and the Hayward Trade Club. Organizations such as the League of Women Voters, and Mexican American Fund were also involved to ensure a true cross-section of the community and minimize bias.

A gross list of 697 names of persons active in Hayward community life was compiled from the above sources. Then names that appeared on three or more Boards of Directors, organization, or affiliation listings were selected to create a refined list of 112 names. The refined list was classified into three categories, civic/organizational, governmental, and business for use in the next step.

Selecting the Panel of Experts: Reputational Method

In accordance with the reputational studies performed by Inlay and Hunter, nine judges were selected because of long residency (5 or more years in Hayward), and access to knowledge of community affairs. Domhoff (personal communication, 1988) had suggested the selection of a union representative, but after asking three panel members for a potential union representative the conclusion was that no single union played a key role in the civic arena. Thus, a union representative was not selected to be a panel expert.

The researcher consulted William Domhoff, Ph.D., who confirmed that 6 to 10 judges for a community of 100,000 persons was sufficient under the conditions that positional analysis was utilized to back up results, and a strong and varied panel of experts was selected.

The Panel of Experts selected for the Hayward Study represented varied categories of occupation, and are listed as follows:

1. Administrator, Alameda County Office of Education; 31 years in Hayward.
2. President, League of Women Voters; housewife; 57 years in Hayward .
3. President, Hayward Bank; 45 years in Hayward.
4. Producer, Cable Television; professional volunteer; President, Soroptimist Club; 40 years in Hayward.
5. President, Chamber of Commerce; President, Hayward Rotary Club; 12 years in Hayward.

6. President, Moreau High School; Chairman, Hayward Sister City Program with Japan; 10 years in Hayward.

7. Owner, Eden Publishers; historian and ex-journalist; 66 years in Hayward.

8. Dean, School of Business, California State University at Hayward; 19 years in Hayward.

9. Ex-mayor, City of Hayward; Principal, Sunset High School; 22 years in Hayward.

Each of the 112 key leaders on the refined list was ranked by the panel of experts categorically by civic/organizational, government, and business. Panel members were asked to choose the number (1 - highest, to 10 - lowest) that best described their perception of each leader's level of influence in the community. Next, the jurors were asked to determine the "ten most influential" leaders, and "the most influential person" in Hayward. Last, the panel of experts was asked to determine the "five up and comers" that were likely to become leaders in Hayward within the next 5 years.

Of the 112 leaders, 75 were ranked in mean order of overall influence and a listing of 31 names emerged. The final list was compiled by summarizing the mean ranking of the jury panel. The top 30 names were listed in mean order. The cross referencing of names that were selected by more than one panel respondent in the "top 10" and "most influential person" categories further validated the name list.

Table 1 shows the mean influence ranking from the panel of

Table 1

Top 31 Individuals From Most to Least Influential by
Mean Score and Standard Deviation as Determined
by Panel of Experts of Hayward

Rank Order	Category*	Key Leader Number	<u>N</u>	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
1	G	38	9 / 81	1.44	2.07
2	B	100	9 / 81	1.55	2.70
3	G	30	9 / 81	1.88	3.53
4	G	28	9 / 81	1.88	3.53
5	B	103	9 / 81	2.00	4.00
6	B	86	8 / 64	2.12	4.49
7	B	53	9 / 81	2.22	4.93
8	B	109	9 / 81	2.22	4.94
9	B	79	8 / 64	2.37	5.62
10	B	61	6 / 36	2.40	5.76
11	B	104	7 / 49	2.42	5.86
12	G	33	9 / 81	2.44	5.95
13	G	37	9 / 81	2.44	5.95
14	G	44	9 / 81	2.66	7.08
15	B	101	8 / 64	2.75	7.56
16	B	81	8 / 64	2.75	7.56
17	C	6	9 / 81	2.75	7.56
18	C	16	8 / 64	2.75	7.56
19	G	39	8 / 64	2.87	8.24
20	B	69	8 / 64	2.87	8.24
21	B	70	8 / 64	3.00	9.00
22	G	42	9 / 81	3.00	9.00
23	B	93	9 / 81	3.11	9.67
24	C	60	9 / 81	3.11	9.67
25	C	200	8 / 64	3.22	10.37
26	B	89	8 / 64	3.25	10.56
27	C	12	8 / 64	3.44	11.83
28	B	51	9 / 81	3.66	13.40
29	B	78	7 / 49	3.85	14.82
30	B	66	7 / 49	3.85	14.82
31	C	110	6 / 36	unrated	14.82
			TOTAL N ²	2138	

*CATEGORIES: C = civic/organization; G = government; B = business

experts of key community leaders. Numbers shown are derived from their original alphabetical order on the refined list. The reputational method also identified an individual, number 31, who was not included in the refined list of 112 names. His name was mentioned by six of the nine panel members as being influential and, therefore, was considered to be one of Hayward's behind-the-scenes leaders.

Once the top 31 individuals had been identified they could then be interviewed.

Interviewing the Top Community Leaders

The interviews with the top community leaders were conducted in the following manner.

