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Buie, Sampson, Jr.

THE EMERGENCE PROCESS OF BLACK ELECTED LEADERSHIP IN NORTH CAROLINA

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THE EMERGENCE PROCESS OF BLACK ELECTED

LEADERSHIP IN NORTH CAROLINA

by

Sampson Buie, Jr.

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
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Approved by

_____
Dissertation Adviser, Roland Nelson

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Dissertation Adviser _____

Committee Members _____

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_____

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Abstract

BUIE, SAMPSON, JR. The Emergence Process of Black Elected Leadership
in North Carolina. Directed by: Dr. Roland Nelson. Pp. 156.

The purpose of this investigation was to fulfill the need for
an empirical and systematic explanation of the emergence process,
previous leadership experiences and personal qualities of black elected
leaders in North Carolina. First, the study identified those personal
qualities or unique characteristics associated with black leadership.
Secondly, it traced previous leadership experiences of black leaders to
determine the relationship between these experiences and election to
public office. The study suggested and applied a methodological model
for describing and analyzing the emergence process of black elected
leadership.

The subjects were 221 black men and women serving in elected
positions in the state of North Carolina in 1977.

The data were secured from personal interviews and a specially
designed information request mailed to the subjects. The analysis was
guided by a methodological model which described the impact of family,
school, church, and community on the emergence of black elected leaders.

The main finding of the study can be summarized around the
stage-linked process of black leadership emergence. This process con-
ceptualized leadership emergence as a dynamic relationship between a
social actor and his collective environment. The evidence on black

leadership emergence in North Carolina revealed that these leaders progressed from the role of follower-member into the role of leader-member because of certain factors associated with the individual and certain factors associated with the environment.

Results emanating from the data suggested that the potential for leadership was exemplified early in life. Most respondents began to excel within the structure of the black community as early as elementary school and progressed up the ladder of leadership with each opportunity for increased exposure and visibility. Each interaction in the family, school, church, or community provided an opportunity for potential leaders to learn from these experiences. The end result of these interactions and learnings was the election to political office in North Carolina.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife Catherine; to my daughters Debra, Janice, and Velma; and to North Carolina State Senator Henry E. Frye.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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CHAPTER I

A crucial challenge facing state, county, and municipal governments in America is the development of leadership within black and other minority communities. Over the last decade, America has witnessed a phenomenal increase in the number of black men and women serving in elected political positions. The current number of black elected officials, however, represents less than 1 percent of the total number of elected officials in this country.

For several reasons, the impact of these newly elected officials on American society deserves to be studies. First, black leaders as a group are relatively new on the political stage, therefore, little is known about their influence. Second, most of them are inexperienced in public office, and have been selected by the current, inefficient trial-and-error method. Finally, while general studies of black leaders abound, few of them focus on the personal qualities, previous leadership experiences, and the emergence process of black elected leaders as a group.

The state of North Carolina was selected for this study primarily because of its high number of black elected officials. Despite the increasing visibility of newly elected black officials, little is known about their evolution as leaders. The major concern of this investigation was to fulfill the need for an empirical and systematic explanation of the emergence process, previous leadership experiences, and personal qualities of black leaders in North Carolina.

The approach of this investigation is multidimensional. First, it identifies those personal qualities or unique characteristics associated with black elected leadership. Second, it traces previous leadership experiences of black elected officials to determine the relationship between those experiences and election to public office. Finally, and most important, it suggests and applies a methodological model for describing and analyzing the emergence process of black elected leadership. This model can serve as a basis for future research and can facilitate early identification and selection of potential black leaders.

This investigation began with a review of the history of black leadership in the United States, and investigated prior experiences of black leaders, personal factors or qualities associated with black leadership, and the process through which black leaders emerged. The findings of recent studies on black leaders indicated common elements in the previous leadership experiences and personal influence patterns that marked black elected leaders as a group. For example, Hart (1978) argued that "the two basic variables of influence are talent and opportunity to demonstrate these leadership skills in a certain situation" (p. 26). Frazier, in an analysis of black political leadership (1971), found that "one experience common to all black leaders is the black church (p. 42). Conyers and Wallace found many commonalities in the backgrounds of black elected leaders (1971). Their study revealed that black elected leaders had longer residence in the area, higher levels of education, membership in more community organizations and were older

than their white counterparts. Salamon (1973) after a study of the emergence process of black elected leaders in the state of Mississippi, concluded that "these leaders were not complete neophytes." They were individuals with substantial organizational experience who had enjoyed an opportunity to develop contacts and political skills over a number of years (p. 629). The present study seeks to determine the extent to which the findings of these studies hold true for black elected officials in North Carolina.

Although elected officials are not the only source of black leadership in North Carolina, or any state, this limited focus should contribute to a better understanding of black leadership generally and underscore the importance of prior leadership experiences in the emergence of past, present, and future black leaders.

Statement of the Problem

A major motivation for this investigation was the dearth of information concerning black elected leaders in North Carolina. Despite the phenomenal rise and increased visibility of black elected leaders in the state, little is known about them---who they are, their prior developmental experiences, how they emerged, and the commonalities in their emergence patterns and prior experiences.

Initially, there was a need for a systematic inquiry into the process of black leadership emergence. A methodological model which guided this study was presented in the research design (see Chapter III). This model can be used as an instrument to identify incipient leaders and to facilitate their development.

In order to investigate the problem, the following five research questions were formulated:

1. Who were the black men and women serving in elected leadership positions in North Carolina in 1977?

2. What characteristics were common to these elected leaders?

3. What kinds of developmental experiences were common to these elected leaders?

4. Are initial or quasi-leadership characteristics predictive of mature leadership behavior?

5. Can data generated by response to inquiries like the above be utilized in the identification of potential leaders?

Nature of Research

This was a systematic study designed to reveal characteristics, previous leadership experiences and leadership-emergence patterns of black elected leaders. The study utilized both mail survey questionnaires and personal interviews. These provided concrete data, not previously available, on the cadre of black elected officials in North Carolina.

Himes investigated the previous leadership experiences and emergence processes of black social-movement leaders in Zimbabwe, Africa (1976). Zimbabwe is an interracial, multi-cultural country whose dominant, though minority population is white. The Himes model for tracing the leadership-emergence process and classifying the previous leadership experiences of black leaders in Zimbabwe provided a conceptual framework for this study of black elected leaders in North

Carolina. At the time of Himes' study (1976), the Zimbabwean legal structure required a rigid system of residential segregation, educational separation, and employment discrimination. Similar constraints historically hindered black leaders in North Carolina and the nation. Despite these constraints, black leaders emerged both in Zimbabwe and in America, through organizational creation, accession, and nomination, to combat social injustice in the larger society. Himes discovered that persons emerging to positions of leadership in Zimbabwe were the beneficiaries of substantial previous leadership experiences which he defined as initial leadership actions. He subdivided these initial leadership actions into four categories: educational action, services to organization, personal service, and organizational representation.

Himes employed the term "educational action" to refer to actions that informed, explained, justified, persuaded, or in some way affected the knowledge or cognitive orientations of others, usually colleagues in an organization or situation. The Zimbabwean respondents, Himes noted, educated others in the social movement organizations from positions of peership, not leadership.

Himes defined "services to the organization" as unofficial actions of emerging leaders for the benefit of the organization. When an emergent leader instructed colleagues or performed other services that contributed to the survival, stability, or growth of the organization, he gained visibility.

"Service to persons" was defined as those informal or non-instructional actions such as personal counseling, financial

assistance, became a recognized officer. The emergent leader thus moved closer to official recognition when he began to represent the organization.

Review of other literature applicable to black elected leadership revealed similarities between the historical, legal, and social restraints imposed on black leaders in Zimbabwe and in the United States.

Significance of the Study

This study bridged a gap in social research on black elected officials, and contributed to a better understanding of black leaders by describing their previous leadership experiences and the characteristics of their emergence as political leaders.

Furthermore, this research should serve as a basis for the development of current and future black leaders through continuing educational programs designed to prepare them for the changing and challenging tasks of black leadership.

Organization of the Study

Chapter II reviewed the relevant literature associated with black leadership. While general studies of black leaders abound, few focus on their personal qualities, early leadership experiences, and emergence patterns as leaders.

Chapter III described the research design and suggested a methodological model for the study.

Chapter IV gave the presentation, analysis, and interpretation of the data. Research questions were answered, hypotheses were tested, and relationships were presented and documented.

Chapter V presented an overview of the findings, followed by conclusions, recommendations, and educational implications of the study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

While there is an abundance of literature on the subject of leadership, literature on the nature and emergence patterns of black leaders is severely limited. In order to ascertain some of the forces and dynamics which contributed to the emergence of black elected leaders in North Carolina, this review encompassed four major areas which were pertinent to the study: (1) personal factors associated with leadership generally, (b) personal factors associated with black leadership specifically, (c) previous leadership experiences common among all leaders, and (d) previous leadership experiences common among black elected leaders.

Personal Factors Associated with Leadership

Theories about the nature of leadership and those who exercise it usually give primary but not always exclusive emphasis to either the leader, the situation, the group, or some combination of these factors.

Perhaps the oldest view of personal factors associated with leadership was that the leader was able to lead because of some superior physical or intellectual force. His strength, skill, intellect, and courage marked him as the leader because he could overcome any challenges. He provided security for family, clan, tribe, or even nation. Such a leader was always the one to speak and to make decisions while others listened and carried out the decisions.

History records efforts of others to exercise leadership by some claim of superiority. "The divine right of kings" was a view of leadership which resulted from efforts of kings to claim the approval of God for their rule and decisions. Power over others was a right granted solely to heirs of the ruling royal family and those appointed by them to rule. This right of royal family leadership was not supposed to be challenged since it was granted by the will of God.

Some scholars have been impressed with the theory of charisma and charismatic leadership as a tool for explaining personal factors associated with leadership. Yet these scholars have formed no consensus on the scientific worth and precise application of the theory of charismatic leadership. Schiffer (1973) identified the charismatic leader as one whose unique personality was supposedly the true source of leadership effectiveness. Citing studies by Max Weber and others, he defined charisma as an exceptional quality in an individual who, through appearing to possess supernatural, providential, or extraordinary powers, succeeded in gathering disciples around him. Schiffer concluded that despite many contradictions, democratic nations are still tainted with hero worshippers and other forms of charismatic leadership. He asserted that

> charisma lives on and continues to play, as it has in the past, that subtly seductive and at times infantilizing role in today's democratic process. The process has undergone major variations since it was noted and defined by Weber, but the emotional elements of charisma are still very much the same. They are as dynamically alive in mass psych of today as in the past, as latent and ready to be activated as they were three thousand years ago. (Schiffer 1973, pp. 6-7)

On the other hand, Rustow (1970) noted that when we concentrate a study of charisma on leaders in power, we run the risk of error in

identifying a given leader as charismatic. In his view, charismatic
leaders are not always at the center of the movement. He asserted that
"a leader need not achieve power--national or otherwise in order to
qualify as charismatic. What is decisive is whether or not he attracts
a charismatic following and shows a marked tendency to become the center
of a charismatic movement" (p. 78).

This view holds that in order to understand the emergence patterns
of the charismatic leader, one must study his impact on those around him
before he is elevated to office. Scholars advancing this theory suggest
that if a leader personality has genuine charisma, it will begin to mani-
fest itself before the leader becomes politically powerful.

Other scholars have argued that charisma is but one element of
the leadership process. For example, Freeman (1977) suggested that
while it helps if the leader is charismatic, the leader needs an identi-
fiable and meaningful mission, encouragement, understanding of his
failures, and recognition of his successes. Leadership must engender the
joy of shared accomplishment and the prospects for further achievements.
Any person who can evoke this kind of response in followers emerges as
the leader.

Cone (1971) did not use the term charisma. Rather, he viewed
leadership as the force which determines the basic philosophy, purpose,
organizational patterns, and strategies for progress and achievement in
organizations, institutions and groups. According to Cone, leadership
generates, develops, and allocates resources required to attain organiza-
tional goals. It is not dependent upon the efforts or influence of one

charismatic leader. Careful selection and development of the management
team is critical to the survival of institutions, organizations, and
groups.

One of the foremost efforts in the study of leadership was
conducted by Browne and Cohn (1959), who reviewed studies on leadership
in order to select those which appeared to make significant contributions.
Their investigation sought to answer basic questions about the emergence
of leadership: Why are individuals in the group? Why do individuals
accept direction of their activities? Why does the leader arise? How
is the leader to be characterized? Why does the leader lead? What is
the function of the leader? Can all of the various kinds of leaders be
accounted for by the same form of reference?

Browne and Cohn concluded that symbolist or romantic conception
of a leader, although widely prevalent, does not explain the phenomenon.
Leadership represents a magical attempt on the part of the leader to
find security through surrogate relationships resembling those relation-
ships he enjoyed with his parents in childhood. When conceived in terms
of the dynamics of human social behavior, leadership is a function of
needs in a given situation and consists of a relationship, which is
leadership, exists when a leader is perceived by a group as controlling
the means used to satisfy the group's needs.

The leader may emerge as a means to achieve desired objectives
by the group. He may be selected, elected, or accepted by the group

because he possesses or controls the means (skills, knowledge, money, associations, property, etc.) which the group may utilize to attain group objectives.

Alternatively, the leader may appoint himself or be appointed by someone outside the group to be leader. In this instance, leadership is a means of attaining the leader's objectives or the objectives of those who appointed him to office. However, there can be no relationship with the group--no followers--except in terms of the leader's control of means for the satisfaction of the needs of followers. Either the leader's objectives must also be those of the group or accepting the leader's direction must be seen by the group members as the best available means to reduce needs dissatisfaction.

McClelland (1970) conducted a significant study describing personal factors associated with business leaders. He considered these personal motives important because they dispose people to behave in ways which critically affect the performance on many jobs and tasks.

McClelland's investigation revealed that the need to achieve was a key to economic growth. Businessmen concerned with doing things better become active entrepreneurs and create growing business firms which are the foundation of a developing economy. He warned, however, that the person with a high need to achieve is not primarily concerned with helping others. His major concern is with improving his own performance. McClelland concluded that the need for achievement alone does not prepare a person for effective leadership. As a firm grows, it requires organizational structure, division of labor, and relationships among people. McClelland inferred that if leadership is a

relationship between the leader and the led, people inadvertently influence other people. Organizations cannot function without some kind of authority relationship.

Another view of the personal factors of leadership and the relationship between leadership and followship was expressed by Blake and Mouton, (1968). This research team made a study of over 5,000 leaders in business and industry over a number of years. The purpose of their investigation was to determine what organization is and to examine problems and possibilities involved in improving it. They were able to suggest certain universal characteristics of organizations regardless of product or line of work:

First, each organization must have a purpose. The purpose may not always be easy to identify. Furthermore, the purpose for which the organization exists may not be the same as the purpose people have for joining the organization or remaining in it. The second characteristic of organization is people. No organization is without them if it were possible to replace people with technology, it is unlikely that the word organization would be used. The third attribute of organization is hierarchy. In short, each organization must have structure, some division of labor, and some identifiable relationships between the leader and the led.

Blake and Mouton further suggested that every manager carries the responsibility for achieving results through people. Thus the manager's job is to perfect a culture which (1) promotes and sustains efficient performance at levels of highest quality and quantity, (2) fosters and utilizes creativity, (3) stimulates enthusiasm for effort,

experimentation, innovation, and change, (4) takes educational advantage from interaction situations, and (5) looks for and finds new challenges.

These scholars advocated utilization of a management grid as an instrument for helping leaders overcome the management dilemma. The grid is based on the degree of "concern" present in the leader. The leader's actions are rooted in and flow out of his own basic attitudes. Dimensions of the grid make it possible for a leader to make a personal inventory of the degree of his concern for getting things done or improving relationships with people. The significance of this study is its implications for helping leaders understand the system of pressures acting on the individual which causes him to behave in a certain fashion. Such pressures arise from inside the leader himself, from the immediate external situation, and from unique characteristics of the organizational system. A final conclusion of the study is that, through educational effort, an entire system can change its culture and raise itself toward organization excellence.

Several early theorists advanced the view that leadership emerged by virtue of an individual's abilities and skills, enabling him to solve social problems in times of stress, change and adaptation. As early as 1938, A. Jones made an extensive investigation of the biographies of world leaders. The purpose of his study was to determine which personal leadership characteristics were indicative of future achievement as national leaders, especially those emerging during the youthful years of his subjects. Jones cited a comprehensive list of youthful leaders throughout history, from artists to voluntary statesmen. Among elements deemed important in this study of world leaders during youth were

socioeconomic (home) background;

intelligence, expressed in terms of I.Q.;

emotional drive, including vitality and efficiency, and

balance or control; social ideals, including lawfulness and

social-mindedness; and school performance, including last

grade completed and record in academic subjects.

It should be noted that these are not considered traits, but leadership elements that many consider important in the selection of young people who are likely to become leaders. Leadership theorists no longer explain leadership solely in terms of the individual or the group. This study is of value only to the extent that it suggests several consistent patterns of a leader's personal factors linked to group performance.

Hart (1978), in his ranking of the 100 most influential persons in history, developed a theory of leadership using two basic variables-- talent and opportunity. He suggested that persons included in his listing of world leaders emerged primarily because of innate capacity and the opportunity to demonstrate these leadership skills in certain situations.

