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ABSTRACT

This book presents an analysis of black leadership from three perspectives: theoretical, historical, and empirical. After deducing the situational-interactional approach as a useful framework, the authors analyze black leadership from 1841 to the present. This period is divided into six time periods, and black leadership and the strategies used by the leaders are analyzed within the context of different racial climates. Three empirical studies of black leadership using different situational variables are included. The final chapter specifically focuses on research implications for social and behavioral scientists who may wish to study black leadership. (Author/PL)

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A THREE-DIMENSIONAL ANALYSIS OF BLACK LEADERSHIP

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In Memory of our fathers:

Clyde O. McDaniel, Sr.

Pallassana S. Ramanathan

Who taught us the true meaning of leadership.

PREFACE

Blacks have been oppressed in the United States for over 350 years, but the present furor about Human Rights, on an international level, pays only minimal attention to domestic racism. The gruesome reality is that, basically, the United States is still a racist society. In this context, the authors, both educators at a Graduate School of Social Work, believe that the training of future social and behavioral scientists who will possibly assume leadership roles must emphasize the issue of racism. Obviously, this includes instilling a keen awareness of the nature of black leadership, how it evolved historically, and where is it now. Furthermore, it is imperative that the trainees know whether there is any validity to the often-quoted assumption that, at present, black leadership is at a crisis point or at a stage of stagnation and therefore ineffective. This book is the result of the authors' three years of intense discussion, dialogue, debate, and research on the concept of black leadership and its analysis from theoretical, historical, and empirical perspectives.

Although numerous approaches have been utilized to study leadership (focusing on traits, attributes, styles, roles, situations, performance, results, and so on), there is no agreement on the ideal approach. The debate over this issue continues. In this book, rather than engaging in such a debate, two approaches--the "Great Man or Trait" and the "Times or Situational" approaches--are examined, and the latter is used as a theoretical framework for studying black leadership.

For a comprehensive and thorough study of black leadership, the situational-interactional approach provides consistency for determining the impact of differential situations on the emergence of black leadership and how black leaders carry out their roles. Also, this framework is useful for

studying black leadership over time, especially how varied political and social climates affect it.

This book is organized to present the analysis of black leadership from three perspectives: theoretical, historical, and empirical. After deducing, in the first chapter, the situational-interactional approach as a useful framework, black leadership is analyzed historically, in the second chapter, from 1841 to the present. This period of almost 140 years is divided into six time periods, and black leadership and the strategies used by the leaders are analyzed within the context of different racial climates. In the third chapter, three empirical studies of black leadership using different situational variables are included. In the first study, the distributive aspects of black leadership are determined based on the characteristics of the followers. In the second study, the socio-demographic characteristics of black leaders from a local setting are correlated with areas of leadership and leadership roles. To test the assumptions of the second study on a broader scale, a third study is included to assess the socio-demographic characteristics of a larger group of successful blacks from a national setting. The final chapter of the book specifically focuses on research implications for social and behavioral scientists who may wish to study black leadership.

It is hoped that this book will be useful to social and behavioral scientists, students, and other interested persons for understanding the adaptive aspects of leadership in general and black leadership in particular. Further, this book will provide the necessary impetus for additional studies of black leadership in different situational contexts.

C. O. M.

P. R. B.

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Houston
June, 1978

Clyde O. McDaniel, Ph.D.
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CHAPTER I:

THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF BLACK LEADERSHIP

Introduction

The concept of leadership has appealed to the imagination of many theorists and researchers, but attempts to categorize and integrate leadership knowledge systematically have proven disappointing.[1] Regarding the state of the accumulated literature on leadership, Thibaut and Kelly comment:

> Not much smaller than the huge bibliography on leadership is the diversity of views of the concept. Many studies essentially ask: What do people mean when they speak of a leader? Other studies begin with a conceptual or empirical definition of leadership and then proceed to determine the correlates or consequences of it as defined. Even a cursory review of these studies shows that leadership means different things to different people.[2]

It seems that leadership studies, guided by different notions and theories, have not concerned themselves with common phenomena.[3] Browne and Cohn corroborate this viewpoint when they write:

> Through all of the history of man's attempts to record human experiences, leadership has been recognized to an increasingly greater extent as one of the significant aspects of human activity. As a result, there is now a great mass of "leadership literature" which, if assembled in one place, would fill many libraries. The great part of the mass, however, would have little organization: it would evidence little in the way of common assumptions and hypotheses, and it would vary widely in theoretical and research approaches. To a great extent, therefore, the leadership literature is a mass of content without any coagulating substances to bring it together or to produce coordination and point out inter-relationships.[4]