1. A letter introducing the study was sent to each of the 31 leaders.
2. Respondents were then phoned by the researcher to set up an interview date. When the possibility of a face-to-face interview appeared unlikely, the interviewer sent the questionnaire to the respondent and set up a phone interview to assure that the questionnaire was filled out accurately.
3. The interview was initiated with an exchange of greetings and congratulations by the researcher on the individual's selection as one of Hayward's most important citizens. The researcher identified himself. The objective for the interview was established.
4. The interview schedule was then administered.
5. The interview was terminated with a discussion of how the

information would be used, an assurance that all information would be kept confidential, and a thank you to the respondent for his assistance.

Interviews were conducted between February and April, 1989. Out of the 31 leaders selected to be interviewed, 3 leaders refused to be interviewed, and 5 did not return phone calls nor return written correspondence. Out of the 23 persons interviewed, 2 assigned key staff to answer questions on their behalf. The two interviews conducted with assigned staff were conducted in the same manner as with other interviews for ICL questions numbered I and II, which are factual in nature.

The rating and perception questions (numbered III through VIII) were left unanswered because they would not have reflected the actual perceptions of key community leaders.

Of the 23 interviews, 2 were conducted by phone and 21 interviews were conducted in person. The time spent conducting the interview ranged from 25 minutes to 60 minutes.

Overall, the community leaders were very willing to be interviewed once the intent of the study was made known, and most were anxious to receive the study results. Some desired to go well past the 30 minute time allotment for completing the ICL Tool and provided additional insight into the dynamics of community life in Hayward.

Validity

Belief in the validity of the ICL Tool was supported by the

large degree of overlap between names generated by positional and reputational methods. Thirty-five names were selected by key community decision-makers from the refined listing of 112 most influential persons through the same interview schedule utilized by the panel of experts. Of the original 31 names selected by the panel of experts, the majority of 23 names remained. Community leaders chose to drop 7 names and add 12.

Table 2 provides a mean rank order of the 35 names. Names are represented by number in alphabetical order from the refined list of 112 names. Comparing Tables 1 and 2 there is no question as to who the top two influential individuals were, as is evident in their identical ranking on each of the 2 lists. While most names were listed by both the panel and the key leaders, other names changed rank between Tables 1 and 2. Some of the name position changes can be attributed to the fact that the hierarchy of key leaders is never constant due to ever changing community conditions.

For example, the panel of juror interviews was performed four months apart from the community leader interviews. Individual number 30 had moved from number 3 on the panel experts' list to number 9 on the key leaders' list, probably due to a recent political mishap. Individual number 24, who was unlisted on the panel's list and was added to the leader's list probably was benefitted by his new position in the Chamber of Commerce. Individual number 23 was probably added to the leaders' list due to recent publicized activity in the School District. Surprisingly, individual number 46 was added

Table 2

Top 35 Decision-Makers of Hayward from Most to Least
Influential by Mean Score and Standard Deviation as
Determined by the Top 23 Decision-Makers of Hayward

Rank Order	Category*	Key Leader Number	N	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
1	G	38	21 / 441	1.52	2.31
2	B	100	21 / 441	1.47	2.46
3	B	86	20 / 400	1.66	2.76
4	B	103	21 / 441	1.78	3.17
5	B	109	20 / 400	1.94	3.76
6	B	79	21 / 441	2.00	4.00
7	B	89	21 / 441	2.10	4.41
8	C	6	21 / 441	2.11	4.45
9	G	30	21 / 441	2.22	4.93
10	G	28	21 / 441	2.31	5.34
11	G	33	21 / 441	2.31	5.34
12	B	78	18 / 324	2.42	5.86
13	G	44	21 / 441	2.47	6.10
14	B	104	20 / 400	2.47	6.10
15	G	42	21 / 441	2.47	6.10
16	B	53	21 / 441	2.50	6.25
17	B	108	20 / 400	2.64	6.97
18	G	37	20 / 400	2.66	7.08
19	B	85	21 / 441	2.73	7.45
20	C	12	21 / 441	2.73	7.45
21	B	69	19 / 361	2.75	7.56
22	C	24	21 / 441	2.78	7.73
23	B	54	21 / 441	2.88	8.29
24	C	23	21 / 441	2.89	8.35
25	B	52	16 / 256	2.91	8.47
26	B	62	18 / 324	2.93	8.58
27	G	39	18 / 324	3.06	9.36
28	B	93	20 / 400	3.11	9.67
29	C	16	20 / 400	3.38	11.42
30	G	35	21 / 441	3.52	12.39
31	G	46	19 / 361	4.00	16.00
32	B	70	20 / 400	4.00	16.00
33	G	45	21 / 441	4.26	18.15
34	G	31	21 / 441	4.31	18.58
35	C	25	18 / 324	4.37	19.10

TOTAL N² 14,294

*CATEGORIES: C = civic/organization; G = government; B = business

to the leaders' list as having major influence on the community arena but no longer resided or worked in Hayward. Individual number 54 was probably added to the leaders' list because of the recent successful opening of a new bank.