Several writers have sought to explain how a single man can exercise control over a large group of people or how one man can control another. Many scholars have suggested that the answer is power. Studies of social power are concerned with the means whereby, and the extent to which, a leader can influence the behavior of followers. Burns (1978) observed the actions of a number of national political leaders. He was concerned with understanding power as that force

which enabled a person to take actions that are desired by others. Burns admitted that "no one has mastered the secrets of personal power in the way that physicists have penetrated the atom. If anyone knew all about power, how to create it, how to destroy it, then that person would be almighty" (p. 12). He inferred that leadership requires an understanding of the essence of power because it is a special form of personal power. It is the ingredient that gives one person the ability to take needed action in a given situation. Burns further argued that all leaders are actual or potential power holders but all power holders are not leaders. Leadership, unlike naked power wielding, is inseparable from followers' needs and goals. There is, in effect, a symbiotic relationship between the leader and the led. Leaders and followers are dependent on each other to achieve their shared goals. Burns (1978) argued that leadership must have a transforming effect. Transforming leadership occurs when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality. Perhaps the best modern example is Mahatma Gandhi, who aroused and elevated the hopes and demands of millions of Indians, and whose life and personality were enhanced in the process. Transforming leadership is dynamic leadership in the sense that the leaders throw themselves into a relationship with followers who will feel elevated by it and often become more active themselves, thereby creating new cadres of leadership.

Himes (1976) described social movement power by stipulating its four salient components: the first is potential power, which involves taking chances, exercising abilities, or exerting influence; second, power is socially significant only when it exists within a social

relationship; it must be mobilized and injected into a relationship in order to cause change in behavior. Third, power is exercised in a relationship of push and resistance; and fourth, some change always ensues from the commitment of power in social relations. To sum up: power, in Himes' view, becomes a resource that must be identified or discovered, mobilized, injected into a relationship, and managed.

Getting things done through people is an important facet of any leader's job. An effective leader must be able to identify power resources--tangible, intangible, or personal, extract them from their source, mobilize them and manage the relationship in order to achieve the desired results.

Several writers have suggested that one quality of effective leadership is interpersonal communications. Deep (1978) asserted: "It should be obvious that management's responsibilities of effective leadership and good communications are inseparable" (p. 107). Fulmore (1977) argued: "People who are poor readers are at a distinct disadvantage in today's business world. The average business leader spends at least four hours each day reading reports, documents, memoranda and articles" (p. 106). Other scholars including Mintzberg (1973) and Dubin (1962) have found that the leader's work is primarily oral. These studies would suggest that the successful leader must be able selectively to hear, retain, read, and transmit vast quantities of oral and written communications, and that this capacity should be developed prior to the selection or election to positions of leadership. This factor must be considered in any study of leadership emergence.

The analysis of leadership indicated a major weakness in theories that leadership is solely based on personal traits, innate abilities, or charisma. Leadership is not the exclusive possession of one person; rather, the skills, potential, education, needs, and unique prejudices of the group members determine who performs the leadership function.

On the other hand, historically, black leaders have been denied strong institutional or economic bases which serve as available power resources in the black community. The major source of power in the black community is personal influence, voting strength, and the ability to understand and articulate critical issues. The black leader is dependent on personal influence and popular approval of his actions.

Personal Factors Associated with

Black Leaders

A review of relevant literature, both published and unpublished, revealed an exhaustive list of theories purporting to explain the emergence of black leadership and those unique previous leadership experiences and characteristics that mark black elected leaders as a group. In most instances, writers were not clear or specific regarding this personal leadership resource base or how these leaders emerged from obscurity into the limelight. For example, Frazier (1971) argued that the black political leader draws his power primarily from the black church. He suggested that because blacks were excluded from the political life of the American community, the black church become the arena of black political activity. The church was, in Frazier's view, the main area of social life in which blacks could aspire to become leaders.

It was there that ambitious individuals could achieve distinction, status, and power. The black church, because of its numbers, was the arena in which the struggle and thirst for power could be satisfied. This was especially important to black men who had never been able to assert themselves and assume dominant male roles, even in family relations, as defined by American culture. Although whites denied blacks the right to vote in the American community, within the black church they could vote and engage in the election of their officers. Because the black was an outsider in the American community, it was the black church that enlisted his deepest loyalties. Frazier concluded that outside the family, the black church was the most significant organization in black life and represented a major power resource for the black political leader.

Lincoln (1974), a black sociologist, supported Frazier's view. Lincoln claimed that "without question, the black religious leader has proved to be a most dynamic source and symbol of the power of black leadership" (p. 115). He characterized the black church as the spiritual face of the black community; whether one was a member of the church or not was beside the point in any assessment of the importance and meaning of the black church in the emergence or black leadership.

Lincoln (1974) further stated that

> the social identity of the black American as well as his
> self-perception are still to an important degree reflected
> through the prism of his religious identity. His pastor,
> his church, his office in the church or merely his denomi-
> nation are important indices of who he is. The black church
> then, is, in a sense, a universal church claiming and
> representing all blacks out of a long tradition that looks
> back to the time when there was only the black church to
> bear witness to who or what a man was as he stood at the
> bar of the community.

The black church, according to Lincoln, is still the key that unlocks
the door to power in the black community.

On the other hand, several scholars have pointed to the de-
creasing importance of the black church as an arena for black leadership
emergence. These scholars suggested that the professional leader has
increased in importance in black and other minority communities. The
professional leader has been described as one who devotes his energies
to providing technical direction and ideological guidance to minority-
based organizations and associations. Myrdal and Sterner (1944)
summarized the situation as follows:

> As a class, Negro preachers are losing influence, because they
> are not changing as fast as the Negro community. This is now on
> the verge of becoming a most serious problem, endangering the
> future of the Negro church. Young people have begun to look down
> on the old-fashioned Negro preacher. It is difficult to see how
> the continuing decline of the minister's prestige and leadership
> can be stopped. Few college students are going into the ministry.
> The ministry is no longer a profession that attracts the brightest
> and most ambitious young Negroes. The development under way will
> take a long time to manifest its complete effects. But it goes
> on and will spell the further decline of the Negro church as an
> active influence in the Negro community (pp. 875-876).

The rationale for this theory was that black professional
elitists have gained control over many basic services in the minority
community and that the community has become increasingly dependent on
the professional leader to meet certain essential community needs. As
the influence of the professional leader increases, the personal influ-
ence of the theological leader declines.

Another theory purporting to explain the emergence process of
the black political leader has been advanced by Huggins (1978), who
describes the black leadership experience as "a leadership of

personality". He cites three unique characteristics that mark the black
political leader:

1. He did not derive his power from a democratic source

2. He was a self-styled exemplar

3. His position was tenuous and vulnerable

First, citing Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington, he said

> neither was a product of the democratic process, nor were they
> chosen by their people to be spokesmen. Rather, it was as if
> one day Afro-Americans awoke to find someone who everyone
> agreed was their leader and who no one in his right mind would
> challenge (p. 97).

Since there was no effective political apparatus for blacks, how could
it have been otherwise?

Second, Huggins (1978) said that the role and goal of black
leaders was the uplifting of a downtrodden people. Black leaders served
as exemplars, presenting themselves as living proof that blacks could
perform as citizens in ways that were above reproach. They could serve
blacks as a symbol of racial pride and self-esteem. This exemplary
characteristic of black leadership, however, was based on assumptions
of racial inferiority;

> not a constitutional or genetic inferiority of Blacks to Whites,
> but a recogntion that the present status of Blacks was marked
> by a lack of education, industrial skills, cultural refinements
> and experiences in government. It presumed the need to uplift.
> Necessarily, such leaders were often cast as apologists for the
> race (p. 97).

The third unique feature of black leadership cited by Huggins,
derived from the other two, but it was the role of paragon or model
that was to place special limits on the Afro-American leader. His was
a pivotal position of power.

He had to be acceptable to polite society, but not threatening to decorum and order. He was to demonstrate to Whites that Blacks could be respected and successful citizens and set an example for other Blacks of prosperity, decency and achievement.

Himes (1973), a black sociologist, formulated the emergence of leadership in different terms. He argued that leaders in social movements emerge through a process of "challenge and response within the vortex of conflict". Black leaders provide a unique example of social movement leaders. Himes suggested that the personality resources of a participant are challenged by the exciting events of struggle. He asserted that

> the experience of struggle brings forth and accelerates the maturation and recognition of behavioral potentials already within the individual. Among other things, the latent behavioral materials that are challenged by conflict may include a temperamental flare for danger and excitement, intellectual skills of various kinds, or humanitarian and service orientations. In the flux of action, the individual develops new behavioral patterns and forges these earlier learnings into a new social role adjusted to both his unique talents and to the demands of the social movement (p. 41).

Himes identified three structural situations within which social leadership emerges:

1. Through the unstructured milieu of agitation, protest, and collective action, the incipient leader emerges in the vortex of struggle creating a social movement with himself as the head.

2. The leader may join an organization early and work his way to the top by the process of organizational accession, and his leadership is later confirmed by election, appointment, crowning, or some other formal group ceremony.

3. Leaders may be chosen and confirmed by influential outsiders such as mass media, dominant groups, or the government which may, thereby nominate a certain person to be leader of a minority or subordinate group.

Black political scientist Cook (1973) suggested that black political leadership emerged in part because of deficiencies in the political system itself. Said Cook, "In the American context, violence simply will be counterproductive as an instrument for social change" (p. 292). Citing Martin Luther King, he asserted,

> Violence is a disaster for all. From the long perspective of
> history, a new factor in the equation of Blacks in the American
> political system is that today Blacks can take the initiative
> to formulate and press issues and help define the terms of
> public dialogue and agenda. The ability to take the initiative
> is a striking development of immense significance. It means
> that Blacks can be creative participants and subjects rather
> than mere objects and victims of the political process (p. 292).

The recent surge in black elected leadership is in part the result of blacks' insistence on acting rather than merely reacting and their desperate search to identify, define, and dramatize the issues for public discourse, priority, and decisions.

Bennett (1964) concluded that black leaders emerge because of an accumulation of advantages on the part of the potential leader. Bennett stated that these leaders seem to be governed by the biblical rule: "to them that have more will be given" (p. 27). What this means in terms of national black power is that influence in one sphere can be transformed into influence in another.

Prominent educators and bishops, for example, are often invited to serve on boards of other major organizations. They have learned over

the years to play established games by established rules. According to this view, leaders in the black community are those who have been invited to occupy a seat in the inner sanctum of the power structure. Without access to institutional power, the would-be black leader is powerless in both the black and white communities.

Altshuler (1970) investigated the relationship between the demands for community control in the black community and the emergence of black elected leadership. After a study of the widespread demands for citizen participation in America's largest cities, he concluded that black leadership arose out of a desire to gain control in the black community. Recent calls for black pride and black power have struck responsive chords among the black masses.

Black leaders no longer believe that black masses can be mobilized around the remote goal of integration alone. Popular followings are secured and maintained by focusing on more immediate desires--jobs, physical security, better schools, better housing, and more sympathetic treatment from public servants.

Altshuler (1970) viewed community control as one way of building political competence in the black community. He asserted:

> We may hope, however, that community control will help cement the American union by providing an adequate outlet for racial plura- lism. We may hope that it will help build Black confidence in, and understanding of, our political institutions. We may hope that over time it will provide a mechanism for increasing competence throughout the Black community (p. 210).

Ladd (1966) made an extensive study of black leadership in the
South and described it as "issue-oriented leadership". He asserted
that,

> lacking an institutional base and given the intensity with which
> the cause of racial advancement is held by Negroes, Negro leader-
> ship is dependent on the approval of their handling of issues
> related to race advancement (pp. 3-4).

His study revealed that black leadership exists because blacks
as an ethnic group are conscious of themselves in competition with other
ethnic groups for scarce resources. Leadership must reflect the pre-
dicament of the followers. This means in part that black leaders must
somehow relate to the patterns of race relations in the larger community.
The goals they pursue, the means they use, the difficulties they face,
and the resources at their command are all linked to relationships
between the races.

This concern for changing issues causes black leaders to be
vulnerable. They have to run harder and faster than wheir white counter-
parts to keep up with the issue orientations of their constituencies
and to maintain their positions. The study concluded that persons
considered leaders in the black community were those able to make
decisions concerning the choice of race objectives.

Wilson (1960) made a study of black politics in five larger
cities of the North. He divided black leadership into two groups:
the old established order and the new issue-oriented leader. The old
order was represented by a group of accepted and prestige leaders. It
was composed of men and women who (1) had arrived in terms of
occupational acceptance, (2) had a mass following, (3) were highly

respected in their professions, (4) were prepared to speak out on almost every issue, (5) could claim to speak for the entire community, and (6) were leaders in other community organizations such as the Urban League and the NAACP. Typical goals were paternalistic and included such things as better schools, public accomodations, and better jobs.

According to Wilson (1960), the new issue-oriented leaders emerged because of an interest or competence in issues which affected the black population. These new black leaders spoke about health, housing, employment, recreation, and education, but they did not speak for the entire community. As the influence of these leaders increased, that of the ministers and old established leaders decreased. New black leaders were more professional than charismatic. As a group, they were usually middle-class and more militant. Wilson described them as organizational or civic leaders because they worked for and contributed to the work of organizations. They were described as professionals because they brought to the organization and the community skills which previously had not been found in abundance in the black community. They portrayed a high degree of sophistication in the ways of the world. In Wilson's view, these black leaders emerged because of their ability to deal with the issues.

Nowlin (1970) supported the view that black leadership is issue-oriented. Nowlin investigated the activities and positions of blacks in Congress, the national conventions, the presidential campaigns, and those in federal administration since 1860. He concluded that since 1860 black leaders have emerged because they were able to articulate

and emphasize the demands of the group. He cited the work of the NAACP as one example of how black politicians determine needs and articulate the concerns of the group. His study revealed that it has always been the business of the NAACP to teach blacks the three elementary truths in politics:

1. It is the first duty of the candidates for public office to tell their constituents what they stand for.

2. It is the first duty of any person, black or white, to know the attitude of candidates on matters affecting his interest before he votes for or against him.

3. Whenever any man is voting for a candidate whose beliefs and interest he does not know, that voter endangers the very foundation of republican government (p. 131).

The NAACP uses two effective methods in carrying out its programs. To assess group interest, it utilizes a questionnaire to determine the attitudes of such public officials as the president, senators, and members of Congress. Additionally, it gives advice to blacks regarding candidates for election and keeps members informed of specific goals to be reached during the political campaign. Those who do not understand the issues or who lack ability to articulate these issues to the satisfaction of the constituents experience difficulty in the leadership emergence process.

Barker and McCorry (1976) advanced a different theory in an attempt to explain the emergence of the black elected leader. They investigated the American political system and how blacks as a group have fared in the political system. The researchers concluded that

blacks emerged as political leaders, both elected and appointed, because of a need to survive. They suggested that the political system itself forced black leaders to emerge. American society, in their view, has not lived up to the ideals it espouses and transmits from generation to generation. For this reason, blacks were forced to utilize political influence in their effort to seek a better correlation between the ideas espoused by the system and the realities of their daily lives. Blacks emerged as political leaders when they realized that it was in the political arena that critical decisions were made and scarce resources were allocated. Baker and McCorry (1976) asserted: "Blacks, more than others, recognize the day-to-day problems of survival their constituents have, and they feel constant pressure for immediate relief (p. 23). These scholars suggested that black leaders view the political process as the most logical channel for overcoming problems of survival and enter the struggle to help solve critical problems through the political process of bargain and compromise.

Perhaps the most important implication of this and other studies of personal factors associated with black elected leadership is that, while it is helpful if the leader has charisma and a multiplicity of other leadership skills, the consistently effective leader must possess those skills essential to the attainment of group goals. Leadership effectiveness is dependent in part upon the ability to perceive when and in what ways the leader must adjust his role.

Previous Leadership Experiences

Common Among All Leaders

Over the last decade, there has been a significant amount of research concerning those factors within the individual and the environment which contribute to the leadership emergence process. Scholars were concerned that traits alone could not be used as reliable predictors of leadership emergence.

Stogdill (1974) conceptualized leadership in terms of the leader's ability to participate in activities and to demonstrate a capacity for expediting the work of the group. Leadership implies activity, measurement, and getting things done. According to Stogdill,

> the leader is a person who occupies a position of responsibility in coordinating the activities of the members of the group in their task of attaining a common goal. A person does not become a leader by virtue of possession of some combination of traits. The pattern of personal characteristics must bear some relevant relationship to the characteristics, activities and goals of the followers (p. 93).

Bass (1981) expanded on the earlier studies of Stogdill and revealed that "to emerge as a leader, one must participate; to remain acceptable to others as a leader, one must exhibit competence". His conclusions were that the willingness of group members to accept a potential leader's influence depended on the potential leader's competence, source of authority, concern for group members' goals, and perceived commitment to participation in group activities.

Other scholars have found prior leadership experience essential to leadership emergence. In a comprehensive study of initial leadership acts and group motivation to attain group goals, Hemphill and Pepinsky (1955) found strong association between attempted leadership and overall

participation in group activities. They agreed that group members tend to participate to a considerable degree if earlier they have been successful in influencing others to cope effectively with group problems. Group members also tend to participate when the rewards for mutual problem solving seem high and when there is a reasonable expectation that these initial attempts to lead will result in contributions to task accomplishment.

Findings seemed to indicate that persons who emerge as leaders have exhibited initiative by attempting to influence the group and have demonstrated an innate capacity to help solve group problems.

A convincing body of recent research has suggested that leaders emerge because of the quantity and quality of their communications. Theorists have argued that the silent member of a group has little influence on others in the group. Bass (1981) did extensive research on the leaderless group. His research revealed that the group member who emerges as leader tends to exhibit a high rate of activity in the initiation of structure and in directing the activity of others. He concluded that the mere quantity of this activity, which includes receiving, processing and transmitting information, increases his or her chances of emerging as a leader.

While most scholars seemed to agree that the quantity of oral communications and other activity was a major contributor to leadership emergence, a few scholars, including Sorrentino and Boutillier (1975), inferred that the quality of a member's participation is a better indicator of the member's competence to influence group opinion and contribute toward the attainment of group goals. These scholars further

suggested that the amount of verbal interaction may predict emergent leadership because it is a clear indication of the group members' intentions or motivation. They caution that one may be high in motivation but unable to lead. The best combination of emergent leadership predictors, in their view, is the member who exhibits a unique competence in both the quality and quantity of verbal communications.