In spite of such ostensible chaos, conventional views of leadership identify a leader as one who exerts most influence over others' efforts towards achieving group goals. Also, the concept of leadership allows one to see that a (some) member(s) of a group posses(es) certain characteristics

which are different from those of the followers. The way by which a leader exerts influence over others in a group is called leadership role (including dynamics and style),[5] and it is dependent upon many circumstances and peculiarities of the leader and the situation. Obviously, one cannot understand black leadership unless it is presented in the context of a theoretical and research frame of reference which takes under consideration some of the previous works on leadership in general and black leadership in particular. This is based on the assumption that the general parameters of leadership are deducible from previous works, and that these parameters apply to all ethnic groups. Therefore, the purposes of this chapter are to: (1) describe the nature of the leadership role (dynamics and style); (2) discuss two theoretical approaches which attempt to explain the leadership role; and (3) place the study of black leadership in one of these theoretical approaches.

The Nature of the General Leadership Role

Three basic sub-concepts provide a framework for describing the dynamics of the leadership role. Influence is one sub-concept, and it can include virtually any psychological or behavioral effect or impact by one party on another in the process of interpersonal interaction. This impact may take the form of emulation, suggestion, persuasion, or coercion. Emulation denotes one's modeling of another's behavior, while suggestion refers to any attempt to influence another's behavior by advocating a particular course of action. Persuasion involves the use of some inducement in an attempt to evoke a desired response, while coercion involves the use of forcible constraints to achieve a desired response.

The second sub-concept is power, defined as the ability to influence behavior. Power denotes the ability of a person or a group of persons to

solicit prescribed behavior from others by means of superior formal or informal position.[6] Therefore, power can be understood as the capacity to affect behavior in a predetermined manner.

Another important sub-concept of leadership dynamics is authority, which is defined as the institutionalized right to employ power.[7] In a sense, authority represents an artificial power structure. The three basic types of legitimate authority are: rational legal, traditional, and charismatic. Rational legal authority is based on logical expedience, while traditional authority is based on custom and loyalty. Charismatic authority depends upon the qualities of the individual leader and is more illogical and emotionally-based, because personal characteristics are more important than position. A charismatic leader is one who attracts followers by means of his/her appealing personality.

These dynamics, when juxtaposed in a certain manner, allow a leader to influence the activities of a group in a certain fashion, and this comprises leadership style. There are four basic types of leadership styles: dictatorial, autocratic, democratic, and laissez-faire.

The dictatorial leader accomplishes tasks by instilling fear in his/her followers, usually in the form of threats of punishment. This type of leader uses negative tactics based on the assumptions that people must be motivated to act, and that the best form of motivation is fear. The leader achieves results by threatening to remove, from his/her followers, their ability to attain their needs satisfactorily. This type of leader gets results, but the quality and quantity of achieved results are questionable in view of the fact that results are frequently accompanied by dissatisfaction among the followers, since he/she demands rather than commands compliance.

Autocratic leadership is characterized by centralization of authority and decision-making in the leader. This type of leader motivates his/her subordinates by forcing them to rely upon him/her for need satisfaction. He/she takes full responsibility for the work to be done. He/she does not permit participation from followers in decision-making nor does he/she tolerate deviation from his/her orders. This leader gets results but suffers from the disadvantage that the group can be only as good as the leader is. If the leader is weak and ineffectual, so will be the followers.

Democratic leadership is based on decentralization of authority and decision-making. This type of leader is characterized by the degree to which he/she consults with his/her subordinates on goals, problems, and tasks presented to the group. The underlying assumption here is that followers are encouraged to function as a social unit utilizing the talents and abilities among them. This type of leadership motivates followers to high levels of effectiveness because they inhere a large measure of belongingness and recognition. The democratic type is supposed to offer more than the other types of leadership style offer, yet it suffers the disadvantage of not allowing a distinct leader to be highly visible.