Despite the changing community environment, a comparison of Table 2 with the refined list of 112 names shows that all of the names in Table 2 are included in the original list of 112 names produced by library research.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

This chapter presents and interprets the data compiled during the ICL interview process with the 23 top leaders.

Background Characteristics of Top Community Leaders

Occupationally, 11 leaders were businessmen, 1 was a lawyer and 1 was a judge. There were four politicians, and two retired individuals. Finally, one was a religious leader, two were educators, and one was a community leader.

In order to enter the category of top community leader an individual must have been old enough to have served in a responsible position. Figure 1 represents the age breakdown of the top community leader group. Most of the respondents were grouped in nine age categories that ranged from 38 to 83. The average age of twenty-three respondents was 57.4 years.

Eighty-seven percent were men, and 13% were women. Based upon their average rankings by the experts, the three women were ranked numbers 2, 19, and 20, among twenty-three community leaders.

The original refined list of 112 individuals compiled by the panel of experts included representation from Hayward's three major ethnic groups, Latin-American, Black, and Asian. Only the Latin-American category was represented by one individual (4%) within the grouping of 23 key leaders. Respondents bore family surnames from early Hayward settlers representing ties to European ethnic groups

Figure 1
 Age Categories of Hayward's Top 23
 Community Decision-Makers

from Spain, Italy, and Portugal. Active societies promoting ethnic pride through culture, dance, language, and food still exist: a city exchange with Faro, Portugal; a Portuguese newspaper; a Spanish Club; and Italian-American clubs.

Three (13%) of the test sample had attended Hayward High School. A significant amount of pride was noted from those who had attended Hayward High School reunions and social functions. City Hall was built on the top of the demolished high school site and portions of the Hayward High School building were preserved inside the convention center, called Centennial Hall. The majority of key leaders who were tied to the moving of city hall to its present site were still perceived as being very influential in community life.

A markedly high level of education was characteristic of the top leader group. All of the Hayward sample had received high school diplomas, 22 out of 23 (96%) had attended college, and 12 out of 23 (52%) had pursued graduate work. Hayward statistics describing the general population indicated that only 7% of the Hayward adult population age 20 and older (4,140 out of 60,843) had obtained four years of college education, and only 6% (3,961 of 60,843) had obtained five years or more of college education (Department of Community, 1985).

Colleges of higher learning that were attended by two or more of the respondents included: Columbia University, California State University at Hayward, Stanford University, Harvard University, and the University of California at Berkeley. Seven (30%) of the 23

leaders attended the University of California at Berkeley, revealing another educational pattern of top leader group membership.

Residential Patterns

As found in Hunter's Atlanta studies (1953) and Imlay's Stockton research (1977), many key leaders resided in close proximity to each other. The closeness of Hayward to major freeways and access roads may account for the fact that fewer community leaders lived in close proximity than in earlier studies. Nine or 39% of the Hayward leaders resided in nearby suburban communities of San Mateo, Pleasanton, Castro Valley, San Leandro, Danville, and San Ramon. Fourteen or 61% out of twenty-three showed residences in Hayward. Two areas of concentration were evident in charting Hayward residences (see Figure 2). One geographic area can be categorized as "City Center" and the other as "Hayward Hills."

One community notable described the City Center area as "old wealth" and the Hayward Hills area as "new wealth." These general observations are losing credibility, however, with improved transportation in and out of Hayward. The lack of professional housing within city limits was observed by more than one respondent, thus giving strong impetus towards the further development of the Hayward Hills (i.e. Walpert Ridge project). Only one community notable lived south of Harder Road.

Homes in the above listed categories were priced above the average for the city, and were defined by the Board of Realtors as being the most desirable areas. A marked difference was evident in

Figure 2

Residences of Top 23 Key Community Decision-Makers in Hayward

Key: Black circles indicate close proximity of key decision-maker residences to each other. Hayward residences only are mapped-out.

Note: Nine decision-makers live outside the Hayward area.

landscaping, home appearance, style, and aesthetics when compared to the southern and western portions of Hayward.

California is one of the nation's fastest growing states, including a large migration of nonresidents. An assumption was made that the Hayward sample would reveal similar residency characteristics. The Hayward study revealed that 17% of respondents were Hayward natives and 35% were native Californians. Intervals of time spent outside the state for military service and college were not considered to signify out-of-state residence. Represented in Figure 3 is the sample group's length of residency in Hayward. Figure 4 depicts their length of residency in California.

When compared to the statewide population growth and migration patterns, top community leaders of the study displayed a long-term rate of residency in Hayward and California (Faye, 1987, pp. 3-21, 618). Therefore, long length of residency can be considered an indicator of top community leadership in Hayward.

Span of-Control

Imlay (1977) found that the key decision-makers exhibit a span of control over individuals who look to them for financial support, such as partners, employees, and associates. Hayward's top leaders estimated that 4,205 persons look to them for supervision or financial support. Figure 5 depicts the key leader group's span of control, demonstrating 4,205 individuals or 4% of the total Hayward population being influence by 0.02% of leadership. The mean was 183 individuals supervised per community notable.