Several studies have been made on the relationship between technical competence and leadership emergence. For example, Hollander (1960) made an extensive study of the relationship between competence and influence. His studies revealed that when groups are given specific tasks, leaders are evaluated with respect to their competence. He suggested that the "wind bag" or compulsive talker lacking in interpersonal or task competence will fail in attempts to emerge as leader of the group. Thus, persons who emerge as leaders must possess needed technical leadership competencies, which include being a good facilitator, enabling others to make an effective contribution, being skilled in handling the inner working of the group, maintaining activities on a relatively smooth course, giving directions to activity, and acquainting followers with their role in the main effort. In addition to the quantity of participation on the part of any group member, the potential leader must exhibit the competence to give guidance to the other group members concerning their jobs, to discriminate between good and bad performance, and to evaluate that performance. Bass (1981) expanded on Hollander's findings, when he stated that

> leaders emerge in part because of their ability and motivation
> to estimate accurately the group's attitudes, motives and current

levels of effectiveness. It's not enough for leaders to know how
to identify what followers want, when they want it and to know
what prevents them from getting what they want (p. 111).

The person who can help to identify the answers to these questions usually

emerges as a leader.

The question of who is emerging as leader or gaining leadership

status within the group is a constant concern for group members who are

interested in shaping the group interested in shaping the group's process

or being elected to a leadership position in the group. Stein, Geis and

Damarin (1973) investigated the perception of emergent leaders in task

groups. Video tapes of group meetings were shown to 149 undergraduates

who were asked to guess the order that the group would rank its members

on five selected leadership items. One purpose of the study was to de-

termine the "why" of emergent leadership or to seek the type of verbal

behavior that distinguishes emergent leaders from their fellow group

members. This study revealed that skill on the part of the group members

was essential in the higher rating received by outside observers and in

the potential leader's ability to influence the group and bring about

group change. While participation was not the only answer for leadership

emergence, the investigators concluded that leaders and non-leaders are

distinguished by their overall rates of participation to a greater degree

than previously was realized. In fact, the group members' rates of

participation seemed to be an extremely strong cue for the observer in

perceiving both task and socioemotional leadership behavior.

Schneier (1978) extended the contingency model of leadership of

Fiedler (1967) to emergent leadership and leaders. While Fiedler's

theory was confined to appointed leadership, Schneier extended the model to other settings in which leadership occurs. The contingency model attempted to predict the type of leadership style that would be most effective depending on the amount of power and influence a leader possesses in a given task situation. The findings supported a social process and social interaction explanation of leadership emergence. His analysis of leadership behavior showed that emergent leaders were characterized as more task oriented than relationship oriented. Leaders who were subjects of the study did not seem to fulfill their secondary goal of orientation or cementing interpersonal relationships even in favorable situations. The leaders were not as flexible as nonleaders. Emergent leaders were characterized as being interested in achievement and as having a high capacity for status, traits which intuitively would relate to their interest in becoming leaders.

Firestone, Lichtman and Colamosca (1975) investigated the relationship between individual assertiveness and leadership conferral. The study was designed to test the ability of an individual within a group to react to an emergency. The medical emergency was selected because such emergencies or crises require a centralization of leadership. The researchers found that persons who emerge as leaders during a medical crisis are members possessing qualities, skills, and resources necessary for group locomotion. They further concluded that the person designated as leader during a medical emergency is the one who demonstrates the assertiveness to guide group progress and move toward a solution. The manner in which the leader comes to power, appointed or selected, is unimportant.

A recent landmark study of leadership emergence from a political perspective was conducted by Bryson and Kelley (1978), who analyzed the cluster of variables affecting leadership emergence in the political arena. They were concerned with variables or prior experiences which gave potential leaders the prerequisites to be supported by a necessary majority. Variables affecting leadership emergence from a political perspective are described in Table 1. Based on their analysis of variables affecting leadership emergence, the investigators were able to list what they considered to be the central variables within each cluster.

Personality and skill of the leader were found to be the most important individual and overall variables (Table 1). In addition, the leader's position must be secure in his home unit; he must have substantial seniority and his ideologies must be central to the group.

Level of position was considered to be related to the potential leader's stage of development. Since strength and capacity increase with complexity of task, the pattern of succession up the leadership hierarchy must be one step at a time and is central to the processual variable. The stage in leadership development also is related to leadership vulnerability.

Level of position within the hierarchy was seen as the most important structural variable (Table 1). The greater the complexity of the network, and the more leadership posts available, the greater the centralization and formalization of the network. As leadership positions are arranged hierarchically, more power is attached to

Table 1

A Political Perspective on Leadership Emergence,

Stability, and Change in Organizational Networks

Individual	Processual	Structural	Environmental
Coalition membership	Pattern of succession	Level of position	Binding performance reviews
Ideology	Nature of accession to office	Differences in network structure: complexity, centralization, formalization	Involvement by major outside actors
Constituency	State of leadership development	Coalitions: relative strengths and weaknesses	Interest group activity
Seniority	Degree of internal leadership involvement	Membership expectations	Media influences
Personality and skill			General external environment

Note: From, <u>Leadership in Congress</u> by R. L. Peabody (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976); also from, "On the nature, formation, and maintenance of relations among organization" by A. H. Van de Ven, <u>Academy of Management Review</u>, 1976, <u>3</u>, 34-53.

positions at the top. The general external environmental variable seemed to affect leadership primarily through its effect on organizational structure variables.

The Bryson and Kelley study (1978) was critical to this investigation since it described an emergence process for political and other leaders in organizations where membership or the general public plays an important role in the leadership selection process. It also explained in part why mavericks, rookies, and others who aspire to public leadership roles may lack the necessary prerequisites to capture power and hold it.

Many scholars have suggested that community leadership in other organizations is more important than education in determining political activity within a community. For example Pilisak (1970) investigated the relationship between community participation and community influence. He compiled a list of 434 organizations in a community of 50,000. Of 1,677 executives in these organizations, 1,368 held a position in one organization and 26 executives occupied positions in four or more organizations; the latter were compared with 26 executives occupying only one position. The multiorganizational leaders were mentioned by both groups of 26 leaders as being more influential on actual and theoretical issues. They were regarded as more powerful and were named more often as social and business friends. The multiorganizational leaders were found to constitute a powerful network of influence relationships. The leaders were also better informed about community issues than highly educated nonleaders. This study is significant

because it suggested a positive relationship between substantial community participation and emergence to positions of elected leadership.

Previous Leadership Experiences Common Among
Black Elected Leaders

Given the phenomenal increase and influence of black elected leadership since passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, researchers have devoted much time and many resources looking at the previous leadership experiences of this new cadre of black leaders. These studies have been concerned with the influence of previous work and life experiences, organizational affiliations, and voluntary associations.

One such analysis of the historical origins of the black political leader was made by Frazier (1971), who devoted a substantial portion of his career to the study of black institutions, the black family, and the black church. Frazier suggested that because blacks were barred from full and equal participation in any of the other public institutions of this country, they developed their own family and religious life. The black church became a nation within a nation and emerged as an arena for black leadership training and political activity.

Frazier (1971) stated that "one experience common to most black leaders is the black church" (p. 42), and that the black leader drew his power primarily from the black church. The church was and continues to be for many the main area of social life in the black community. The black church became the community center where

ambitious individuals could achieve distinction and wear the symbols of status. The black church has always had political meaning for the mass of black people, within the church they could vote and engage in a variety of political activities. Participation in and support of the black church historically has been, and continues to be an important element in black leadership emergence.

Dean (1973) also illustrated the importance of the black church in the election of black officials. He made a case study of events leading to the election of a black mayor in Prichard, Alabama. After discussing the importance of staff organization, political education, campaign schedules, and media publicity, Dean concluded:

> Black churches contained the only viable public meeting facilities, and this fitted well into the strategy of involving their leaders in as much campaign activity as possible. Two church rallies were planned during the latter part of the campaign by the progressive organized workers of Prichard, a citizens organization that had been a constant supporter of the campaign. Also, the candidates were scheduled to appear at three churches on the last Sunday before the campaign, and senior staff members were scheduled to visit all churches to speak and pass out literature (p. 14).

This case study suggested that without the support of the black church, Algernon Johnson Cooper might never have been elected as the first black mayor of Prichard.

Stone (1978) examined the impact of prior leadership experiences on the emergence of black elected leadership in the city of Chicago. His investigation revealed that some kind of prior leadership experience or political apprenticeship was needed in order for black potential leaders to emerge as elected officials. Prior campaign involvement, community leadership, and tenure in local party office-holding were a part of the backgrounds of most black office-holders in the city. The data revealed

a moderately strong relationship between prior leadership activity and emergence to elective office. Office-holders who were involved in minor political campaigns prior to seeking elective office were more likely to be elected and move up the hierarchy to positions of more status.

In addition to involvement in political activity, more than half of the respondents had a history of community leadership. While the survey indicated that most incumbents in federal and state offices were never major leaders in their respective communities, more than half of those serving at the municipal, county, and regional levels had played key roles as community leaders before assuming elective positions.

Some researchers view this increased emphasis on community-based leadership as causing a decline in the importance and influence of the black church leadership experience. Wilson (1960) for example, saw a decline in the influence of the black church experience in his study of black elected officials in Chicago. His study revealed new issue-oriented leadership in the black community. This new cadre of black leaders had gained substantial leadership experience by becoming involved in critical community issues such as health, recreation, employment, education and housing. These new leaders were known as organizational men and demonstrated a unique professional competence in relevant issues.

The results of Wilson's investigation were validated in part by a later study done by Ladd (1966), who made an extensive investigation of black elected leadership in Winston-Salem, N. C. He discovered that black leadership in the South is issue-oriented leadership. Since the emergence of black leadership is dependent on the ability of the

potential leader to handle the issues, the would-be leader must be in-
volved in those community activities that give high visibility and
result in community approval of his ability to articulate the issues.
In his view, the black church can no longer claim a monopoly as the
training arena for black political leadership development.

Altshuler (1970) examined the relationship between the demands
for black community control and the emergence of black political leader-
ship. Altshuler (1970) concluded that "most black leaders do not
believe that black masses can be mobilized around the remote goal of
integration alone. Popular followings are secured and maintained by
focusing on more immediate desires" (p. 55). He suggested that prior
to formal emergence as elected officials, the potential leader must
have demonstrated his ability to organize and assist the local community
in its efforts to attain such immediate goals as better jobs, schools,
physical security, and more sympathetic treatment from public servants.
The new issue-oriented leader must be a person of substantial prior
leadership in church, community, or professional organizations at the
local level.

Bennett (1964) stated that black leaders emerged in part because
of an accumulation of prior leadership experiences and other advantages.
He suggested that "influence in one sphere can be transferred to influ-
ence in another sphere" (p. 25). Bennett asserted that "prominent
educators and church leaders for example, often transfer this leadership
experience and influence to positions as establisment leaders" (p. 27).

His research indicated that before blacks were invited to serve
in influential elected leadership positions, they had learned through

prior leadership experiences how to play established games by established rules. Prior leadership positions serving as a training ground for black leadership, according to his investigation, included masonic groups, the NAACP, community-based protest groups, trustee boards of black institutions such as banks, insurance companies, and businesses, advisory boards and commissions, local political groups, professional organizations, and black fraternities and sororities.

A limited number of scholars minimize the impact of both the black church and prior leadership experiences in the emergence of black elected leadership. Jones (1977) argued that favorable population distribution and voting strength were the major contributors to the phenomenal rise in black elected leadership in the South. He concluded that the Voting Rights Act of 1965 enabled the black community to capitalize on the favorable population and voting strength of the rural South and win election in record numbers.

Many scholars have argued that the recent upsurge in black elected leadership has been in response to perceived defects in the political system. Cook (1973) suggested:

> There is a profound feeling in the Black community and among Black leadership that the issues of greatest concern to the Black community are being ignored. There is a deep conviction of insensitivity and indifference to the Black agenda. Many Blacks feel that not only is there a failure to consolidate the great gains of the Civil Rights Movement, but that these gains are being eroded by a variety of forces (p. 293).

Cook concluded that many of these defects are in the political system itself.

Other writers have argued that a training ground for this new group of elected political leaders was the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's. Leventman (1966) suggested:

> The current Civil Rights Movement has brought to the fore the whole problem of leadership at the subsocietal level. It has also increased awareness of the social forces and dynamics producing leadership so that even laymen are less willing to attribute the ability to lead a movement or a community to fortuitous, mystical, or completely unique factors (p. 371).

Thus leadership in the minority community is viewed increasingly as a vehicle for influencing the economic and social issues of the community. Community leadership during the Civil Rights Movement provided an opportunity for many members of a previously depressed class of citizens to make their own agreements with the power structure and to gain substantial organizational experience for elective leadership roles in the future.

The Joint Center for Political Studies made an extensive study of the 150 black mayors serving in 1975 (Profiles of Black Mayors, 1977). The purpose of the study was to find out more about who the black mayor was, where he came from, and the sources of the power exercised by this group of elected officials. It was revealed that the typical black mayor is the following:

Male (only 10 were women)

51 years old (median age)

A Democrat (only 16 were Republican)

A Baptist

Born in the South (76 percent were born in one of the 17 Southern states)

Still living in the state in which he was born (58 percent)

A person with 15 years of education

A married man with children and no previous marriages

Serving his first four-year term

A part-time mayor with other employment

The town in which this mayor serves is likely to;

Be in the South (61 percent in 1975)

Have fewer than 5,000 residents (95 of the 150 mayors had

fewer); and

Have a majority of black residents (107 of the towns were 50

percent or more black)

This study served as one barometer of black political leaders. The accounts of their experiences and collective struggles should assist in the identification and guidance for other potential leaders in the minority community.

Conyers and Wallace (1976) conducted the first comprehensive study of all black elected officials in the United States. They saw black elected officials as crucial to the black community and the nation. In their view, these officials serve as a manifestation of the advances of black communities and as a guarantee that these advances will continue. While the study represented the first nation wide attempt to study the black elected official, it utilized much of the relevant data made available by The Joint Center for Political Studies.

The purposes of the study were to reveal new information about black elected officials as a group and to provide information designed

to increase the number and service quality of this new group of public servants. Specific study objectives were to study (a) the beliefs and motivations of the black elected official, (b) the personal backgrounds common to this group, (c) the types of offices held, and (d) the impact and expectations of black elected officials as a group as well as the relationship between the elected leader's beliefs and his motivation for seeking political office.

When the study was begun in 1971, 1,860 black men and women were holding office in the United States. By the time the study was completed in 1974, 2,991 blacks were holding elective positions. Despite this phenomenal increase, blacks represented only six-tenths of 1 percent of the 520,000 elected officials in the United States.

The study revealed that while the proportion of black elected leadership was still small and token, it represented a unique force of unquestioned power to make and enforce critical decisions and carry high prestige in the public eye. In the area of political beliefs, the study revealed that while black elected leaders considered mass demonstrations and violence as an alternative when peaceful methods failed, a majority (89 percent) considered institutionalized methods as most important. This same group considered working through established political channels, with the exception of business, as the most effective approach to progress.

While black elected officials and many whites (70 percent black and 26 percent white) saw democracy as limited in the United States, the major motivations for seeking office were to correct social injustice

in the democratic system and to have an opportunity to operate on the inside of the establishment. The same held true for both men and women.

Personal backgrounds of black elected officials in this study showed many characteristics common to black elected leaders cited in other sections of this review. The black leaders had longer residence in the area, higher education, membership in more community organizations, and were older than their white counterparts.

Black elected officials in general perceived that the most help during any given campaign came from their own race. Black grass-roots community support was deemed much more important than party or media support. These leaders argued that when strong support came from whites, they were shunned by the black community and when strong support came from the black community, they were likewise shunned by the whites. These findings illustrate the complex problems faced by the black elected official in maintaining identity with those who elected him to office.

The findings of Conyers and Wallace (1976) suggest that through black elected officials the black community has come to wield significant direct political influence in the past 10 years. This power easily can be crushed and representative government endangered unless these leaders are studied and trained.

One study designed to investigate the emergence patterns of black political leaders in the South was conducted by Salamon (1973). His study was confined to those serving in official elective positions in Mississippi between 1965 and 1970. The purpose of his study was to

analyze the black political leadership group as a whole. The analysis
drew chiefly on data generated by a mail questionnaire distributed in
early 1970 to all black candidates for public office in Mississippi
between 1965 and 1970 for whom addresses could be found. Of the 336
candidates, 153 or 46 percent responded. Based on these responses,
Salamon was able to shed some additional light on the emergence process
of the black political leader. His rationale for concentrating on black
political leaders was that (a) they represented the first group of
black candidates for public office in Mississippi since Reconstruction,
and (b) they were the first group of leaders to rely formally on black
voting power for their source of influence.

These leaders were not complete neophytes; they had substantial
organizational experience and had developed personal contacts and poli-
tical skills over a number of years. They seemed, in fact, to have been
prominent members of the black community. Salamon's review of biograph-
ical data showed that the average black political leader in Mississippi
in 1970 was male, over 40 years of age, at least a high school graduate,
a professional or land-owning farmer, a homeowner, and the recipient of
a middle-class income by Mississippi standards. His study further
suggested that black political leadership emerged in Mississippi
through a process of socialization and a variety of leadership experi-
ences over a number of years.

In 1975 Himes made a study of the recruitment and socialization
of social movement leaders for the University of Rhodesia. The purpose
of this research was to investigate the impact of social structure on
the leadership recruitment process. The research project was conducted

in the capital city of Salisbury and in Bulawago, the second largest

city and an important industrial center. The racial structure of these

two cities had two elements important to the study of black leadership

in the South of the United States. First, the fact of racial separa-

tion ensured that every experience of the African population was

qualified by the fact of race. Second, the rigid social structure and

resulting conditions of life tended to generate and to support a high

level of political awareness and activity. The research had three

major objectives: (1) to collect a body of empirical data regarding

the recruitment and socialization of social movement leaders, (2) to

use these data in testing a series of hypotheses and to make relevant

comments, and (3) to refine and to sharpen the theory of leader

recruitment.