Laissez-faire leadership exists when the leader allows the group to formulate its own goals and decisions. The weakness of this type of leadership style is that results are frequently disorganized and chaotic because it allows followers to go in individual directions. The leader makes little or no contribution to the overall group effort.[8]

The pioneering efforts of Kurt Lewin and associates sparked numerous studies as a result of their initial comparison of autocratic and democratic boys' groups. These studies moved researchers toward the use of personality and behavior for comparing task-centered and person-centered styles of

leadership: autocratic vs. democratic, structuring vs. considerate, directive vs. non-directive. The studies indicate that there are only a limited number of ways in which a person can get others to work together to accomplish a common task: he/she can order, direct, guide, or get them involved in the task;[9] he/she can devote himself/herself to directing the task; or he/she can devote himself/herself to seeing to it that the members become self-motivated and self-directed. Even so, the way in which the leader interacts with the members indicates his/her particular style.

Two Theoretical Approaches to Leadership in General

As a foundation for these notions about the nature of the general leadership role, it is helpful to look at the two classical theoretical approaches which attempt to explain the nature of the leadership role, and which grew out of the thinking of early political philosophers. They are usually referred to as the "great man" and the "times" approaches.[10] In general, the "great man" approach has received the greater amount of attention and support in Western society. The "great man" approach holds that particular individuals are natively endowed with characteristics which cause them to stand out from the many and permit them to guide, direct, and lead the majority.[11]

Since the variables which support the "times" approach are relatively more difficult to identify than those which support the "great man" approach, attention to it is only of recent vintage (perhaps only during the past three or four decades). The "times" approach views leadership as a function of a given social situation. That is, at a particular time, a group of people have certain needs and require the services of an individual (or individuals) to assist them in meeting their needs. Chance determines which individual(s) happen(s) to be at the critical place at the critical time to provide the group

with the needed leadership.[12] This does not mean that the particular individual'(s') peculiar qualities would thrust him (them) into a position of leadership in any other situations. It means only that the unique needs of the group are met by the unique qualities of the individual(s) at that time.[13] The "times" approach is somewhat less rigid than the "great man" approach, for while it assumes that humans are not all alike and that there are individual differences, it emphasizes that the unique political, economic, and social characteristics of a given time and/or social place are indicative of the leadership needs of a given group.

These two theoretical approaches have provided the background for a large number of studies of leadership and leader behavior by researchers. The "great man" approach is the background for the trait studies of leadership which emphasize the leader's personal characteristics, while the "times" approach has provided the basic assumptions for the situational/interactional studies of leadership.

The (Great Man) Trait Approach

In the trait approach to studying leadership, extensive attempts have been made to enumerate the personality and special qualities essential for being a leader. Accordingly, some researchers have attempted to ascertain, mainly by experimental methods: (1) what specific innate traits of personality are responsible for the leadership role? (2) what traits are developed during the assumption of the leadership role? and (3) what traits are specifically affected as the leader's tasks are accomplished?[14]

The notion of cataloguing personality traits of leaders commanded considerable attention during the early period of leadership inquiry. Bird, for example, culled a list of seventy-nine traits of leaders from approximately

twenty inquiries which bore some resemblance to controlled investigations.[15] He also focused on the exploration of leadership in terms of what leaders actually did rather than the prevailing notions of leaders.[16] Bird listed an additional sixty traits which, taken together, "constituted a fair representation of the principal traits of leadership."[17] Krout added still another twenty-five traits compiled by a psychiatrist from a study of 100 selected leaders. Collectively, this amounted to over 160 personality traits which, singularly or in combination, allegedly accounted for leadership roles.[18]

Ralph Stogdill's herculean task of reviewing studies in over 3,000 books and journal articles on leadership caused him to conclude that:

> (Only a few) personality traits have been found to differentiate leaders from followers, successful from unsuccessful leaders, and high level from low level leaders. The traits with the highest overall average correlation with the leadership role are: originality, popularity, sociability, judgment, aggressiveness, desire to excel, humor, cooperativeness, liveliness, and athletic ability, in the approximate order of the magnitude of the average correlation coefficients.[19]

Actually, Terman conducted one of the earliest studies of leadership from the trait perspective. In his study, he sought to identify the qualities leaders possessed which enhanced their roles as leaders. He also made suggestions as to which areas of leadership might be relevant to researchers, but the significance of his suggestions was not immediately apparent, for his primary aim was to discover the distinguishing attributes of leaders which appealed most to psychology.[20]