Figure 3
Length of Residence for Hayward's
Top 23 Community Decision-Makers

Bar represents the number of individuals who had lived in Hayward the number of years indicated on the bottom.

Figure 4
Length of Residence for California's
Top 23 Community Decision-Makers

Bar represents the number of individuals who had lived in California the number of years indicated on the bottom.

Figure 5
Span of Control of Hayward's
Top 23 Community Decision-Makers

Bar represents the number of employees, subordinates, partners, or associates under Key Leader's span of Control

Therefore, influence through position held and its span of control over employees was evidence of key leader membership.

Association Patterns

The importance of community leaders interlocking networks with each other cannot be underestimated. Association patterns of key leaders were measured by utilizing a variation of Hunter's relationship index. The interviewees were asked to answer the following question: "Rate how well you know each of the members from your Top Ten list," using the following categories: "Know socially," "know," "know slightly," "have heard of," and "do not know." "Know socially" was defined as visiting the individual's home or enjoying social time together of an informal nature. "Know well" was defined as having worked together in community projects, able to call him/her for an opinion, or having known him/her well enough to be able to anticipate how well he/she would react to a question but not well enough to socialize together (Imlay, 1977).

The majority of respondents knew their peer leaders very well (see Figure 6). For example, individuals numbered 30 and 86 indicated that they knew all the top ten leaders socially. Of the test sample interviewed, 88% responded that they knew socially or knew well the individuals mentioned on the top ten list. As Hunter discovered in Atlanta, and Imlay in Stockton, a relatively small group of persons, who frequently associate with each other, were perceived as being the most active in community decision-making (Hunter, 1953, 1956; Imlay, 1977). Regardless of its 103,000

Figure 6
 Association by Acquaintance of Hayward's
 Top 23 Community Decision-Makers

Percentage of Decision Makers who know
 their top 10 leaders as chosen on ICL
 tools as "know socially" or "know."

population size, Hayward was perceived to have an atmosphere of a small town and small town political networking.

Perceived Influence of Community Organizations

The mean ranking of leaders' perceptions of community organization influence is recorded in Table 3. The word 'influence' was defined by the interviewer as, "an organization's impact in the community arena; large numbers of constituency served; and visible leadership present within these organizations." The Rotary Club was ranked Hayward's most influential organization by key decision-makers, followed by the Chamber of Commerce. The Rotary Club's dedication to community service and contribution towards community life was highly regarded. The Rotary Club was also regarded as a testing ground for potential community leaders in areas of compatibility, leadership abilities, and commitment to community service.

The Chamber of Commerce was admired by notable leaders for its promotion of commercial, economic and industrial growth, and support of local business. The Chamber of Commerce was seen by one individual as a springboard to the political spectrum: some of the study members had become connected through the Chamber of Commerce to city affairs, and finally had ended up on city commissions or running for political office.

During the time of the interviewing, the Chamber of Commerce was undergoing a major reorganization. The majority of respondents were

Table 3

Top 33 Community Organizations From Most to Least Influential
as Rated by Interview Responses from the Top 23
Decision-Makers of Hayward

Rank Order	Name of Organization	N	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
1	Rotary Club	21 / 441	2.10	4.41
2	Chamber of Commerce	19 / 361	2.17	4.71
3	Hayward Area Recreation	21 / 441	2.42	5.86
4	Moreau High School	21 / 441	2.73	7.45
5	Salvation Army	21 / 441	2.84	8.07
6	Hayward Education Fund	21 / 441	2.89	8.35
7	YMCA, Eden Area	21 / 441	3.31	10.96
8	C.S.U.H. Affiliates	21 / 441	3.36	11.29
9	Eden Housing	19 / 361	3.52	12.39
10	Eden Youth Center	17 / 289	3.68	13.54
11	Eden Express	21 / 441	3.73	13.91
12	Lion's Club	21 / 441	3.84	14.75
13	Zucchini Festival	21 / 441	3.89	15.13
14	So. Alameda Board of Realtors	21 / 441	3.89	15.13
15	S. Rose Foundation	19 / 361	4.00	16.00
16	Hayward Downtown Assoc.	21 / 441	4.10	16.81
17	Little League	20 / 400	4.11	16.89
18	Hayward Historical Society	21 / 441	4.15	17.22
19	All Saints Church	19 / 361	4.17	17.39
20	Kiwanis Club	20 / 400	4.22	17.81
21	Hayward Boy's/Girl's Club	20 / 400	4.27	18.23
22	Emergency Family Shelter	20 / 400	4.27	18.23
23	Spectrum Community Service	16 / 256	4.41	19.45
24	Project Eden	17 / 289	4.41	19.45
25	Rowell Ranch Rodeo	21 / 441	4.47	19.98
26	Hayward Trade Club	19 / 361	4.64	21.53
27	Boy Scouts	21 / 441	4.78	22.85
28	La Familia	17 / 289	4.80	23.04
29	Police Officers Association	19 / 361	4.82	23.23
30	United Way	20 / 400	4.88	23.81
31	Hayward Art & Wine Festival	21 / 441	4.89	23.81
32	Walpert Center-Retarded	19 / 361	5.23	27.35
33	Hayward ARTs Council	21 / 441	5.26	27.67

TOTAL N² 13,147

Additional organizations added to the listing by key leaders as important to the community life of the City of Hayward: Hayward City Council, Hayward Planning Exchange, Sister City Exchange, Hayward Demos Club, Southland Bd. Shorelands Bd., League of Women's Voters, Scholarship, INC., Hayward Area Planning Assoc., Bank Boards (2).

favorable towards the progressive changes that had occurred, but a minority still questioned the organization's long-term objectives.