Himes (1976) identified the previous leadership experiences of

social movement leaders in Rhodesia and examined their emergence. He

defined previous leadership experiences as initial leadership actions,

which were divided into educational and organizational representation.

These actions are shown in Table 2. The term "education" was employed

by Himes to refer to actions that informed, explained, justified,

persuaded or in some way affected the knowledge or cognitive orienta-

tion of others--usually colleagues in an organization or situation.

Services to organizations were designated as actions of budding leaders

for the benefit or advancement of a social movement organization.

According to Himes, when an emerging leader instructs colleagues or

gives the faint-of-heart a pep talk, he is performing a service for

Table 2

Number and Percentage of Initial Leadership Actions

Leadership	Number	Percent
Educational Services	18	23.7
Organizational Services	15	19.7
Personal Services	17	22.4
Representing Organization	26	34.2
Total	76	100.0

Note: From, "The Recruitment and Socialization of Social Movement Leaders," by J. S. Himes, 1976, p. 105. (Unpublished)

the organization. Himes included in his phrase "services to persons"
such acts as counseling, support, or financial assistance to an indivi-
dual in terms of his unique needs.

Finally, Himes defined "representing the organization" as
referring to actions officially on behalf of the organization taken
before the emerging leader becomes an officer in the organization. The
leader comes closest to official recognition when he begins to serve as
an official representative of the group. Himes' technique is useful in
understanding how black leaders emerge and how these relationships
between previous experiences and final recognition as community,
organizational, or political leadership are associated.

This summary of relevant literature suggests some striking
commonalities in the family backgrounds and prior leadership experiences
of black elected leaders.

Most scholars agree that some kind of apprenticeship in community
leadership is a prerequisite for elective office. Historically, the
chief training grounds for black elected leaders have been the black
religious organizations, fraternal groups, grass-root political groups,
community-action groups, businesses, and advisory boards and commissions.

Prior to passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the black
church served as the major arena for training black elected leadership.
Since 1965, a new issue-oriented black leader emerged. This new leader
has emerged in part because of his ability to articulate critical
community issues and to lead community-based groups toward the attain-
ment of immediate group goals. Despite the declining influence of the

black minister and the black church, the black community still expects such personal qualities as honesty, trustworthiness, proven leadership skills, personality, ambition, and political competence to be evident in those who aspire to elective leadership position as its representatives.

A Theoretical Frame of Reference for
the Study of Leadership

Based on the review of relevant literature it is possible to arrange selected concepts and propositions to form a theoretical frame of reference for the study of leadership. It should be stated that, although it has important physical and psychological components, leadership is essentially a social phenomenon. The salient manifestation of leadership is in the dynamic relationship between a social actor and his collective constituency.

Leadership is not only a social phenomenon, it is also a social product. Social production is manifested as both the process of recruiting candidates from the members of social units and their socialization into the leadership role. From this perspective, leadership can be investigated by examining the dynamics and stages of leadership recruitment and leadership socialization. The steps and operations of this type of analysis are described in the research design of this study.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The general research design, the procedure used to collect relevant data, the subject population, the treatment of data, and the relationship between the research design and the problem under investigation were determined.

A prerequisite to the formulation of this research design was an extensive review of relevant literature concerning personal and social factors associated with leadership generally, with black leadership specifically, and previous leadership experiences common among black elected leadership. An analysis of the literature revealed that inquiry into the dynamics and stages of black leadership emergence has been for the most part severely limited or inconsistent.

This systematic investigation of the emergence patterns and previous leadership experiences of black elected leaders fills an important void in social research on black elected leaders by describing the dynamics and stages of leadership emergence. This effort is intended to contribute to a clarification and delineation of knowledge about the emergence of black leaders in politics and other areas.

A Methodological Model for the Study of

Black Leadership Emergence

The review of relevant literature seemed to indicate that several factors are involved in the emergence of black elected leaders. These factors include community structural setting, interactions in families, neighborhoods and among peer groups, and the products of these interactions. In the following outline these factors are related to one another in order to produce a theoretical model for this investigation.

Community Structural Setting

Most black leaders grew up in rural areas during the period of rigid segregation in housing, education, public accomodations, and military service. For this reason, black leaders had been limited in opportunities to gain initial or quasi-leadership skills through traditional leadership development methods in the inclusive community. The structure of the black community provided at least four collective situations for potential black leaders to take initial leadership actions.

The black family always has been a strong, viable institution in the black community. Most blacks who emerged as elected leaders reported having strong family ties. Many indicated that they learned most of their initial leadership skills from a member of the family. A large percentage of black elected leaders came from families of ministers where they had an opportunity to observe leadership first-hand through relations with parents, especially fathers.

The black church, because of the exclusion of blacks from the political and social life of the general community, became the major arena of political and social life in the black community. In the church, political leaders could achieve distinction, wear the symbols of status, and aspire to become leaders of men. Frazier (1971) stated that the black church was the major agent for social control, economic cooperation, education, and political life in the community. It was in the church that aspiring black leaders learned to pool resources, buy land, construct buildings, and satisfy the quest for political power. In addition to its spiritual significance, the church provided an opportunity for young potential leaders to vote and to engage in the process of electing their officers for local or national service.

The black schools provided many opportunities for aspiring leaders to gain recognition and improve leadership skills. In addition to an emphasis on academic excellence, the schools provided opportunities for students to interact with teachers and peers through such activities as debating clubs, sports, drama, public-speaking contests, and specialized chapel programs.

Local community organizations served as a training ground for many potential leaders in the black community. While traditional organizations such as the chamber of commerce, Rotary Club, and major polical parties were inaccessible to blacks, young leaders were able to gain vital leadership skills in such community-based organizations as the NAACP, Urban League, civic clubs, community development groups, protest groups, masonic and other lodges, farmers' organizations, Boy

Scouts, Girl Scouts, 4-H Clubs, and Future Farmers and Homemakers of America. Leaders of those organizations were recruited and trained at the local community level.

The black protest movements of the 1960's opened new opportunities for potential black leaders to become familiar with issues like housing, voting rights, education, and criminal justice. The movements opened new channels for training and recognition for aspiring black leaders. Through black protest movements, leaders learned to articulate critical community issues, gain visibility in the larger community, and demonstrate their ability to accomplish goals and meet perceived community needs. Through these movements, a leader could become known as a specialist on selected issues or a particular leadership style.

The typical black leader seemed to be middle class on the basis of income and other social indicators. Usually, black elected leaders came from families with a better than average education and income.

Interactions in Families, Neighborhoods, and
Among Peer Groups

The four major centers of influence in the black community were the home, the church, the school, and community organizations. These institutions provided opportunities for the potential leader to gain developmental leadership experiences, visibility, and the satisfaction and recognition of achievement, as well as the opportunity to be observed and evaluated by peers, whose support and re-enforcement were essential.

The family provided a natural setting for training potential leaders. In the family, apprentice members had opportunities to interact with and learn from older members by

participating in decision-making processes;

observing the leadership styles of older members;

receiving and giving encouragement and support in relations with other members;

receiving coaching and assistance from older members while providing coaching and assistance to younger members;

gaining experience, assimilating new ideas, and discovering new ways by traveling with the family; and

participating in family rituals and other situations designed to teach the apprentice member to think in terms of group needs instead of individual concerns. Such interactions impressed upon family members the importance of thinking in collective terms and enabled the participant to make the transition from one family role to another.

Within the structure of the church, the potential leader had an opportunity to interact with other members of the group by serving as member of apprentice leader. He was provided the additional opportunity to observe and assume various roles within the structure of the local organization. Additionally, the church provided an opportunity for those who aspired to leadership positions to participate in goal setting and decision-making, and to demonstrate their ability to identify and assist in accomplishing the goals of the group. Interactions within the organized church were not limited to the local community. Opportunities

were provided for developing leaders to interact at wider levels and
gain additional visibility by representing the local church and its con-
cerns at district or national levels. Church elections and rituals
provided an opportunity for the participant to observe group behavior,
to be involved in political bargaining and negotiations, to gain and
wear the symbols of status accorded those in leadership positions, and
to enjoy the satisfaction and power that accompany shared goal accom-
plishments. Business functions within the church provided other
opportunities for participants to be involved in the management of
people, money and property, and to learn from the trust and responsi-
bility that this participation reflects. The church also provided an
opportunity for participants to perform specific tasks in accordance
with group expectations and to test their ability to resolve conflict
within an organized group. Many opportunities were available within
the educational institutions for the potential leader to interact with
peers and gain valuable initial or quasi-leadership skills--for example,
the opportunity to demonstrate leadership skills as a participating
member of sports, dramatics, debating or other extra curricular
activities. These activities allowed the developing leader to move from
follower-member to leader-member within the context of structured
activity and to profit from the accomplishments or mistakes of peers.
The opportunity to represent a group of the school in special activities
held away from campus gave the potential leaders confidence in their
leadership ability, reinforced those experiences gained at the local
level, and caused them to be viewed by peers and instructors as those
who could get things done. The opportunity to interact with teachers,

principles, coaches and supervisors or through special school-related activities was a major source of inspiration and training for potential leaders. Participants were able to get immediate feedback on task performance and behavior from specialists associated with this school. This feedback enabled the potential leader to refine leadership skills and alter behavior in accordance with teacher expectations. Since teachers were in a position to reward and punish behaviors, participants learned acceptable patterns of behavior and performed tasks in accordance with perceived expectations.

Groups within the black community provided settings for the potential black leader to reveal behavior that both influences others, and responds to the actions of others.

Community-based organizations such as labor unions, community action organizations, professional organizations, protest groups, youth agencies, business associations, recreational, political, and fraternal groups provided an opportunity for potential black leaders to observe and be influenced by leader-members of these groups.

As a participant in this process, the aspiring leader learned the patterns of relationships within groups, conflict resolution within the group, the setting and attainment of group goals, group task allocation, and leadership styles associated with task accomplishment.

In addition to observing the behavior of others, the potential leader had opportunities to test his personal influence on the group by serving first as a follower-member and later as a leader-member in a subgroup of the organization. Thus the potential leader learned to

function in accordance with group norms, technical rules, and the specific actions that must be taken to attain group goals and gain recognition and visibility within and outside the group.

Results of Interactions

As the potential leaders interact with others in the home, church, school and community setting they develop a repertoire of behavior or skills essential to the future leadership role. Not only do they reveal behaviors that lead to increased visibility, but they are placed in a position to be influenced by and learn from these interactions at each level of the community structure. Organized groups within the black community, like groups in the larger society, are concerned with collective harmony, tradition, learning, and goal attainment. Mere presence in an organized group in the black community enables the potential leaders to learn from a constellation of interactions how to think in terms of group concerns instead of individual concerns by learning (a) to understand and appreciate family and group traditions; (b) to identify the directions of the group and to use personal influences in the attainment of group goals; to understand the process of group decision-making so that decisions are compatible with the needs of the group; (d) to negotiate, or resolve conflict within the group setting, and to influence group opinion; and (e) to model expected group behavior while serving an apprenticeship in the group.

They also learn how to influence the behavior of others within the group by learning (a) to identify the role they are expected to play within the group and to use that role to affect the behavior of

others; (b) to utilize social skills such as communication and decision
making to influence actions of the group; (c) to capture and hold the
attention of the group by articulating group concerns and serving as
representatives and spokespersons for the group; and (d) to resolve
or control conflict within the group and thus facilitate the attain-
ment of group goals.

Additionally, these group interactions result in the ability to
function at various levels within the organization by learning how to
move from lower levels within the organization, and how to bargain,
negotiate, and perform tasks that may result in invitations to assume
leadership roles outside the organization.

A further result is the ability to manage people, money and
property by learning (a) how to recruit, train, and motivate people to
accomplish group goals; (b) how to raise, budget, allocate and monitor
the expenditures of funds in accordance with prescribed budgets; and
(c) how to identify, purchase, and maintain property needed for task
performance and goal attainment.

Black Leadership Emergence as a
Stage-linked Process

In this methodological model, the salient manifestation of
leadership is conceptualized as a dynamic relationship between a social
actor and his collective constituency. This process of leadership is
initiated in such basic social units as the family, the school, the
church, and the community. Leaders emerge from follower membership
step-by-step in the context of interaction that takes place within

these and other social units. The following steps in the emergence process can be identified and analyzed:

1. The community structural setting provides opportunities for the potential leader to gain vital initial leadership knowledge and skills interacting with family, peers and other members of social units in the home, church, school or community organizations.

2. These interactions provide opportunities for the potential leader to serve apprenticeship as follower-member and to progress to leader-member within the structure of the social unit.

3. The developed leader emerges from these interactions with learned abilities to influence the behavior of others, understand group traditions and goals, shape behavior in accordance with group expectations and norms, articulate the concerns of the group, and facilitate the attainment of group goals.

Restatement of the Problem

A major motivation for this investigation was the dearth of information concerning black elected leaders in North Carolina. Despite their phenomenal rise and increased visibility in the state, little was known about the evolution of these leaders--who they were, their developmental leadership experiences, and the commonalities in their emergence pattersn.

There was a need for a systematic inquiry into the process of black leadership emergence. A theoretical model to guide this study was presented in the previous section. This model can be used as an instrument to identify incipient leaders and facilitate their development.

With such considerations in mind, the problem to be investigated was formulated in the following five research questions:

1. Who were the black men and women serving in elected leadership positions in North Carolina in 1977?

2. What characteristics were common to these elected leaders?

3. What kinds of developmental experiences were common to these elected leaders?

4. Are initial leadership experiences predictive of mature leadership behavior?

5. Can data generated by responses to inquiries like the above be utilized in the identification of potential leaders?

Hypotheses to be Tested

The review of the literature indicated that many factors may affect the emergence of black elected leaders. Some of these are intrinsic such as features of inheritance and personality. Others are extrinsic, existing as features of social and cultural environment. For purposes of this investigation, the social structure of the black community was a significant extrinsic factor. These considerations led the investigator to formulate hypothetical answers to the problem questions stated above.

1. It is hypothesized that the emergence of black leaders is, to a significant degree, conditioned by interactions in the structural setting produced by the family, church, school, and community organizations. These interactions provide the initial leadership experiences which prepare the potential leader for future selection, election, or appointment as leader of a group.

2. It is hypothesized that certain attitudinal and behavioral factors characterize black elected leaders.

3. It is hypothesized that the emergence of black leaders is conditioned by advantages in family background, education, community relations, and initial leadership experiences. Prior to election to public office, these leaders have served some type of apprenticeship in an array of community, church, educational, or professional activities.

4. It is hypothesized that potential for leadership is exhibited early in life within the context of structural and cultural settings of the black community.

The Sample and Method of Data Gathering

The subjects of this investigation were the black elected officials of North Carolina in 1977. The most reliable source for information on these leaders was the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, D.C. The national roster of the Joint Center listed 221 black men and women serving in state, county, and municipal elected positions in North Carolina as of July 31, 1977. Information for the study was solicited from the total population of 221 public officials. A demographic profile of the subjects is described in Chapter IV.

The methods of investigation employed were a descriptive survey and personal interviews. Tracing previous leadership experiences of the black political leader in North Carolina was a major concern of the study. Therefore, it was decided that the combination of mail questionnaire and personal interview would serve as the best ways of collecting

data relevant to the commonalities of previous leadership experiences and those personal factors that characterize blacks elected in North Carolina.

It needs to be emphasized that this study was exploratory in nature. No prior study existed in previous leadership experiences or emergence patterns of black elected leaders in North Carolina as a group.

Research Instruments

After other studies on black leadership, including Conyers and Wallace (1976), the Joint Center for Political Studies (1976), and Himes (1976) were reviewed, a survey instrument and interview guide were developed.

The survey instrument was used to collect information from all black elected officials in North Carolina (Appendix A). The interview guide was developed to provide structure for probing the process of leader development through personal interview (Appendix B). Valuable suggestions for construction of these instruments came from members of the staff of the Joint Center for Political Studies, local elected officials, and members of the North Carolina Black Leadership Caucus.

The questionnaire was designed to obtain information on the relationship between previous social experiences and the emergence of the black political leaders. The literature reviewed in Chapter II suggested that black leadership is, to a large degree, a function of personality (Huggins, 1978). Questions were designed to determine factors and processes that influenced the personalities of developing leaders.

Consequently, this questionnaire focused on the demographic and social influences that affected the development and change of leader personalities. Therefore, the questionnaire items were constructed with the following objectives:

1. to identify the demographic characteristics of black elected leaders;

2. to identify those developmental or initial leadership experiences common among black elected leaders;

3. to assess the impact of other selected environmental resources, both tangible and intangible, that may have affected or influenced the emergence of those leaders;

4. to identify the sources such as family, school, church or community where those personal or environmental influences were first and most regularly encountered; and

5. to ascertain the stages through which mature black elected leaders in North Carolina emerged and developed.

The review of the literature suggested certain attitudes, values, feelings, and early experiences that characterize black political leaders as a group. This material served as the basis for including certain unique characteristics in the survey instrument. Both the questionnaire and interview guide were pretested with five black elected leaders during a discussion cell of the North Carolina Black Leadership Caucus held at the Center for Continuing Education, Fayetteville State University. The instruments were examined, critiqued, and appropriately corrected or modified based on input from this group.

Each item in the questionnaire was designed to help answer specific questions posed in the statement of the problem. Questions pertaining to demographic data were designed to solicit information that would help answer the question--who are the men and women serving in elected positions in North Carolina and what unique features mark them as leaders? Questions pertaining to various leadership experiences in elementary and high school, college, and church were designed to reveal what kinds of prior leadership experiences were common among the black political leaders and at what point in life those experiences were first exhibited. Questions pertaining to community experiences were designed to solicit information that would help determine the base of community influence and establish patterns of experiences common among black leaders.