This discipline had just begun to devise psychological tests and other means of assessing ability and personality. Also, after World War II, an interest in the impact of group dynamics on interpersonal relations prepared both psychologists and sociologists to apply their insights to the study of leadership. These new efforts were sparked by Stogdill and Gibb. The above-mentioned survey of the literature by Stogdill in 1948 showed that many

researchers had sought to isolate the characteristics of leaders and to differentiate them from those of other group members. Individually, these studies were not successful and did not support one another; but by organizing them and placing them in one document, Stogdill debunked the trait approach and offered a strong rationale for the situational/interactional approach to the study of leadership.[21]

Stogdill's review of the literature allows one to conclude that the qualities, characteristics, and skills required in a leader are determined, to a large extent, by the demands of the situation in which he/she functions as a leader, although a few personality traits are more likely to be found among leaders than among followers.[22] Contrary to Stogdill's original intention, his work moved thinking about leadership away from trait determinants toward an emphasis upon the times or situations as major determinants, for it is quite clear that, subsequent to his study, the view of leadership shifted toward interactions among members of a group and with the external environment (the situation). Marvin Shaw substantiates this notion by indicating that it is a mistake to think that the relationship between traits and the leadership role is universal, for a trait which is positively related to the leadership role in one situation may be either unrelated or even negatively related in another. This idea has resulted in substantial research which concludes that leadership roles are relative to situations.[23]

The (Times) Situational/Interactional Approach

By way of clarifying the situational/interactional approach, reference is made to Richard LaPiere's definition of the "situation." He states that the "situation" is a set of related events, forces, considerations, and circumstances which constitute the context within which interaction or behavior

occurs and within which it must be viewed in order to be understood.[24] It appears that, in the situational/interactional approach to the study of leadership, the term "situation" implies at least five categories of behavioral determinants: (1) the structure of interpersonal relationships between and among leader and followers, (2) the group syntality or the quality of the structure (integration, cohesiveness, solidarity, etc.), (3) characteristics of the larger social context or society in which the group exists and from which the members are drawn, (4) the physical conditions, and (5) the task with which the group is confronted.[25]

In studying leadership from this perspective, emphasis is placed on the relationships among leaders-followers and their external or social settings. These social settings may be small groups, communities, institutions, political organizations, business organizations, etc. Researchers who have used this approach may be classified as either interactionists or situationists.

The Interactionists. The interactionists assume personality differences, and outstanding among those who have studied leadership from this perspective are Gibb, Hemphill, Cooper and McGaugh, and Fiedler.

Gibb's analyses of group dynamics led him to assert that there are four important aspects of group interaction which explain the leadership role: (1) role differentiation (including leadership) is part of a group's movement towards its goal of satisfying individual members' needs; (2) leadership is a concept applied to the interaction of two or more persons, and the leader's evaluations control and direct the action of others in accomplishing common goals; (3) the leader's evaluations are products of perception and emotional attachment; and (4) this leads to a set of complex emotional relationships which, in turn, explain the leadership role.[26]

Hemphill, in support yet independent of Gibb's work, studied the characteristics of groups and their importance in determining what behavior is considered by group members to be conducive to successful leadership. His study used members of groups to obtain responses to the following kinds of issues: what a given leader does; the characteristics of the group he/she leads; and the degree of success he/she achieves as a leader. Some findings from the study suggest that authoritative behavior on the leader's part is most successful in groups which restrict membership, in groups which are described by members who have high status in their groups, and in groups which are described by members who do not feel dependent on their groups.[27] Assuming that leadership involves far more than a unique cluster of personality traits, Hemphill concluded that once the conditions, situations, and group characteristics are known which are associated with successful leadership, successful leaders can be trained by exposing them to a curriculum which incorporates such knowledge.

Cooper and McGaugh, who think that leadership and leaders are indispensable to adaptation and survival, describe the push-pull type of leadership as a function of the dominance-submission relationship among people. Pull may be seen as imprinting, or when one generates in another the enthusiastic desire to follow; while push may be seen when the leader plans or anticipates action, with the followers often finding themselves in predicaments where they are dictated to and urged to implement behavior which they very much dislike.[28] A combination of the two may be seen in a leader who both dictates and compromises, or vice versa.

Finally, Fiedler's ideas for selecting and training leaders are interactionist in nature. His findings show that it is much easier to modify one's job or change one's rank and power than it is to change one's personality

traits. Consequently, improvement in the effectiveness of leadership can be accomplished by obtaining an accurate diagnosis of the group-task situation and by altering the leader's work environment. It is even possible, as inferred from his Belgian Navy study, to change the leader-member relationship to some extent. This can be done by changing the membership composition of the group; e.g., by including or excluding individuals whose backgrounds and languages differ from that of the leader.[29] These strategies are applicable to groups in which the task requires close cooperation among the members of the group, and they suggest virtually new ways for training leaders.