Two other entities had major impact upon community affairs: City Hall and California State University at Hayward, due to its payroll contribution to the city's economy, business school, athletic events, and positive influence on community life. State Affiliates (primary fund raising body of California State University at Hayward) ranked number eight by key leaders.

The researcher purposely omitted listing the multitude of city commissions on the ICL Tool in order to gain better insight into primarily youth and family serving entities. However, the Planning Commission and the City Council were also viewed by respondents as having significant impact upon the community arena.

Involvement in Community Organizations

In order for a leader to exert influence in a community, he/she must interact through a process of linkages or interlocks with community organizations and boards of directors. The extent of leader organizational involvement can vary from limited to high participation. The Hayward study replicated networking trends evident in the earlier studies of Hunter, Domhoff, and Imlay.

Table 4 lists the participation and membership in community organizations of the 23 Hayward leaders. Names of the organizations and boards in which key leaders were involved were requested in the interview schedule. Then the total number of organizations to which key leaders belonged was summed and divided by the total number of

Table 4

Top 19 Community Organizations in Hayward
by Top 23 Decision-Maker Membership
from Most to Least Involvement

Rank Order	Name of Organization	<u>N</u>	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
1	Chamber of Commerce	12 /144	1.91	3.65
2	S. Rose Foundation	12 /144	1.91	3.65
3	YMCA-Eden Area	11 /121	2.09	4.37
4	Rotary Club	9 / 81	2.55	6.50
5	Hayward Education Fund	8 / 64	2.87	8.24
6	C.S.U.H. Affiliates	7 / 49	3.28	10.76
7	Hayward Boy's/Gril's Club	7 / 49	3.28	10.76
8	Hayward City Council*	6 / 36	3.83	14.67
9	Boy Scouts	5 / 25	4.60	21.16
10	Hayward Parks and Rec.	4 / 16	5.75	33.06
11	Lion's Club	4 / 16	5.75	33.06
12	Zucchini Festival	4 / 16	5.75	33.06
13	United Way	4 / 16	5.75	33.06
14	S. Alameda Board of Realtors	4 / 16	5.75	33.06
15	Sister City Exchange*	3 / 9	5.75	33.06
16	Little League	3 / 9	7.66	58.68
17	Hayward Planning Commission*	3 / 9	7.66	58.68
18	Rowell Ranch Rodeo	3 / 9	7.66	58.68
19	Hayward Demos Club*	3 / 9	7.66	48.68
TOTAL N ²		838		

* = Additions to list after interviews were conducted.

Note: Only those organizations that were linked to membership of three or more decision-makers were listed.

leaders interviewed. Twenty-three leaders were linked to 260 organizations, or an average of 11 linkages per leader. Imlay's study of Stockton leadership demonstrated an average number of 13 linkages per leader (1977).

Figures 7 and 8 illustrate the affiliations of the 23 key notables to the 31 community organizations judged to be most influential in the community life of Hayward. Lines are drawn from numbers representing the key leaders in name alphabetical order, to the community organizations to which they belong. The numbers representing key decision-makers are on top, while the numbers representing organizational ranking are on the bottom. The clustering of lines linked to specific organizations reveals a pattern of a very few, very influential organizations. The diagrams support the findings of Hunter, Imlay, and Dahl that influence flows both to and from individuals to organizations (Dahl, 1961; Hunter, 1953; Imlay, 1977).

The five organizations which show the most key leader involvement were the Chamber of Commerce, the St. Rose Foundation, the YMCA, the Rotary Club, and the Hayward Education Fund. According to Imlay, "Individuals who have social power chose to belong to organizations they see as being important in the life of the city. Conversely, power actors do not belong to organizations which they do not believe as being important to community life" (1977, p. 68). St. Rose Hospital was held in high regard by the Hayward leadership for its medical support and care for Hayward citizens. The Hayward

Figure 7

Top 23 Decision-Makers and Their Linkages to the Top 17
Community Organizations in Hayward

1. Rotary Club	9. Eden Housing
2. Chamber of Commerce	10. Eden Youth Center
3. H.A.R.D.	11. Eden Express
4. Moreau High School	12. Lion's Club
5. Salvation Army	13. Zucchini Festival
6. Hayward Education Fund	14. Board of Realtors
7. Y.M.C.A., Eden Area	15. St. Rose Roundation
8. C.S.U., Hayward Affiliates	16. Hayward Downtown Association
	17. Little League

Figure 8

Top 23 Decision-Makers and Their Linkages to the
Community Organizations in Hayward

18. Hayward Historical Society	26. Hayward Trade Club
19. All Saints Church	27. Boy Scouts
20. Kiwanis Club	28. La Familia
21. Boy's and Girl's Club	29. Police Officer's
22. Emergency Family Shelter	30. United Way
23. Spectrum Community Services	31. Art & Wine Festival
24. Project Eden	32. Walpert Center
	33. Hayward Art's Council

Education Fund is an arm of the Hayward Unified School District and Board of Education. The Fund was well respected for its support of projects for school children through an annual fund raising luncheon.