Description of Sample and Collection of Data

These 221 subjects fell into the following six functional strata: state, county, municipal, judicial, law enforcement, and education. Eleven percent of the sample was female. Out of the 221 questionnaires mailed, 69 were returned and available for analysis. Because the response rate from mailed questionnaires was rather low, it was impossible to draw conclusions about all of the black elected leaders in North Carolina. With this pilot study, however, it may be possible to provide a working model for analysis and a framework for future studies of black leadership in North Carolina. A distribution of respondents selected to receive the questionnaire can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3*

Distribution of Respondents Selected to Receive a

Questionnaire or a Questionnaire and Interview

Categories	Number Selected for Questionnaire[a]	Number Selected for Interviewing
State		
Senators	2	1
Representatives	4	1
County		
Members, County		
Governing Bodies	15	2
Municipal		
Mayors	10	1
Members, Municipal		
Governing Bodies	129	10
Judicial and Law Enforcement		
Judges, Other Courts	5	1
Education		
Members, Local School Boards	53	5
Total	221	22

*Note: From The Joint Center for Political Studies, National Roster of Black Elected Officials, 1977, 7, ix.

A selected sample of 10 percent of the population designated to receive questionnaires was subsequently interviewed. These interviews were conducted in person or by telephone. The purpose of these personal follow-ups was to provide more detailed information on personal leadership characteristics, previous leadership experiences, and training opportunities of the black leaders. The distribution of persons selected to receive a questionnaire or a questionnaire and personal interview is shown in Table 3.

Collection of data was accomplished in four phases:

1. A list of black elected officials and their addresses was obtained from the National Roster of Black Elected Officials with permission of the Joint Center for Political Studies.

2. Letters of introduction with a questionnaire were mailed to each black elected official in North Carolina.

3. Reminder letters were sent as a follow-up to increase returns.

4. A selected sample of 10 percent of the population was selected for follow-up in-depth interviews.

Classification and Treatment of Data

The data were organized to deal with the following four issues: (1) pre-leadership experiences, (2) major leadership learnings from these experiences, (3) steps in the stage-linked process of black elected leadership emergence in North Carolina, and (4) unique characteristics of the black elected leader. In each instance, leadership was the dependent variable. The ability to lead is dependent on

whether or not a person has those unique personal characteristics or developmental leadership experiences deemed essential to mature leadership. Personal leadership characteristics and initial leadership experiences were treated as independent variables since persons may possess the needed leadership resources independent of the fact that they are serving in a leadership position.

Questions concerned with the level of office were designed to ascertain whether the respondent was serving at a federal, state, regional, county, municipal, judicial, law enforcement, education or other level. Not only was it important to know the level of service, but the length of service in any given position as well.

Questions concerned with activities in which the respondent was a participant during elementary or high school or college were designed to help trace evolution of these experiences and to determine any carry-over into adult civic life. Questions concerned with participation in community activities were designed to determine one source of the leader's influence. Frazier (1971) and Conyers and Wallace (1976) suggested that this power base is primarily in the black church and the black community.

Questions dealing with parental community participation and the influence of other community leaders were designed to determine other environmental factors that may have influenced the emergence of black elected leaders as a group in North Carolina.

Data from the inquiry instrument were analyzed and described in Chapter IV. Simple frequency distribution tables and graphs were used to describe findings and to make comparisons.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

This chapter focuses on the presentation, analysis and inter-
pretation of data. Research questions were answered, hypotheses were
tested, and relationships were presented and documented.

A major stimulus leading to this investigation was the need for
a systematic inquiry into the emergence of black elected leaders in
North Carolina. A central concern was to examine the dynamics and stages
of black leadership recruitment and socialization. Despite the pheno-
menal rise and increased visibility of black elected leaders in the
state, little is known about the evolution of these leaders--who they
are, what their initial or developmental experiences were, how they
emerged, and what commonalities were evident in their emergence patterns
or prior experiences.

The analysis was guided by a methodological model which describes
the impact of interactions in families, school, church, and community
on the emergence of black leadership. The data were collected, organized,
and analyzed to answer the following questions concerning black politi-
cal leadership in North Carolina.

1. Who were the black men and women serving in elected leader-
ship positions in North Carolina in 1977?

2. What characteristics were common to these elected leaders?

3. What kinds of developmental experiences were common to these elected leaders?

4. Are initial leadership experiences predictive of mature leadership behavior?

5. Can data generated by responses to inquiries like the above be utilized in the identification of political leaders?

Demographic Profile of Black Elected Leaders

in North Carolina

Types of Positions

Based on responses from the 69 respondents profiled in this investigation, the typical black person elected in North Carolina in July 1977 was likely to be a municipal-level officer. This level included mayors, members of municipal governing boards, elected members of advisory boards and other municipal or county boards and commissions (Table 4). Of the 69 persons responding to the survey, a total of 31, or 45 percent, were serving at the municipal level of government. A review of relevant literature revealed that North Carolina had a total of 142 black elected officials serving at the municipal level of government in July 1977. In fact, North Carolina had more black elected municipal officials than any other state.

The second largest group of black elected officials serving in the state was on boards of education at the city, county, and state levels of government. Of the 69 respondents, a total of 16, or 23.5 percent, were serving on boards of education. Table 4 reveals that a total of 53 black men and women were serving as elected members of

Table 4

Distribution of Respondents by

Type of Position

	North Carolina	Percent	This Survey	Percent
State	6	2.7	6	8.8
County	15	2.8	14	20.6
Municipal	142	64.3	32	45.6
Judicial	5	2.3	1	1.5
Education	53	23.9	16	23.5
Total	221	100.0	69*	100.0

*Of the 69 respondents who answered this question, five held more than one elective position as of July 1977; therefore, the number of positions held was actually 75.

educational governing boards in July 1977. This represented 23.9
percent of all black elected officials in the state.

The third largest group of black elected officials served as
county commissioners and other elected county officials. A total of
15, or 20.6 percent, of the respondents in this study served at the
county level of government.

Black elected state officials including administrators, state
agency directors, senators, and representatives ranked fourth. Judicial
officers, including judges, magistrates, justices of the peace, consta-
bles and other officials such as police chiefs, sheriffs, marshals,
and other law enforcement officials ranked fifth. The data analysis
also revealed that 25 percent of the respondents had been serving in
elected leadership positions for over five years (Figure 1).

Geographical Concentration

From a geographical standpoint, black elected officials in North
Carolina in 1977 were concentrated in the Piedmont and coastal regions
of the state (Figure 2). The urban Piedmont section of the state was
home for approximately one-half of all black elected officials in North
Carolina. Table 5 shows that 43.8 percent of the respondents were born
in rural areas but by 1977, 42.9 percent lived in urban areas of the
state. In Figure 3, it was also revealed that of those respondents who
indicated an area of residence, 40 percent had lived in the area up to
20 years while approximately one-fifth or 20 percent had lived in their
present county of residence for approximately 20 years. Perhaps those

Cumulative Percent
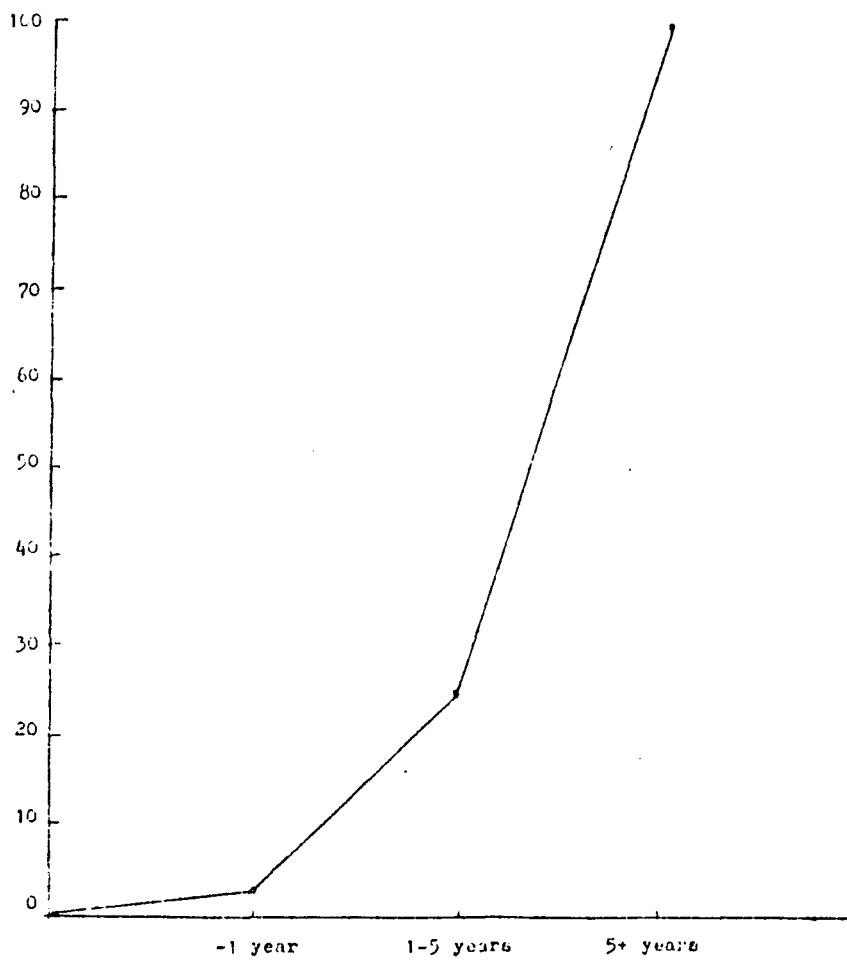
Figure 1. Length of Service in Position Held As of
July 1977
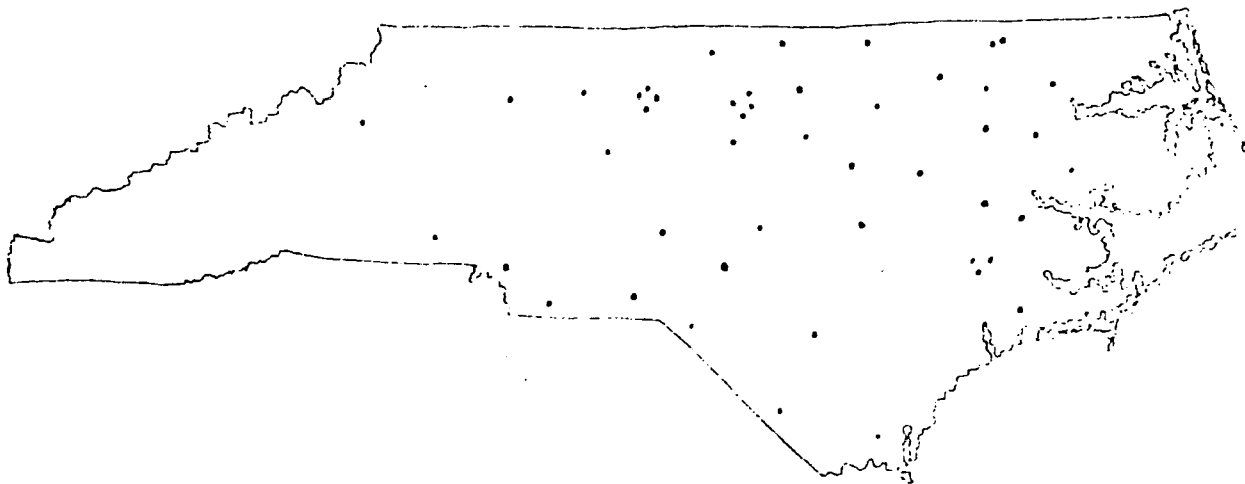
Figure 2. Distribution of Black Elected Officials in North Carolina As of

July, 1977.

(This figure indicates the location of only those respondents

included in the survey.)

Table 5

Area of Residence

	Early in Life	Percent	Currently	Percent
Rural	31	43.8	25	35.7
Urban	25	35.0	30	42.9
Surburban	3	4.2	4	5.7
No Answer	12	17.0	11	15.7
Total	71[a]	100.0	70[b]	100.0

[a]Two of the respondents spent equal amounts of time in rural and urban areas.

[b]One respondent spent equal amounts of time in rural and urban areas.

Cumulative Percent
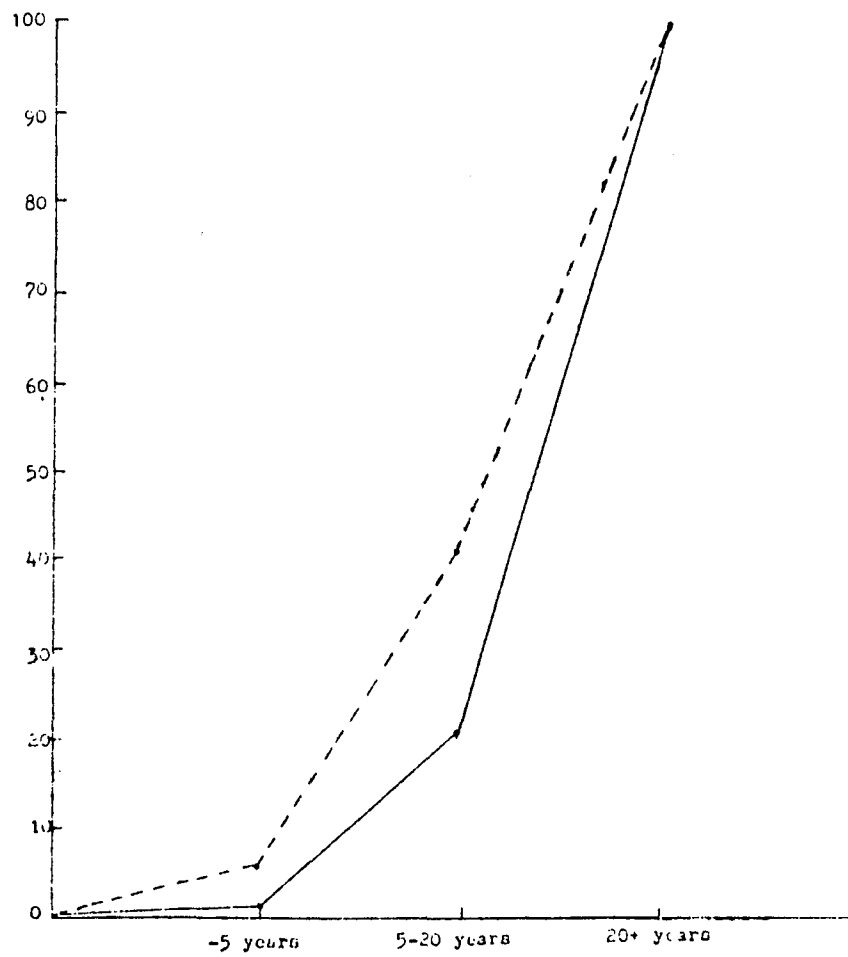
Figure 3. Length of Residence

- - - Length of residence in county of birth

_____ Length of residence in present county

who left the rural areas of the east for the urban areas of the Piedmont did so in pursuit of higher education and better jobs and remained near the major universities located in the Piedmont after graduation.

In a follow-up interview with a selected sample of the respondents, one black elected official holding a state office in 1977 gave a rationale for the concentration of black elected officials in urban Piedmont North Carolina. He suggested that during the pre-desegregation era, the concentration of blacks was near historically black colleges such as North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University located in Greensboro, North Carolina Central University located in Durham, and Winston-Salem State University, located in Winston-Salem. After the middle of the 20th century, a few blacks began to be accepted at the predominantly white universities of the state such as the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Wake Forest University in Winston-Salem, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Duke University in Durham, and North Carolina State University at Raleigh. In his view, this could account for the upsurge in black elected leaders in Piedmont North Carolina. This view was echoed by other respondents in the survey.

The data analyses revealed a similar reason for the concentration of black elected officials in the eastern coastal regions of the state. Some of the officials who came from there to the Piedmont in pursuit of educational opportunity indicated that they returned east to provide leadership at home. Others attended black colleges such as Elizabeth City State University located in the northeastern part of the

state or Fayetteville State University located in the southeast and remained in the area after graduation.

Demographic Characteristics

The average black elected official serving in North Carolina in 1977 was married, male, and over 50 years of age (Tables 6 and 7). Less than 38 percent of the respondents had run for any political office by the time he or she had reached 35 years of age. The data revealed that 45 percent of the respondents ran for political office for the first time after they were 50 years of age. Why this latent interest in political office? One respondent in the follow-up interview indicated that inspired by the civil rights struggle of the 1960's served as a catalyst for the older respondents and service in the black community. Other respondents seemed to agree that this was a plausible explanation for the upsurge of interest in elective leadership in the black community.

The data also revealed that the level of education and occupation among black elected leaders in North Carolina in 1977 was high. Table 8 shows that 44.9 percent of the respondents had studied at the graduate or professional level. Of those who responded to the question on occupational status, 66.7 percent held professional, managerial or technical jobs (Table 9).

Nine-tenths of the respondents in this study were affiliated with some Protestant religious denomination. Of the respondents who answered the question concerning religious preference, most mentioned Baptist, Methodist, or some other Protestant association. As Table 10 shows, almost 50 percent of the respondents identified with the Baptist

Table 6

Marital Status

	Number	Percent
Single	3	4.3
Married	50	72.5
Separated, widowed or divorced	6	8.7
Did not answer	10	14.5
Total	69	100.0

Table 7

Sex Ratio

	Number	Percent
Female	6	8.7
Male	54	78.3
Did not answer	9	13.9
Total	69	100.0

Table 8

Years of Education

	Number	Percent
8 years or less	4	5.8
9-12 years	8	11.6
13-16 years	14	20.3
17 years or more	31	44.9
Did not answer	12	17.4
Total	69	100.0

Table 9

Occupational Status

	Number	Percent
Professional, managerial or technical	46	66.7
Nonprofessional, housewife, farmer or retired	9	14.0
Did not answer	14	20.3
Total	69	100.0

Table 10

Religious Preference

	Number	Percent
Baptist	34	49.6
Methodist	17	24.6
Other Protestant	8	11.6
Did not answer	10	14.5
Total	69	100.0

faith, while nearly 25 percent were Methodist. Frazier (1971) and Lincoln (1974) emphasized the importance of black leadership identification with the black church. These writers suggested that the black leader must identify with the black church although the leader may not hold official membership in any given church. The methodological model used to describe the emergence of black elected leaders in North Carolina places special emphasis on learning the initial leadership actions and resulting interactions within the confines of the black church.