The Situationists. The situationists assume group dynamics and consider external factors as important determinants of an organized group's efforts toward goal setting and goal achievement. Leadership here is directed toward organizing the group and its goals. The minimal social conditions which permit the existence of leadership are: (1) a group (two or more persons), (2) a common task (goal-oriented activities), and (3) differentiation of responsibility (different members have different duties). While there are many more situational factors which influence leadership, these are the minimal ones which will allow for the emergence of leadership. A leader, then, is one who becomes differentiated from others in the group in terms of the amount and quality of influence he/she exerts on the accomplishment of shared goals or activities of the group.

Further explanation of the leadership role in terms of influence is offered by Hollander who indicates that, since interaction can be evaluated through interpersonal assessments made up of task-related behaviors (measured against some expectation standards), an individual member who adheres to group expectations and conditions of competence over a significant

period of time accumulates influence credits which permit innovation in the group. Consequently, this task-competent follower, at one stage of the group's interaction, may emerge as a leader in another stage.[30] Subsequently, however, the leader who does not continue to fulfill the expectations of the group which are associated with his/her position may lose influence credits and be replaced by another member. The achievement and maintenance of the leadership role also depend upon the perceptions of others in the ongoing social interaction. In other words, the leader achieves only when he/she is in a perceptual situation where he/she can achieve, and this situation nurtures the maintenance of the leadership role.

The situationists insist that the group environment is paramount, implying that a good leader in one group may not be a good leader in another. Also, a leader in any group may not be adequate in all instances even in that group. The situationists focus on specialized abilities rather than traits. For a leader to be effective, he/she is only as effective as perceived in his/her group, given associated factors, interpersonal interactions, and so forth. Situational studies reveal that certain leadership expectations are unique to particular group settings. For instance, Cartwright and Zander's work shows that while certain minimal abilities are required of all leaders, they are widely distributed among non-leaders as well, and that the optimal leadership abilities for one group may be quite different from those of another in a different setting.[31] This means that just because a leader is suitable for one task, he/she may not be suitable for another (other) tasks, so as tasks change, leadership changes.

As a situationist, Fiedler developed a contingency model which is most practical for explaining the leadership role. His model maintains that directive leaders are effective under either favorable or unfavorable conditions,

whereas non-directive leaders are effective under conditions of moderate favorability. Favorability is defined by the relationships among three situational variables: position power, task structure, and group-leader relations. Fiedler also states that when a situation is most unfavorable, the most effective leader devotes his attention primarily to friendly interpersonal relations.[32]

Sociologists and political scientists who have studied leadership, particularly community power structures, may also be categorized as situationists. The community power structure is the power relations among actors in a community which persist through time, and the major ways sociologists have identified power holders or leaders are by studying community positions, by studying community reputations, and/or by conducting community decision analyses.[33] It seems that the oldest and simplest method of studying community leadership is by studying community positions. It rests on the assumption that leaders perform specified governmental and organizational (formal) roles. This method does not assume any prior knowledge of the socio-economic structure of the community, although this structure is seen as part of the leadership environment. One simply draws up a list of people who perform the formal roles, and interviews them as community leaders. One difficulty, for the researcher, is that he/she never knows if actual leaders are excluded or if leaders with little or no power are included, for the method assumes that every office holder is influential on some issue(s). So while the method is economical, simple and useful for some purposes, it has dubious validity as a means for the identification of real power holders in a community.

The reputational method attempts to correct this deficiency, for it includes both formal and informal leadership roles. The most significant

study of the community power structure which used the reputational method was done by Floyd Hunter in Atlanta. Hunter used a panel to identify most of the influential people in the community wherein he obtained a list of forty leaders whose reputations were studied and described. While the key leaders were from private rather than public sectors, the results from Hunter's study indicated that political and governmental leaders were second to economic leaders (who tended to comprise a small, relatively invisible upper-class group). Parenthetically, it is quite obvious that these findings are at variance with the democratic theory of political accountability.[34]

Critics believe that it is not coincidental that the method usually identifies a single set of leaders; that it falsely assumes that the individuals who are identified make decisions on all major issues; that it merely studies reputation for power rather than power itself; and that it relies too heavily on the subjective (and possibly invalid) observations and reports of the informants.