While no country club patterns were found, 2 of the 23 leaders were members of the Castlewood Country Club. A benefit of the reputational method was that community entities emerged that were not on the original list, including the Hayward Recognition Dinner Committee, the Hayward Area Planning Association, Redwood Community Church, Eden United Church of Christ, and the League of Women Voters. Two of the organizations not listed in the ICL Tool showed membership affiliation by three to five top leaders, namely the Hayward Demos Club and the Sister City Exchange. Some organizations listed were perceived to have significant influence within leadership's own social world, including All Saints Church and Hayward Boy's and Girl's Club.

This study found that key decision-makers were joiners of social organizations, and that an individual's membership pattern is a key indicator of one's relative influence in the community.

Involvement was categorized on the ICL Tool into areas of business/professional, service/civic, social/country club, boards/commissions, and community organizations. However, the analysis of involvement by area categories became blurred by responses not fitting neatly into one or another category.

Perception of the YMCA

Some respondents separated community organizations into two

categories: those which take political stands and actively promote their points of view, and those which service the community in an apolitical and noncontroversial way. The YMCA fell into the later category. The YMCA was rated number three in involvement of community leaders, regarded highly for its service to youth and families in child development, camping, and sports/fitness programs. Eleven respondents (numbered 1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 13, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23) displayed affiliation to the YMCA through membership on the Board of Managers, committees, or fund raising projects. The YMCA was judged to be number 7 out of 31 organizations in mean ranking of influence upon community life. Those who commented on YMCA's future hoped that a larger facility, including a pool, could be built. It must be pointed out that the researcher's affiliation to the YMCA and role in the interviews probably biased this portion of the study in terms of impacting the perceptions of the respondents.

The "Up and Comers"

The question from the ICL tool that respondents had the most difficulty with answering was: "Who are the five 'up and comers' that are likely to become leaders in Hayward within the next 5 years?" The lack of younger leadership on the list of 112 names sets the stage for continual leadership transition in the future, as 'old-timers' retire from city affairs. The aging factor was probably the most frequently mentioned item by community leaders and panel experts, when presented with the refined list of names.

Fifteen names emerged that were selected more than once by key

community leaders and the panel of experts. Any names that appeared on the original list of 31 names produced by the panel of jurors were omitted. Table 5 lists the 'up and comers' by mean order rank. One name, number 15 with a mean ranking of 1.15, stood out as likely being the most significant future leader in Hayward. 'Up and comers' should be primary candidates for membership in nonprofit recreation and community organization policy and fundraising efforts.

Some of the leaders were judged by emotional reactions when their names were read, like, "This person has enemies, or is not liked." For many respondents, those who were "on the way out" were very evident due to conditions of illness, retirement, or change of positions.

Community Fund-Raising Potential

Respondents were asked hypothetically to identify the individual who they would choose to head "a civic-building project involving a \$3 million pool, fitness and child care center, and weight room." Some respondents answered with the same name they entered in the "most influential leader" category, seeing the questions as synonymous. Others saw the questions as distinct and produced some revealing results. One individual was mentioned as top fund raiser five times (number 86). Three others were mentioned three times (numbers 12, 89, and 100). Table 6 provides a mean order ranking of individuals identified to carry out a "civic-building project" by number of times selected.

Most respondents felt that the community giving potential of the

Table 5

Up and Comers Most Likely to Enter the Top 10 Decision-Makers Group in Hayward Within the Next Five Years as Indicated by the Top 23 Decision-Makers

Rank Order	Key Leader Number	<u>N</u>	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
1	15	12 / 169	1.15	1.32
2	108	6 / 36	2.50	6.25
3	*	6 / 36	2.50	6.25
4	26	5 / 25	3.00	9.00
5	*	5 / 25	3.00	9.00
6	14	4 / 16	3.75	14.06
7	87	3 / 9	5.00	25.00
8	*	3 / 9	5.00	25.00
9	29	3 / 9	5.00	25.00
10	*	2 / 4	7.50	56.25
11	*	2 / 4	7.50	56.25
12	52	2 / 4	7.50	56.25
13	*	2 / 4	7.50	56.25
14	98	2 / 4	7.50	56.25
15	58	2 / 4	7.50	56.25
TOTAL N ² 358				

*Newcomers to Hayward not numbered due to their arrival in the community arena while the study was in progress