The demographic data supplied by the 69 respondents in this study paralleled a similar study conducted in 1975 by the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, D.C. The collective profile of black mayors from that study revealed that the typical black mayor serving in the United States in 1977 was male, above the age of 51, born in the South, still living in the state in which he was born, a Baptist, and a person with above-average education. The typical black mayor was found to have 15 or more years of formal education. The collective profile provided some insight into those demographic characteristics that may have been major contributions to the leaders' ascent to political office. Additionally, it sheds important light on the question--who were the black men and women serving in elective leadership positions in 1977?

Personal Characteristics of Black Elected Leaders

The review of the literature suggested that there are personal factors or characteristics that undergird black elected leadership. The

central question treated in this section is what characteristics were common to the black elected leaders serving in elected positions in North Carolina in July 1977.

Characteristics of Parents and Guardians

In Chapter III, it was hypothesized that certain attitudinal and behavioral characteristics of parents and other important persons strongly influence black elected leaders. The analysis of data revealed that over 50 percent of those responding to the questionnaire were born and reared in rural areas of the state. Table 11 shows that 29.7 percent of the respondents who revealed the occupations of their parents or guardians were the sons and daughters of farmers and housewives. Less than one-eigth of the parents or guardians of the respondents held professional, managerial, or technical jobs. Although the formal educational background, occupational level, and income level of respondents' parents or guardians were low, most were active in church and other community organizations. Of those who responded to this question, 44.9 percent of the fathers or male guardians and 33.3 percent of the mothers or female guardians actively participated in church, community, civic, or professional organizations (Table 12). This parental activity provided a positive role model for the potential black leaders in North Carolina.

In the follow-up interview, respondents were asked to comment on the impact of parental involvement in community activities and on their emergence as elected political leaders. Two respondents stated that because their parents were community leaders, they too were expected to

Table 11

Occupations of the Parents or Guardians of

Black Elected Officials in

North Carolina

	Number	Percent
Professional, managerial, technical	17	12.3
Nonprofessional, farmers, housewives	41	29.7
Did not answer	80	58.0
Total	138	100.0

Table 12

Parents or Guardians Actively

Participating in Community,

Civic or Professional

Organizations

	Father	Percent	Mother	Percent
Yes	31	44.9	23	33.3
No	25	36.2	24	34.8
Did not answer	13	18.9	22	31.9
Total	69	100.0	69	100.0

be leaders in church, school and community. When they assumed a leadership position in a club, organization, community agency or group, they were doing what they thought parents and the community expected of them. Additionally, these respondents indicated that interactions with parents, ministers, teachers, close relatives and friends provided the greatest influence on their personal lives.

Table 13 indicates that 49.5 percent of the respondents named their close relative--most often their mothers--as the person with the greatest influence on their lives. Approximately one-third of the respondents named their teachers, ministers, or other community leaders as persons with greatest influence on their lives. Analysis of the responses as shown in Table 14 suggested that these persons cared for others, were considered honest, and demonstrated a desire to excel. The respondents indicated that they admired their interest in religion and their sense of morality. Love or concern for others and trust were other attributes admired in those persons who influenced the lives of respondents. Other personal characteristics identified by black elected leaders as causes for admiration were dedication, pride, activity in community affairs, intelligence, self-control, understanding and strength of will. These characteristics admired by potential leaders in the predominantly low-income rural communities were constant sources of hope and inspiration for the developing black leaders. Those individuals who influenced the potential leaders were struggling to excel in communities that were caught in the vortex of social tension in the South during the 1950's and 1960's. The respondents indicated that they were motivated by the commitment of these individuals.

Table 13

Individuals with the Greatest Influence on

the Lives of Black Elected Officials

in North Carolina

Individual	Number	Percent
Relatives and friends	48	49.5
School, church, and community leaders	31	32.0
Did not answer	18	18.5
Total	97	100.0

Table 14

Personal Power Base Resources Admired Most by

Individuals with the Greatest Influence on

the Lives of the Black Elected Officials

in North Carolina

Personal Resources	Number
Care for others	8
Honesty	7
Desire to excel	7
Religious or moral attitude	6
Love	5
Trustworthiness	5
Dedication	3
Pride	2
Active in community affairs	2
Understanding	2
Intelligence	2
Self-control	2
Strength	2
Principles	1
Perseverance	1
Encouragement	1
Inspiration	1
Common sense	1
Aggressiveness	1
Positive self-image	1
Kindness	1
Fairness	1
Assertiveness	1
Independence	1

Characteristics of Potential Leaders

A major focus of this investigation was the identification and isolation of those personal characteristics which were felt to contribute to the process of leadership emergence. The review of relevant literature suggested that many tangible and intangible resources were not always available to these leaders (Frazier, 1977). Tangible resources were described as such things as money, books and property while intangible resources were such things as institutions and position. Such resources were rarely available to the black community. Black leadership, for the most part, was described as leadership by personal influence. Thus, a major focus of the research was on those personal resources and characteristics deemed important by the elected leaders in their rise to public office.

Ten personal characteristics were deemed to be most important by black elected officials in their rise to elected positions of public office: (1) belief in their own powers, (2) trustworthiness, (3) interest in religion, (4) sense of justice, (5) strength of will, (6) persistence in tasks, (7) action based on reason, (8) above-average intelligence, (9) conscientiousness, and (10) a sense of corporate responsibility. These personal characteristics first were exhibited during their elementary school years and continued during high school and college (Table 15).

An examination of the personal leadership characteristics which relate to the emergence of the black elected political leader will reveal the following features:

Table 15

The Ten Highest Ranked Personal Power Resources

Exhibited Early in Life by Black Elected

Officials in North Carolina

Personal Resources	Elementary and High School Years	College Years
Belief in own powers	84.8	21.4*
Trustworthiness	65.2	26.4
Interest in religion	62.3	22.5
Desire to excel or ambition	58.7	28.3
Sense of justice	54.3	24.3
Strength of will	49.3	19.2
Persistence in tasks	47.8	21.0
Action based on reason	46.4	17.7
Above-average intelligence	44.2	17.4**
Conscientiousness	42.0	18.8
Sense of corporate responsibility	37.7	17.4**

*Data given in percentages.

**Above-average intelligence and sense of corporate responsibility tied for 10th rank.

First, one must believe that he or she has the ability to do what needs to be done before any attempt is made to do it. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why 84.8 percent of the respondents indicated that belief in their own powers was most important in gaining recognition as a leader during their elementary and high school years (Table 15). This belief continued for 21.4 percent of the respondents during their college years.

Second, 66 percent of the respondents felt that they were trusted by teachers and peers during their elementary and high school years and 25 percent of the subjects felt that this trust carried over into their college years. This feeling of trust on the part of their constituency was viewed as the second most important leadership characteristic by black elected officials in North Carolina from elementary school through college.

The third most important characteristic common to all black elected officials responding to the survey was an interest in religion. More than 60 percent of the respondents were active in some form of organized church activity before the age of 18. The rationale for this religious interest was cited in the review of literature. The black church was one institution in the black community where young potential leaders could demonstrate initial leadership skills.

Fourth, a sense of justice was viewed by respondents as being an essential personal characteristic in their emergence as black political leaders in North Carolina. Over half, or 54.3 percent, of the respondents felt that this characteristic was important in securing

and holding initial leadership positions during elementary school, high school and college. The history of the struggles of blacks in America may be one reason for this interest in correcting perceived evil and injustice.

Fifth, Table 15 reveals that such elements of commitment as strength of will and persistence in tasks were considered essential by the respondents. These personal characteristics were perceived to be first exemplified as early as the elementary school years and continued into adult life.

Sixth, a large percentage of the respondents in this investigation perceived most of their decisions to be based on reason or intellectual analysis. Table 15 reveals that 46.4 percent believed that their actions were based on reason, 44.2 percent perceived their initial leadership actions to be based on intellectual analysis, 40 percent felt that they were conscientious about what they were doing, and 37.7 percent felt a sense of corporate responsibility.

Other personal characteristics common among black elected leaders were suggested from the responses of the subjects as listed in Table 16. The list, adopted in part from Stogdill (1974), includes such items as a proclivity for reading, an urgency to be prepared, a competitive nature and self-pride.

Two other characteristics considered helpful to black leaders in their rise to elective office were an interest in agriculture and an interest in the creative arts. North Carolina is a predominantly rural state. If leaders are to be successful in winning the support of the

Table 16

Other Personal Power Base Resources Exhibited

Early in Life by Black Elected Officials in

North Carolina

Personal Resources*
Desire to lead
Fairness
Obedience
Interest in agriculture
Interest in creative arts
Proclivity for reading
Dedication
Diligence
Honesty
Urgency to be prepared
Competitive nature
Determination
Drive to succeed
Pride
Dignity

*These personal resources are not ranked because each response was given only once.

many farmers and agriculture workers in the state, it will be advantageous to know and appreciate the role and contributions of agriculture to the state. An interest in the creative arts, especially music, was of advantage to any person who aspired for a leadership role in the black community. Song and dance always have been and continue to be an integral part of black culture.

Many of the respondents who did not have those personal characteristics which most of the subjects considered to be important to the leadership emergence process indicated that they wished they did possess them. In Table 17, the respondents list those resources or personal characteristics that they wished they had developed early in life in order to be better prepared to seek and hold political elective office. Heading the list was an interest in religion, followed by public speaking skills and a better knowledge of the fundamentals of education. One respondent, during the follow-up interview and in a special note on the survey instrument, indicated that the lack of a demonstrated interest in religion was a serious handicap in prior attempts to seek and be elected to political office in the black community. Another respondent added that once blacks have been elected to political office, many of them find that they are lacking in numerous essential personal influence resources such as speech preparation, speech delivery, debating, correspondence skills, fiscal report writing, comprehensive reading of government documents and publications, management skills, and skills essential for communicating with the black church and other segments of their constituency.

Table 17

Personal Power Base Resources That Black

Elected Officials Wish They Had

Developed Early in Life

Personal Resources	Number
Interest in religion (Faith in God, church, religion, Bible study)	5
Public speaking skills (Drama, speech, debate)	5
Education fundamentals (Reading, writing, mathematics)	4
Mental work on studies	2
Desire to excel	1
Hard work	1
Persistence in tasks	1
Positive attitude	1
High goals	1
More outspoken	1
Business skills	1
Sports	1
Music	1
More independence	1
Self-discipline	1
Confidence in segregated education system	1

Black leaders are recruited from a number of social units within a system and socialized into various leadership roles. Certain personal factors associated with black leadership include a sharpened sense of social obligation, a heightened personal commitment to act on behalf of a cause, an invigorating perception of the possibilities for change and lead in problem solving situations, a heightened motivation to act remedially on behalf of blacks, and a mounting personal awareness of obligation to the race and the society. These were considered essential elements in the socialization process and suggested that leadership could be investigated by examining the dynamics and stages of leadership recruitment and socialization.

This study of personal factors associated with black elected leadership emerged during those early years and constitute the raw materials used in forging leadership roles through social relations.

Initial Developmental Leadership Experiences

The central question guiding this section of the analysis was: What kinds of initial or developmental experiences are common to black elected leaders in the state?

The review of the literature suggested that leadership apprenticeship or developmental experiences are essential to leadership emergence. After a study of black political leaders in Mississippi, Salamon (1973) asserted that

> the Blacks who ran for political office in the first Mississippi elections after the 1965 Voting Rights Act . . .were not complete neophytes. They were individuals with substantial organizational experience who had enjoyed the opportunity to develop the kinds of personal contacts and political skills that candidates for political office normally require (p. 616).

Himes (1976) identified four types of initial developmental leadership experiences essential to the emergence of black leadership in Zimbabwe: (1) educational services, (2) organizational services, (3) personal services, and (4) organizational representation.

Based on the review of the literature and on personal observations, it was hypothesized that the emergence of black elected leaders was conditioned by advantages in family background, education, community relations, and initial leadership experiences. Prior to election to public office, these leaders had served some type of apprenticeship in leadership in an array of community, church, educational or professional activities.

An analysis of statements from the 69 respondents in this investigation supports both the hypotheses and the findings of other studies. The data revealed that 80 percent of the respondents had received 13 years or more of formal education and over 30 percent had pursued graduate or professional study. These same respondents received numerous honors and awards in elementary school, high school and college. During their high school years, many were valedictorians of their classes and five respondents had received special awards for forensic or dramatic skills (Table 18).

During their college years, five of the respondents made the dean's list or honor roll and five received letters in major sports. There was one collegiate valedictorian. Other honors included forensic, drama and creative art awards and awards for excellence in social science (Table 19).

Table 18

Honors and Awards Received During Elementary

and High School Years

Leadership Role		Number
Church		1
Church Service Award	1	
Community		0
School		30
Valedictorian/Salutatorian	5	
Forensic/Drama Awards	5	
Sports Letters	4	
College Scholarships	3	
Perfect Attendance Awards	2	
Honor Graduate	2	
Math/Science Awards	2	
Creative Art Awards	1	
Most Outstanding Graduate Award	1	
Boys/Girls State	1	
New (Future) Farmers/Homemakers of America	1	

Table 19

Honors and Awards Received During

College Years

Honors		Number
Church		0
Community		0
School		20
Dean's List/Honor Roll	5	
Sports Letter	5	
Forensic/Drama Award	2	
Creative Art Award	2	
Social Science Award	2	
Valedictorian/Salutatorian	1	
Best All-Around Student	1	
National Science Foundation Grant Award	1	
Who's Who Listing	1	

The data also revealed that black elected leaders in North Carolina participated early in life in a variety of community activities. Table 20 indicates that 81.2 percent of the respondents participated in extracurricular school activities during their elementary and high school years. Fifty-eight percent participated in forensic or debating activities during that same period. Sixty-five percent of the respondents engaged in major sports activities while in elementary and high school. Table 21 shows that 70.9 percent of the respondents who addressed the question assumed leadership roles in these school or community activities. Over 50 percent of the respondents were leaders in other school related activities (Tables 22 and 23).

Many of the respondents were student government officers or officers in the Future Farmers or Future Homemakers of America. Other frequently held leadership positions included class officers, foreign language club officers, and music club officers. Almost 20 percent of the respondents were leaders, while they were under the age of 18, in civic and community activities. Most often their involvement included church, Sunday school, music or youth groups. An equal number of respondents, 14.3 percent, led debating groups or team sports in the school or community during that same period (Table 22).

During the subjects' college years, they continued to be active in their communities. Of those subjects who responded to the question, 62 percent participated in civic activities, and 81 percent of the respondents were active in other college-level public service activities. Table 24 reveals that of those responding to the question, 42 percent

Table 20

Community Activities in Which Black

Elected Officials in North Carolina

Participated During Their

High School Years

	School	%	Civic	%	Forensic	%	Athletic	%	Other	%
Yes	50	72.5	56	81.2	40	58.0	45	65.2	4	5.8
No	9	13.0	4	5.8	18	26.1	10	14.5	4	5.8
Did not Answer	10	14.5	9	13.0	11	15.9	14	20.3	61	88.4
Total	69	100.0	69	100.0	69	100.0	69	100.0	69	100.0

Table 21

Number of Black Elected Officials in

North Carolina Who Assumed

Leadership Roles

in Community

Activities

	Yes	%	No	%	No Answer	%	Total
During high school years	56	70.9	13	16.4	10	12.7	79
During college years	53	60.2	12	13.7	23	26.1	88
Currently	70	74.5	10	10.6	14	14.9	94

Table 22

Leadership Experiences During Elementary

and High School Years

Leadership Experiences	Number	Percent
School Organizations	30	53.6
Civic and Community Organizations	10	17.8
Forensic Organizations	8	14.3
Team Athletics	8	14.3
Total	56	100.0

Table 23

Leadership Experiences During College Years

Leadership Experiences	Number	Percent
School Organizations	26	49.1
Civic and Community Organizations	13	24.5
Forensic Organizations	6	11.3
Team Athletics	8	15.1
Total	53	100.0

Table 24

Community Activities in Which Black

Elected Officials in North Carolina

Participated During Their

College Years

	School	%	Civic	%	Forensic	%	Athletic	%	Other	%
Yes	38	55.1	43	62.3	23	33.3	29	42.0	7	10.1
No	9	13.0	5	7.3	12	17.4	15	21.8	4	5.8
No Answer	22	31.9	21	30.4	34	49.3	25	36.2	58	84.1
Total	69	100.0	69	100.0	69	100.0	69	100.0	69	100.0

participated in sports activities and 33 percent participated in forensic

activities. More than 80 percent of those who answered the question

assumed leadership roles in those activities (Table 23). Approximately

50 percent of the black officeholders were leaders in collegiate organi-

zations. These leaders served as class officers, student government

officers, or officers in the New Farmers or New Homemakers of America.

Other respondents led social science clubs, school music groups, or were

editors of school newspapers. Twenty-five percent of the respondents

were leaders of civic or community organizations. Others were church-

school officers or officers of community social action clubs. A small

number of respondents, 15 percent, were captains of team sports or

leaders in school fraternal organizations.

An overwhelming number of black elected leaders in the state

participated in community-based activities immediately prior to election

to public office. Of those leaders who addressed this question, 75.3

percent of respondents were active in civic programs while 56.6 percent

participated in professional organizations as shown in Table 25. Table

26 indicates that nearly 60 percent of the subjects were leaders in

both civic and community activities. Most of these were members of

community social-action boards. Others were ministers, church deacons

or trustee board members, masons or Eastern Star officeholders, Boy or

Girl Scout leaders, 4-H Club leaders, YMCA leaders, or leaders in

community-based farmers' and homemakers' organizations. Among the

professional organizations in which black elected officials held leader-

ship positions were boards of education, trustee boards, chambers of

Table 25

Community Activities in Which Black

Elected Officials in North Carolina

Currently Participate

	Professional	%	Civic	%	Other	%
Yes	39	56.6	52	75.3	10	14.5
No	5	7.2	1	1.5	0	0.0
Did not answer	25	36.2	16	23.2	59	85.5
Total	69	100.0	69	100.0	69	100.0

Table 26

Current Nonpublic Election

Leadership Experiences

Leadership	Number	Percent
Professional Organizations	30	42.9
Civic and Community Organizations	40	57.1
Total	70	100.0

commerce, boards of directors, area health boards, credit union boards, community action agency boards, or the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Urban League.