Table 6

Top 13 Individuals Perceived to Carry Out a "Civic-
Building Project" as Identified by the
Top 23 Decision-Makers of Hayward

Rank Order	Key Leader Number	N	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
1	86	5 / 25	2.60	6.76
2	89	3 / 9	4.33	18.75
3	100	3 / 9	4.33	18.75
4	12	3 / 9	4.33	18.75
5	62	1 / 1	13.00	169.00
6	69	1 / 1	13.00	169.00
7	85	1 / 1	13.00	169.00
8	79	1 / 1	13.00	169.00
9	24	1 / 1	13.00	169.00
10	38	1 / 1	13.00	169.00
11	51	1 / 1	13.00	169.00
12	93	1 / 1	13.00	169.00
13	51	1 / 1	13.00	169.00
Total N ² 61				

refined list of 112 was under developed, and that on the whole, the majority of the individuals had done a good job but could do much more in benefiting Hayward. One veteran humanitarian interviewed gave the researcher some valuable insight into his secrets of fund raising. He commented that Hayward lacks the experience and tradition of giving as compared to cities like San Francisco. He cited a recent single gift to Stanford University of \$15 million as an example of "how it's done right." First, the background of the donor should be researched, and the actual approach carefully calculated (e.g. knowing what the potential donor likes to eat for dinner). Second, an individual gives because of the way he/she is treated by that organization. Third, family upbringing and orientation to a giving philosophy contribute to donations offered. Fourth, a strong staff "ringleader" is needed to help the visible volunteer carry out a meticulously run fund raising effort.

The positioning and impact of "behind-the-scenes, quiet" fund raising influence was discovered in individuals numbered 69, 93, and 109; and ranked six, sixteen, and eighteen, out of twenty-three names.

Pro-growth Attitudes:

The Growth Machine

The Hayward leadership sample, with the exception of a small minority, perceived community industrial and residential growth and land development as highly beneficial and necessary in order to secure the vitality of Hayward's economic future. The members of the "growth

machine" have been characterized as a "set of property owners who see their futures linked because of a willingness to increase the value of their parcels" (Domhoff, 1983, pp. 166-67).

The author's intent was not to determine whether or not community growth is good or bad but rather to simply lend credibility to the theory that growth machine membership is a predominant part of community dynamics and key leadership's goal. Growth machine members are interested in a good business climate and they are often over-represented on city councils, planning commissions, and the Chamber of Commerce, in an effort to promote progrowth policies. The dominance of growth machine membership in the Hayward sample was exemplified by the following data:

Eighty-six percent of respondents were registered in the pro-growth category, and most respondents expressed a pro-growth sentiment. Only 13% represented no-growth or controlled growth positions. One percent held a neutral position.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The purpose of this study was to design a generic tool, called Identifying Community Leaders (ICL), that identifies key community decision-makers and organizations for use by community based practitioners. The four subpurposes of the study were:

1. To identify key individuals and organizations influential to the decision-making process of the City of Hayward.
2. To ascertain the perceived importance of the YMCA relative to other community organizations.
3. To record affiliations of key community decision-makers to community organizations and clubs.
4. To test the validity of the generic tool in the City of Hayward, California.

The research design applied in this study combined positional reputational analyses, building upon the rich tradition of community power studies, and especially the work of Hunter, Imlay, and Tait and colleagues. The combination of these methodologies provided more valid results than in some studies where only one method has been used.

The ICL Tool was applied in three phases. The first involved a trip to the library, and allowed the researcher to compile a data base of names from selected positional listings. The second phase,

selecting the panel of experts, identified a group of individuals who had qualities of long residency and access to knowledge of community affairs. They refined the gross list of names compiled from the community leaders, provided the researcher with key data related to decision-maker perceptions of peers, community organizations, and affiliations. Leaders generated a list of most influential community organizations, leaders, up-and-comers, and top fund raisers, computed and ranked by mean score.

The study resulted in the following findings. The ICL Tool appears to be a valid and practical tool for researching community power structure.

Thirty-one individuals were identified as key community decision-makers in Hayward. Twenty-three became the test sample and were interviewed. In comparison, 26 individuals emerged in Imlay's Stockton study, and 40 individuals were identified by Hunter as key leaders in Atlanta.

Key community leaders were identified as being joiners, linked to a number of community organizations and causes. Small and overlapping social worlds were identified in which the majority of key leaders held membership.

A profile of common characteristics possessed by the 23 community decision-makers interviewed is as follows. A typical community leader in Hayward:

1. Is 57 years of age.
2. Is male.

3. Lives in definitive sections of the city.
4. Has held residence and/or business in Hayward for 30 to 34 years.
5. Is Causasian.
6. Has graduated from college, with some graduate work.
7. Supervises or has span of control over 183 individuals.
8. Belongs to or has been active primarily with the Chamber of Commerce, St. Rose Foundation, YMCA, Rotary Club, and the Hayward Education Fund.
9. Is linked to 11 community organizations and causes.

The key community leaders selected individuals from the same listing of 112 names as did the panel of experts. Only one name emerged that was unlisted. The names selected tended to be repeated by both groupings.

Association patterns between key community decision-makers were very strong.

Conclusions

Within the limitations of the ICL Tool developed, the following conclusions can be drawn. All five expected study outcomes were achieved.

1. The combination of positional and reputational methods identified 31 key community decision-makers in Hayward, California. The sample was consistent with earlier populations identified by Hunter and Imlay.

2. A small list of key charitable organizations and clubs emerged as having major influence upon the civic arena. Members from the key leader sample tended to belong to these organizations.

3. The majority of top leaders sat on two or more boards of directors/committees.

4. The majority of key community decision-makers were tied to land-based interests that typically comprise the "growth machine."

5. There was substantial overlap between names generated by the positional listing, the panel of jurors, and the top community leaders. This lends support to the ICL Tool's validity.

Recommendations

The success of a fund raising or capital building project is linked to the perception of a civic organization in the eyes of notable community leaders. Therefore, leadership perception of organizations should be tested in every city. Future areas for research in identifying community leaders must include:

1. The assessment of donor gift giving potential and the dynamics of why donors give.
2. Leadership perception of community needs, such as poverty, homelessness, child care, and crime.
3. The study of why top leadership becomes active in the community arena.

Given that the Hayward study evidenced a low percentage of women and minorities in top leadership, community organizations could

encourage more representation by minorities and women on their boards, committees, and leadership groups.

Repetitive applications of the instrument will be necessary in Hayward every five years, as was performed by Hunter in Atlanta, as results are tied to the quickly changing political, economic, social, and environmental factors.

Every attempt will be made to apply the ICL Tool in a variety of settings by encouraging its use by peers, colleagues, and fellow professionals in recreation and community studies.

The primary concern of this paper is that community leadership research not be left to collect dust on the library shelf but instead contribute to the action plans of recreation and community practitioners. A better understanding of the top community leadership will lead civic organizations to a more effective delivery of human services to local citizens.

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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

ICL TOOL: INQUIRY SCHEDULE
FOR PANEL OF EXPERTSI. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Name: _____

Home Address: _____

City: _____ Zip: _____

No. of years lived/worked in Hayward: _____

Name of Business: _____ Title: _____

II. COMMUNITY LEADERS

Please rate each individual listed by circling a number between 1 (most influential) and 10 (least influential); influential from the point of view of ability to lead others. Feel free to add any names that have been omitted. The Hayward leaders are listed in the following spheres of influence: civic/association, governmental, and business.

III. Who are the 10 "most influential" leaders in Hayward ?

(Please list in order of importance):

1. _____	6. _____
2. _____	7. _____
3. _____	8. _____
4. _____	9. _____
5. _____	10. _____

A. Who is the most influential person in Hayward ?

B. Who are the five "up and comers" that are likely to become leaders in Hayward within the next five years ?

(Please list in order of importance):

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

END OF SURVEY.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR INVESTMENT IN THE COMMUNITY !!!

PLEASE RETURN QUESTIONNAIRE TO: EDEN AREA YMCA - 951 PALISADE ST.
HAYWARD, CA. 94542.

Page 2

	Most Influential					Least Influential				
Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Other: _____

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

ICL TOOL: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
FOR TOP COMMUNITY LEADERS**I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

Name: _____ Age: _____ Sex: _____

Home
Address: _____ City: _____ Zip: _____Birthplace: _____ No. of years lived/worked in
Hayward: _____ No. of years lived in Calif.: _____

Ethnicity: _____ High School Attended: _____

College(s) Attended: _____

Graduate School(s): _____

Name of Business: _____ Title: _____

No. of persons under your supervision or direct influence: _____

II. ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

A. Business/professional: _____

B. Service/civic: _____

C. Social/country club: _____

D. Name all boards/commissions of which you are a member:

E. Name all community organizations of which you

participate/have participated in locally:

III. COMMUNITY LEADERS:

Please rate each individual listed by circling a number between 1 (most influential) to 10 (least influential); influential from the point of view of ability to lead others. Feel free to add any names that have been omitted.

IV. Who are the 10 "most influential leaders in Hayward (in order of importance):

1. _____	6. _____
2. _____	7. _____
3. _____	8. _____
4. _____	9. _____
5. _____	10. _____

Who is the most influential person in Hayward ?

Who are the five 'up and comers' that are likely to become leaders in Hayward within the next five years ?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

VI. On the scale presented, rate how well you know each of the members on your "Top 10" list (Place x in appropriate category):

Name	Know socially	Know	Know slightly	Have heard of	Do not know
1. _____					
2. _____					
3. _____					
4. _____					
5. _____					
6. _____					
7. _____					
8. _____					
9. _____					
10. _____					

VII. Of the following community organizations, please rate each organization as to their impact on community life in Hayward. Please read the entire list, then rate each organization by circling a number from 1 being "most important" and 10 the "least important". Feel free to add any organizations which have been omitted:

VIII. If a civic building project involving a \$ 3 million pool, fitness and child care center, and weight room was to be carried out in Hayward, who would you select to lead the fundraising effort for the project ?

A. _____