During the follow-up interview, two respondents cited family status and background as one factor that gave them an initial advantage in the development of initial leadership skills. They reminded the investigators that few families had automobiles during their formative years. Teachers and other leaders were inclined to select persons for leadership roles who could attend the meetings because they had independent transportation. Since they were able to be present for special meetings and functions, they often were thrust into leadership positions.

The pattern of initial developmental leadership experiences seemed to be the same for most respondents.

1. They became members of a community club or organization. As members, they were provided an opportunity to interact with other members, demonstrated a specific leadership skill, and learned to articulate the views of the organization and its membership.

2. Second, they were invited to represent the organization as delegates to functions, e.g., a church conference, Sunday school convention, district F. F. A. rally or a community coalition meeting. This provided additional visibility and opportunities to demonstrate and improve a basic leadership style or skill.

3. Third, they were elected initially to minor offices in organizations. Based on performance at this level, subsequent

opportunities were made available for them to serve in leadership positions at higher levels of the organization with increased visibility and responsibility. By the time these leaders were ready to embark on a political career, they were no longer neophytes. They had accumulated substantial developmental leadership experience and skill in the basic techniques of community organization and leadership style development. The struggle for power at each level of the organization had prepared them to capture a position of power and influence in the community and to maintain this advantage.

The findings were analogous to those of the 1976 Zimbabwe study conducted by Himes. His evidence on black leadership recruitment indicated that the progression from follower-member into the role of leader-member takes place through a three-stage process including structural accessibility, commitment, and initial leadership actions. Individuals became accessible for recruitment to positions of leadership because they were located in certain social structures. Previous leadership experiences cited in this analysis placed the black potential leader in a position to be observed constantly and evaluated by the community, and later to be crowned as leader of the group.

Himes' second element was commitment. The fact that the subjects of this study began to exhibit leadership skills in schools at the elementary and high school levels and then continued fo function as community leaders in adulthood, may have demonstrated the kind of behavior commitment and motivation needed to propel them into elective office. The initial leadership action stage was viewed by Himes as the

consequence of commitment. He suggested that accession to the role of leader comes when behavior is systematized into a social role which constitutes a working part of some social system that was confirmed by recognition and response of follower participants and that was made formal by election to public office. The data in this study, though labeled differently, show basically the same pattern of leadership development. The previous leadership experiences--initial leadership actions--of the respondents are the consequence of kinetic personal resources or commitment. These experiences became evident for most respondents while they were between the ages of 6 and 18. Observant parents, teachers, and other community leaders may have detected signs of leadership potential during the respondents' preschool, elementary, high school, or college years. The initial leadership experiences provided visibility and recognition for developing black leaders in North Carolina. This exposure, on-the-job training, and motivation provided the respondents with integrated learning experience that continued into adulthood, culminating in election to public positions of trust and responsibility.

The Impact of the Community Structural Setting
on the Emergence of Black Leaders

A major motivation for this investigation was the need to develop a model to be used as an instrument to identify incipient leaders and to facilitate their development. Additionally, it was hypothesized that the potential for leadership is exhibited early in life within the context of structural and cultural settings in the black community.

The review of the literature indicated that several factors are involved in the emergence of black leadership. These factors include community structural settings, interactions in families, interactions in neighborhoods, schools, churches and peer groups, and the product of these interactions. In this section, these factors are related to one another in a methodological model in order to answer two final questions concerning the emergence of black elected leaders in North Carolina: Are initial leadership characteristics and experiences predictive of mature leadership behavior, and can data generated by analysis of response in this investigation be utilized in the identification of potential leaders?

The data revealed that of the 69 respondents, 43.8 percent spent the first 20 years of their lives in rural areas of the state. They grew up in rural North Carolina during the period of rigid segregation in housing, education, public accommodations, and military service. For this reason, as children, leaders were limited in opportunities to gain initial leadership skills through traditional methods in the inclusive community. However, the structure of the black community provided six collective situations for potential black leaders to take initial leadership actions.

The family always has been a strong, viable institution in the black community. Nearly one-half of the respondents, 49.5 percent, named their parents or other close relatives as the most influential persons in their lives. Many respondents indicated that they had strong family ties. Several of them indicated that they learned most of their

initial leadership skills from a member of the family. A large per-
centage of the respondents indicated that parents--55 percent of fathers
and 48 percent of mothers--were active in the church. Many came from
families of ministers where they had an opportunity to observe leader-
ship first-hand.

Because of the exclusion of blacks from the political and social
life of the inclusive community, the black church became a major arena
of social and political life in the black community. The analysis of
data on religious preference revealed that 100 percent of the
respondents had some current identification with the black church.
Several indicated that they wished that they had developed closer ties
with the black church prior to seeking elective office. These leaders
suggested that the black church was one institution in the community
where aspiring black leaders could wear the badges of distinction, wear
the symbols of status, and be associated with the community agents for
social control, economic cooperation, education, and the general poli-
tical life of the community. Another reason given for such close
identification with the black church was the fact that in the black
church, potential leaders learned to pool resources, buy land, construct
buildings, and satisfy the thirst for political power. In addition to
its spiritual significance, the church provided an opportunity for the
young potential leaders to elect officers for local, regional, or
national service.

The black school provided other opportunities for developing
leaders to interact with teachers and peers, gain recognition, and

improve leadership skills. The data revealed that 84.7 percent of the respondents were active in extracurricular activities while enrolled in elementary school, high school, and college. Sixty-nine percent of the respondents had received a total of 50 academic honors and awards. Many were listed as the valedictorians of their classes, and a large number of the respondents had received special awards in specialized academic areas. In addition to their achievements in academic areas, 80 percent were leaders in such activities as debating clubs, public speaking contests, sports groups, music groups, drama groups, Future Farmers of America, and specialized chapel programs.

An overwhelming number (98.1 percent) of black elected leaders in North Carolina were active in community organizations. These organizations served as a training ground for potential leaders in the black community. While traditional organizations such as the chamber of commerce, Rotary Clubs, and major political parties were inaccessible to blacks, these young leaders were able to gain vital organizational and leadership skills by participating in such community-based organizations as the NAACP, Urban League, civic clubs, community development groups, protest groups, masonic and other lodge groups, farmers' organization, Boy and Girl Scouts, YMCA, YWCA, 4-H Clubs, labor unions, and community-based recreation clubs. Leaders were recruited and trained for these organizations at the local community level.

The black protest movement of the 1960's opened up new opportunities for black leaders to become familiar with issues like housing, voting rights, education, and criminal justice. The data

revealed that approximately 60 percent of the respondents were active in some anti-poverty or community group concerned with social justice. These movements opened new channels for training and recognition for aspiring black leaders. Through black anti-poverty or protest movements, leaders learned to articulate critical community issues, gain visibility in the larger community, and demonstrate their ability to accomplish goals and meet the perceived needs of the community. Through these movements, a leader could become known as a specialist on selected issues or a particular leadership style.

An analysis of the collective data on black elected leadership in North Carolina suggested three major centers of influence in the black community. The home, the black church and the black school provided many opportunities for interaction in families, in the neighborhood, and among peers. These centers provided the additional opportunities for the potential leaders to gain developmental leadership experiences, visibility, personal satisfaction, recognition of achievement, and the settings in which to be observed and evaluated by peers. This support and reinforcement by peers were deemed essential in future leadership roles. The relationship between these interactions is formulated in Table 27.

Respondents seemed to indicate that the black family as a collectivity of members was a strong influence and provided a natural setting for training potential leaders to assume proper leadership roles. More than 40 percent of the subjects stated that they were influenced by mothers, fathers, and other relatives. In the family, apprentice members learned by:

Table 27

Four Major Centers of Influence in the Black

Community and Opportunities for

Interaction in These Centers

of Influence

Home	Church	School	Community
Participation in the family decision-making process	Group goal setting and group accomplishment	Demonstration of leadership skills through extracurricular activities	Observation and participation in group dynamics
Observation of leadership styles of older family members	Local, district and national representation and visibility	Representation of group in special activities away from home	Participation in group goal setting and attainment
Encouragement and support from older family members	Observation of group behavior	Immediate feedback for acceptable behavior from teachers, principals, coaches, supervisors, and peers	Observation of group conflict resolution and pattern of relationships within groups
Coaching and assistance from older member of the family	Political bargaining and negotiations	Reward or punishment for behavior	Assimilation of new ideas concerning community issues and problems
Assimilating new ideas	Symbols of status and achievement	Demonstration of special skills to articulate issues and perform tasks in accordance with group norms	Transition of roles from follower-member to leader-member of the subgroup or total group
Family travel and gatherings	Business management functions		Demonstration of special skills to articulate issues and perform tasks in accordance with group norms
Participation in family rituals	Group conflict resolution		
Collective thinking and action as a member of the family	Task performance in accordance with group expectations		
Transition from one family role to another	Practical management of people, money, and property		

1. Participation in the family decision-making process.

2. Observation of the leadership orientation and styles of older family members.

3. Receiving coaching and assistance from older members while providing coaching and assistance for younger members.

4. Receiving and giving encouragement and support in relations with other family members.

5. Gaining experience and assimilating new ideas and discovering new ways through family travel and meetings.

6. Participation in family rituals and other situations designed to teach the apprentice member to think in terms of group needs instead of individual concerns. Such interactions impressed upon family members the importance of thinking in collective terms and enabled the aspiring leaders to make the transition from one family role to the other.

Within the structure of the church, 100 percent of the respondents had an opportunity to interact with other members of the group by serving as member of apprentice leader. They were provided the additional opportunity to observe and assume various roles within the structure of the local organization. Additionally:

1. The church provided an opportunity for those who aspired to leadership positions to participate in goal setting, and decision-making and to demonstrate the ability to identify and assist in accomplishing the goals of the group.

2. Interactions within the organized church were not limited to the local community. Opportunities were provided for developing leaders to interact at wider levels and to gain additional visibility by representing the local church and its concerns at district or national levels.

3. Church elections and rituals provided opportunities for the participant to observe group behavior, to be involved in political bargaining and negotiations, to attain and wear the symbols of status accorded those in leadership positions, and to enjoy the satisfaction and power that accompany shared goal accomplishments.

4. Business functions within the church provided other opportunities for participants to be involved in the management of people, money and property, and to learn about the trust and responsibility that this participation reflects.

5. The church provided an opportunity for participants to perform specific tasks in accordance with group expectations and to test his or her ability to resolve conflict within an organized group.

Many respondents, 84.7 percent, were involved in extra curricular activities while in school. These activities provided opportunities for the potential leader to interact with peers and to gain valuable initial or formative leadership skills. Examples of these interactions include:

1. The opportunity to demonstrate skills as a participating member of sports, dramatics, debating or other extra curricular activities. These activities allowed the future leader to move from

follower-member to leader-member within the context of structured activity and to profit from the accomplishments or mistakes of peers.

2. The opportunity to represent a group or the school in special activities held away from campus gave the potential leader confidence in his or her leadership ability, reinforced those experiences gained at the local level and caused the developing leader to be viewed by peers and instructors as one who could get things done.

3. The opportunity to interact with teachers, principals, coaches, and supervisors of special school-related activities was a major source of inspiration and training for developing leaders. Participants were able to secure immediate feedback on task performance and behavior from specialists associated with the school. This feedback enabled the future leader to refine leadership skills and to alter behavior in accordance with teacher expectations. Since teachers were in a position to reward and punish behavior, participants learned acceptable patterns of behavior and performed tasks in accordance with perceived expectations.

Groups other than the church within the black community provided unique settings for the potential black leader to reveal behavior that both influenced others, and responded to the actions of others. Data revealed that 98.1 percent of the respondents were active in such activities.

1. Community-based organizations such as labor unions, community action organizations, professional organizations, protest groups, youth agencies, business associations, recreation groups, political groups,

and fraternal groups provided opportunities for potential black leaders to observe and be influenced by leader-members of these groups.

As a participant in this process, the aspiring leader learned the patterns of relationships within groups, conflict resolution within the group, the setting and attainment of group goals, group task allocation, and leadership styles associated with task accomplishment.

2. In addition to observing the behavior of others, the potential leader had opportunities to test his personal influence on the group by serving first as a follower-member and later as a leader-member in a subgroup of the organization. Thus, the potential leader learned to function in accordance with group norms, technical rules, and the specific actions that must be taken to attain group goals and gain recognition and visibility within and outside the group.

Results of Interactions

A central issue of this study was the impact of initial leadership actions or interactions in the home, church, school and community on the emergence of mature black elected leaders. The review of literature cited in Chapter II seemed to suggest that interactions provided opportunities for the potential leader to develop a repertoire of behaviors or skills essential to the future leadership role. For example, Himes (1976) found each interaction to be a "turning-point" experience for potential leaders. Salamon (1973) argued that interactions in church, school, and community organizations caused black elected leaders to emerge with substantial leadership and organizational

experience. Bryson and Kelley (1978) discovered that interactions at each level of the external environment represented a new stage in leadership development.

An analysis of information from respondents revealed that behaviors and skills essential to future leadership roles resulted from interactions at each level of their external environment. One perceived result was a feeling of pride in shared problem solving. As the aspiring leader met with success in attempts at task accomplishment in the home, church, school or community, there was a reasonable expectation that future attempts at leadership would result in success. If on the other hand these initial attempts at leadership were mostly frustrated, the initial leader was likely to remain fixated at that stage.

Another result of these interactions was improved abilities on the part of potential leaders for getting along with people. While attempting leadership roles at home, church, school, and community, these potential leaders learned how to work in face-to-face settings with others in group situations which required cooperation for task accomplishment. Participation in group activity provided additional opportunity to observe how things were happening in the group, rather than what was being talked about.

Respondents indicated that each successful attempt at leadership during these interactions caused them to emerge with a feeling of self-direction or independence. These aspiring leaders learned that the pattern of succession in the leadership hierarchy in the home, church, school, or community is one step at a time. Every

developmental leadership experience during these interactions contributed to the feeling that they were moving away from dependence on others toward a feeling of self-direction and independence.

The data also suggested that successful interactions or initial leadership experiences caused these budding leaders to become known as participating individuals. As they progressed up the leadership hierarchy, their emphasis changed from quantitative to qualitative activity, and their interest broadened. They became concerned with a total view of the situation.

As these potential leaders advanced, they had many opportunities to discover that problems and situations are many times more complex than they appear on the surface. If they were to be successful in leadership attempts, they would need to learn to be creative and dig beneath the surface to find solutions to situations or problems. Their performance was under constant review by peers and leaders in the home, school, church, and community. It was important that they learn to make rational decisions and demonstrate self-control.

Some final products of successful attempts at task accomplishment while interacting with their external environments were heightened motivation and increased involvement that caused the potential leader to attempt other leadership actions. These successful initial leadership experiences led to a series of recognitions, e.g., new self-awareness, responses from community leaders and peers, and election to public office. Thus, interactions in the home, church, school, and community provided opportunities for the aspiring leader to serve an

apprenticeship and emerge with substantial organizational and leadership experience normally required of political leaders.

Black Elected Leadership Emergence
in North Carolina as a
Stage-Linked Process

In the research design and in the review of relevant literature, leadership emergence has been conceptualized as a dynamic relationship between a social actor and his collective constituency. It was suggested that this process was initiated in such basic units as the family, the church and the school. Data supplied by the 69 respondents indicated that black elected leaders in North Carolina emerged from follower-membership to leader-membership step by step in the context of interactions that took place within the family, school, church, and community organizations. The following steps in the emergence process were identified and analyzed:

1. While traditional opportunities for initial leadership development were denied these aspiring leaders, the community structural setting provided opportunities for these potential leaders to gain vital knowledge and skills interacting with family, peers, teachers, and other members of the social unit in the home, church, school, or community organization.

2. Those interactions provided opportunities for the potential leader to serve apprenticeship roles as follower-member and to progress to leader-member within the structure of the social unit or organization.

3. The developed leaders emerged from those interactions with learned abilities to influence the behavior of others, understand group traditions and goals, shape their behavior in accordance with group expectations and norms, articulate the concerns of the group, and facilitate the attainment of group goals.

4. By the time these developed leaders were ready to seek elective office, they were no longer neophytes, but had substantial organizational experience resulting from interactions with family, school, church, and community organizations.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

A major stimulus for this investigation was the dearth of
information concerning black elected leaders in North Carolina. Despite
the phenomenal rise and increased visibility of black elected leaders
in the state, little was known about the emergence of these leaders--
who they were, their prior or developmental experiences, how they
emerged, and the commonalities in their emergence patterns and initial
developmental experiences.

The main findings of this investigation were summarized around
the stage-linked process of black leadership emergence. This process
conceptualized leadership emergence as a dynamic relationship between
a social actor and his collective environment. The evidence on black
leadership emergence in North Carolina revealed that these leaders
progressed from the role of follower-member into the role of leader-
member because of factors associated with both the individual and the
environment.

The study also indicated that the characteristics perceived as
contributing to their progression from the role of follower-member to
leader-member within the black community included a belief in their own
powers a feeling that they were trusted by others, a desire to excel,
a deep interest in religion, and the strength of willpower. Leadership

also emerged because the informants believed that they were perceived by peers as having a sense of justice, as being persistent in tasks, and as taking action based on reason. They were considered by teachers and associates to possess above-average intelligence. They were perceived as being conscientious and having a sense of corporate responsibility.

The findings on initial developmental leadership experiences revealed that blacks who served in elected leadership positions in North Carolina in 1977 were not neophytes. They were individuals with substantial organizational experience who had developed through inter-actions in the home, school, church, and community the kinds of personal contacts and political skills that candidates for political office normally need.

The data also revealed that certain environmental variables were common in the background experiences of black office holders. As a group, they were the products of rural farming backgrounds, strong and supportive families, influential parents, educational advantages, and strong influence and encouragement from teachers and ministers. All had served some kind of apprenticeship in leadership prior to seeking elec-tive office.

While traditional opportunities for leadership development were denied them, the black community structural setting provided alternative opportunities for these black leaders to gain initial organizational and leadership experience. Within the black families, churches, schools, and organized community groups, potential leaders were able to influence and to be influenced by parents, relatives, teachers, ministers, mature community leaders, and peers.

The findings suggested that the potential for leadership was exemplified early in life. Most respondents began to excel within the structure of the black community as early as elementary school and they progressed up the ladder of leadership with each opportunity for increased exposure and visibility. Each interaction in the family, school, church, or community provided an opportunity for potential leaders to learn from these experiences with the end result of election to political office in the state.

Information provided by the 69 respondents supported the hypothesis cited in Chapter III--that the emergence of black elected leaders in North Carolina is, to a significant degree, conditioned by interactions in the structural setting of the black community, i.e., the home, church, school, and community organization. Among those sources of influence cited as having a significant impact on the lives of developing leaders were their relatives, teachers, ministers, and other leaders of community-based organizations.

As hypothesized, the respondents identified 10 personal attitudinal and behavioral factors deemed essential in their selection, election, or appointment as leader of a group. The evidence on family background, education, and community involvement revealed that prior to election to public office, this leader had been conditioned by an advantage in family background and experienced in an array of community activities. The hypothesis on family background and initial or developmental experiences would seem to be supported.

The respondents indicated that leadership potential was exhibited early in life. However, follow-up interviews indicated that subjects did not report the same reason for this early leadership identification. Some cited parent or teacher expectations; others suggested that they were placed in positions of leadership because of family status in the community. The ability to get to and from community meetings was often cited as one of the criteria for leadership selection during the elementary and high school years. All respondents had served some apprenticeship in leadership roles prior to being elected to public office.

Conclusions

Several conclusions may be drawn from this study. These leaders share a common concern to know, to understand, and to be able to influence their own destinies. Black elected leaders carry a dual responsibility: to serve effectively the people and communities that elected them to office, and to provide state and national leadership for black American in general. Not only are the leaders on the front lines of the fight to improve the quality of American life; they can also be seen as a measure of the openness and progress in our society.

This study gives some indication of the roots from which the current group of black elected leaders in North Carolina emerged. It illuminates the initial or developmental experiences which enabled many individuals to overcome barriers and progress to elected positions of power and influence. The increasing number of black persons in elected positions in the state over a short period of time offers hope

to those who aspire to leadership positions in the future. It suggests
to aspiring black leaders that within the political arena it is possible,
with ambition and training, to move from the role of follower-member to
the role of leader-member of the group.

The findings of this investigation suggest that the acquisition
of a leadership title does not make an individual a leader automatically.
While personal leadership characteristics such as ambition, the desire
to excel, conscientiousness, and persistence in tasks are vital, these
are only the beginning. More skills are needed if the new leader is
to earn the acceptance of the group and be able to influence members of
that group.

These leaders discovered that a new set of skills is needed for
effectiveness when the difficult task and complex responsibilities of
elective office are assumed. The following skills are important:

1. Knowledge of group dynamics

2. Problem solving

3. Public speaking or debating

4. Reading comprehension

5. Writing reports, proposals, letters, etc.

6. Knowledge of management principles

7. Group decision-making

8. Specialized communication

9. Conflict management and resolution

10. Coalition building

While the current group of black elected leaders view their
victory and acquisition of a leadership title as an exciting adventure,

they recommend caution about the future of black leadership selection or election. They believe that future leaders must be undergirded by a strong base of management training, problem-solving and decision-making skills, technical assistance, research, and on-the-job consultation services if the goal of excellence in public service performance is to be attained. This training is vital to leaders if they are to influence, guide, and direct their followers. These conclusions provide the basis for the recommendations which follow.

Recommendations

The results of this investigation of black leaders in North Carolina led to some specific recommendations for future study and action. First, there is a need for additional research to refine the methodological model and to test its validity with black leaders in religion, education, business, industry, labor unions, professions, and nonprofit community service agencies. Second, this model, when refined, could be used for the early identification, screening and selection of leadership potential, thus improving the quantity and quality of black leadership at all levels of society. Third, there is abundant evidence to suggest the desirability of establishing a leadership development center in North Carolina to meet the training needs of current and future black leaders. Such a center should utilize advanced leadership theory and practice to facilitate leader effectiveness. The focus of the center should include, but not be limited to such areas as the following:

- Community problem identification

- Community problem solving

- Goal setting, goal attainment and evaluation

- Dynamics of group action and team membership

- How to function as members of committees

- Written, oral, and nonverbal communications

- Public-speaking and debating skills

- Proposal writing and interpretation

- Fiscal and personnel management

- Group and individual decision-making

- Conflict management or resolution and

- Use of feedback information

Additional components of such a center should include facilities
for leadership research so as to continue to assess needs, disseminate
information, and provide training of leaders.

Another suggestion emanating from the study is that black leaders
need to be trained in the art of coalition building and interaction with
other community leaders and successful politicians. While leaders of
the past have been successful interacting in a limited environment,
future leaders need to build a network with all segments of the
community.

A strong component of the proposed center should be the identi-
fication of future leaders and implementation of appropriate training
programs which could focus on the development of future leaders and
and improve the skills of present leaders, thus preventing what many
respondents view as a potential vacuum in black leadership in the future.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Letter to Respondents

**NORTH CAROLINA AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL
STATE UNIVERSITY**

BOX G-25
GREENSBORO 27411

ADULT EDUCATION AND
COMMUNITY SERVICES

July 5, 1979

Dear Community Leader:

I am a faculty member in the Center for Continuing Education at
North Carolina A&T State University in Greensboro conducting a survey
of the 221 Black elected political leaders in North Carolina to determine
the relationship between previous leadership experiences and the emer-
gence of Black political leaders. Because you have demonstrated success
as an elected political leader, you have been chosen to participate in
this survey. I hope that you will set aside 15 minutes to complete the
attached questionnaire and use the enclosed self-addressed, stamped
envelope to return it no later than Friday, July 20, 1979. In order to
protect your privacy, all your responses will be kept strictly confi-
dential.

After careful consideration of your answers and those of your fellow
community leaders, we hope to be able to make valuable suggestions that
will aid in improving and increasing Black leadership in North Carolina.

Thank you for your help in this project and for the time, energy and
resources you expend daily on behalf of an improved quality of life for
the citizens of our state.

Appreciatively yours,

Sampson Buie, Jr.
Community Relations Specialist

SBJr/pb

Appendix B

Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Which level of office or offices were you serving as of July, 1977?

_____1) federal   _____5) municipal
_____2) state   _____6) judicial and law enforcement
_____3) regional   _____7) education
_____4) county   _____9) no answer

   1a. How long have you served in this position?

   _____1) less than one year
   _____2) 1-5 years
   _____3) over 5 years

2. Did you actively participate in any of the following activities during your elementary and high school years or up until you were 18 years of age?

	Yes	No	No Answer
1) school organizations: student government, language clubs, music groups, FHA, FFA, etc.	___	___	_____
2) civic and community organizations: church groups, Greek or voluntary organizations, etc.	___	___	_____
3) forensic organizations: debating, drama, public speaking, mass media, etc.	___	___	_____
4) team athletics: football, basketball, swimming, softball, dance, etc.	___	___	_____
5) other organizations: specify _____	___	___	_____

2a. Did you assume any leadership role(s) in any of the above organizations?

    _____1) yes
    _____2) no
    _____3) no answer

(IF YES)

2a1. Please list the organizations and identify your leadership role.

Organization	Leadership Role
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

2a2. Please list any honors, awards or recognized achievements during your elementary and high school years or up until you were 18 years of age.

_____	_____
_____	_____

2b. Which of the following qualities did you exhibit most often during your elementary and high school years or up until you were 18 years of age? Please check as many as are applicable.

    _____1) Desire to excel or ambition
    _____2) Above-average intelligence
    _____3) An unusual degree or tendency not to change your mind.
    _____4) Persistence in tasks
    _____5) Strength of will
    _____6) Mental work on special interest, pleasures
    _____7) Belief in own powers
    _____8) Originality of ideas
    _____9) Forcefulness
    _____10) Profoundness of insight
    _____11) Work toward new or remote ends
    _____12) Esteem of your talents
    _____13) Quickness of insight
    _____14) Intensity of influence
    _____15) Strength of memory
    _____16) Keenness of observation
    _____17) Trustworthiness
    _____18) Desire to impose will
    _____19) Esteem of yourself
    _____20) Wideness of influence

_____21) Conscientiousness
_____22) Absence of readiness to accept other's opinions
_____23) Mental work on studies
_____24) Sense of justice
_____25) Impulsive kindness
_____26) Sense of corporate responsibility
_____27) Action based on reason
_____28) Interest in religion

2c. Which of the following qualities did others think you exhibited most often during your elementary and high school years or up until you were 18 years of age? Please check as many as applicable.

_____ 1) Desire to excel or ambition
_____ 2) Above-average intelligence
_____ 3) An unusual degree or tendency not to change your mind
_____ 4) Persistence in tasks
_____ 5) Strength of will
_____ 6) Mental work on special interest, pleasures
_____ 7) Belief in own powers
_____ 8) Originality of ideas
_____ 9) Forcefulness
_____10) Profoundness of insight
_____11) Work toward new or remote ends
_____12) Esteem of your talents
_____13) Quickness of insight
_____14) Intensity of influence
_____15) Strength of memory
_____16) Keenness of observation
_____17) Trustworthiness
_____18) Desire to impose will
_____19) Esteem of yourself
_____20) Wideness of influence
_____21) Conscientiousness
_____22) Absence of readiness to accept others' opinions
_____23) Mental work on studies
_____24) Sense of justice
_____25) Impulsive kindness
_____26) Sense of corporate responsibility
_____27) Action based on reason
_____28) Interest in religion

2d. Are there other qualities that you frequently exhibited during elementary and high school years or up until you were 18 years of age? Please specify.

_____   _____

_____   _____

2e. Are there qualities that you wish you had developed during your elementary and high school years or up until you were 18 years of age? Please specify.

_____   _____

_____   _____

3. Did you actively participate in any of the following activities during your college years or while you were between 18 and 25 years of age?

		Yes	No	No Answer
1)	college organizations: student government, language clubs, music groups, FHA, FFA, etc.	___	___	___
2)	civic and community organizations: church groups, Greek or voluntary organizations, etc.	___	___	___
3)	forensic organizations: debating, drama, public speaking, mass media, etc.	___	___	___
4)	team athletics, football, softball, basketball, swimming, dance, etc.	___	___	___
5)	other organizations, specify _____	___	___	___

3a. Did you assume any leadership role(s) in any of the above organizations?

_____ 1) yes
_____ 2) no
_____ 3) no answer

(IF YES)

3a1. Did you assume any leadership role(s) in any of the above organizations?

Organization   Leadership Role

_____   _____

_____   _____

3b. Which of the following qualities did you exhibit most often during your college years or while you were between 18 and 25 years of age? Please check as many as are applicable.

      1) Desire to excel or ambition
      2) Above-average intelligence
      3) An unusual degree or tendency not to change your mind
      4) Persistence in tasks
      5) Strength of will
      6) Mental work on special interests, pleasures
      7) Belief in own powers
      8) Forcefulness
      9) Originality of ideas
      10) Profoundness of insight
      11) Work toward new or remote ends
      12) Esteem of your talents
      13) Quickness of insight
      14) Intensity of influence
      15) Strength of memory
      16) Keenness of observation
      17) Trustworthiness
      18) Desire to impose will
      19) Esteem of yourself
      20) Wideness of influence
      21) Conscientiousness
      22) Absence of readiness to accept others' opinions
      23) Mental work on studies
      24) Sense of justice
      25) Impulsive kindness
      26) Sense of corporate responsibility
      27) Action based on reason
      28) Interest in religion

3c. Which of the following qualities did others think you exhibited most often during your college years or while you were between 18 and 25 years of age? Please check as many as are applicable.

      1) Desire to excel or ambition
      2) Above-average intelligence
      3) An unusual degree or tendency not to change your mind
      4) Persistence in tasks
      5) Strength of will
      6) Mental work on special interests, pleasures
      7) Belief in own powers
      8) Originality of ideas
      9) Forcefulness
      10) Profoundness of insight
      11) Work toward new or remote ends
      12) Esteem of your talents

_____ 13) Quickness of insight
_____ 14) Intensity of influence
_____ 15) Strength of memory
_____ 16) Keeness of observation
_____ 17) Trustworthiness
_____ 18) Desire to impose will
_____ 19) Esteem of yourself
_____ 20) Wideness of influence
_____ 21) Conscientiousness
_____ 22) Absence of readiness to accept others' opinions
_____ 23) Mental work on studies
_____ 24) Sense of justice
_____ 25) Impulsive kindness
_____ 26) Sense of corporate responsibility
_____ 27) Action based on reason
_____ 28) Interest in religion

3d. Are there other qualities that you frequently exhibited during your college years or while you were between 18 and 25 years of age? Please specify.

_____   _____

_____   _____

3e. Are there qualities that you wish you had developed during college years or while you were between 18 and 25 years of age? Please specify.

_____   _____

_____   _____

4. Do you presently participate in any of the following activities?

	Yes	No	No Answer
1) professional organizations: education, business, law, etc.	___	___	_____
2) civic and community organizations: church groups, Greek or voluntary organizations, etc.	___	___	_____
3) other organizations, please specify			_____

4a. Do you have a leadership role in any of the above organizations?

    ____1) yes
    ____2) no
    ____3) no answer

(IF YES)
4a1. Please list the organizations and identify your leadership role.

Organization	Leadership Role
_____	_____
_____	_____

5. Did (or does) your father or male guardian actively participate in community, civic, or professional organizations?

    ____1) yes
    ____2) no
    ____3) no answer

(IF YES)
5a. Please list the organizations and identify his leadership role.

Organization	Leadership Role
_____	_____
_____	_____

5b. What was (or were) the major occupation(s) of your father or male guardian?

_____

6. Did (or does) your mother or female guardian actively participate in community, civic, or professional organizations?

    ____1) yes
    ____2) no
    ____3) no answer

(IF YES)
6a. Please list the organizations and identify her leadership role.

Organization	Leadership Role
_____	_____
_____	_____

6b. What was (or were) the major occupation(s) of your mother or female guardian? _____

7. Which individual(s) had the greatest influence upon your life during your formative leadership years? Please identify the relationship, such as parent, teacher, coach, etc.

_____ _____ _____

7a. What specific qualities do you admire most about this (these) individuals? _____

_____

8. What is the highest grade or class you completed? _____

(IF APPLICABLE)
8a. What is the highest grade or class completed by your spouse?

_____

9. What is your present occupation?

(if different from your elected position)

10. What is your age?

_____1) under 25 years   _____5) 40-45
_____2) 25-30   _____6) 45-50
_____3) 30-35   _____7) over 50 years
_____4) 35-40   _____9) no answer

11. What was your age when you ran for political office the first time?

_____1) under 25 years   _____5) 40-45
_____2) 25-30   _____6) 45-50
_____3) 30-35   _____7) over 50 years
_____4) 35-40   _____9) no answer

12. In which county were you born? _____ _____
                                       County   State

12a. In what area of the county did you spend most of your time?

_____1) rural   _____3) suburban
_____2) urban   _____9) no answer

12b. How long did you live in this county?

_____1) under 5 years   _____3) over 20 years
_____2) 5-20 years   _____9) no answer

13. In which county did you reside as of July, 1977?

_____   _____

13a. In what area of the county did you spend most of your time?

_____1) rural   _____3) suburban
_____2) urban   _____9) no answer

13b. How long did you live in this county?

_____1) under 5 years   _____3) over 20 years
_____2) 5-20 years   _____9) no answer

14. What is your marital status?

_____1) single   _____3) separated, divorced,
_____2) married   widowed
                                _____9) no answer

15. What is your sex?

_____1) female
_____2) male

16. What is your religious preference?

_____1) Methodist
_____2) Baptist
_____3) Other Protestant
_____4) Other
_____5) None
_____9) No answer

Appendix C

Interview Guide

Center for Continuing Education
North Carolina A&T State University

Interview Guide

1. Preliminary data suggest that the 10 top qualities of the
   black elected official in North Carolina are (1) belief in
   one's own powers, (2) trustworthiness, (3) interest in
   religion, (4) desire to excel or ambition, (5) a sense of
   justice, (6) strength of will, (7) persistence in tasks,
   (8) action based on reason, (9) above-average intelligence,
   and (10) conscientiousness. Do you agree with this ranking?
   Why did you select these over other leadership characteris-
   tics listed on the questionnaire?

2. Some of our respondents wish they had developed more and
   better educational skills. In your opinion, what kinds of
   educational skills would have been most beneficial to you
   as a black elected official?

3. Many of the respondents suggest that religion was an impor-
   tant factor in their phenomenal rise to positions of
   elected leadership. What unique role did the organized
   black church play in providing leadership experiences and
   serving as a spring board for political activity?

4. Most of our respondents were engaged in leadership roles
   while they were in high school, college and in the community
   prior to their election to public office. Could you isolate
   those personal leadership patterns which in your opinion
   culminated in your election to public office?

5. Relevant data suggest that the average black elected leader
   in North Carolina is over 50 years of age. Does this sug-
   gest a future vacuum in black leadership? If so, could
   this void be filled by a systematic program of leadership
   identification, selection and training? If so, what kinds
   of training do you consider most appropriate for potential
   black leaders in North Carolina?