The decision-analysis method attempts to respond to the critics of the reputational method, for it begins with certain key issues in the community and identifies people who affect their outcomes. Dahl's classic study (wherein he identified three basic sets of issues in New Haven--school issues, urban renewal issues, and political issues) concluded that a leader on one issue is not likely to be influential on another unless he/she is a public official such as the mayor; and leaders on different issues are not homogeneous. Of course this method has been assailed by critics also who are concerned about the arbitrary choice of issues; the fact that focusing on key issues ignores routine decisions; and the fact that the method ignores leadership ideologies.[35] The critics of all three methods highlight the fact that traditional methods are quite crude and a more valid way of looking at leadership

is needed for insuring adequate analyses of the leadership role and power structures.

It seems that the identification of power holders and an explanation of the leadership role, particularly on a large urban or societal level, is quite complex, for formal decision makers (those who hold formal offices) may not be the real decision makers in a political system. This was underscored by C. Wright Mills who won considerable notoriety with his argument that "power to make decisions of national and international consequence is now so clearly seated in political, military and economic institutions that other areas of society seem off to the side and, on occasion, readily subordinated to these."[36] Mills argued that elected officeholders are, essentially subject to historical decisions made by the "big three" institutions of governmental bureaucracies, military commanders, and economic elites. His formal position is clear that the actual power may not reside with the occupant of an office. The extent to which an officeholder exercises power is a significant empirical matter, but it is confounded by the fact that it is exercised in a community, city, state and/or national environment.[37]

Bachrach and Baratz addressed the problems which face power and leadership identification by highlighting two facets of power which are not considered by leadership theorists and researchers: (1) those who establish public agenda may exercise power to prevent major issues from entering the political system; and (2) the existence of the private property system, the legitimacy of wealth, and the validity of a social-incentive system are supra-environmental conditions which establish a social policy that requires leadership to be adaptive.[38] This means that there are macro issues which explain the leadership role and power relations and which provide a much broader and more intelligible view when taken under consideration. In this context,

it seems that the leadership role becomes an adaptive strategy, and the best way to study it is situationally. However, within the context of environmental issues, it does appear necessary to identify leaders both positionally and/or reputationally.

Black Leadership as an Adaptive Strategy

Consistent with the foregoing, this section analyzes black leadership as an adaptive strategy. It proceeds on the assumption that black leadership cannot be understood apart from the social context in which it exists. Thus, the nature of that social context and its impact on black leadership will be discussed. Adaptation is a sub-set of coping which refers to any behavior or psychological process occasioned by threat and which serves the purpose of mitigating or eliminating that threat. In other words, "adaptation refers to strategies for dealing with threat."[39] An understanding of black leadership is clearer when it is placed in the context of adaptation, for viewed in this fashion, it is removed from the realm of the unusual and the strange and becomes, appropriately, a manifestation of blacks confronting, adjusting to, and mastering their social environment. This, after all, is the challenge to all human groups, irrespective of ethnicity and race, and it emphasizes the notion that different groups, due to the nature of their environments and conditions in society, tend to deal with their environments differently. This point of view is consistent with Hartman's concept of adaptation which holds that people seek to fit with their environment and that "the degree of adaptiveness can only be determined with reference to environmental situations."[40]

The importance of the above perspective in illuminating some of the issues involved in the current debate about the nature of black leadership

and leadership potential among black people is apparent (see the Preface). Given the nature of the environment which blacks must negotiate, with all of its exclusions, rejections, poverty, and prejudice, it could hardly be expected that their method of negotiating their environment would be similar to that of whites. This is not to say that black leaders are merely reactors; it indicates that black leaders are both actors and reactors depending on the nature of the situation.

Chestang identifies three essential elements which aid in describing the black environmental situation: social injustice, societal inconsistency, and personal impotence.[41] This, of course, is a conceptual way of referring to poverty and racism. These three conditions, when combined with adaptive styles, comprise the black experience, and out of this experience, black leadership evolves. It should be clear that black leadership is being described as a process rather than a cluster of traits. The rationale is that the trait approach can be very misleading, because it overlooks the fact that "behaviors which are often construed as stable personality traits are, in reality, highly specific and dependent on the details of evoking situations."[42] Another reason of utmost significance for not listing a cluster of traits to define black leadership is that such an approach can lead to pejoratively stereotyping blacks in general (e.g., indicating that blacks are affective, blacks are laissez faire, etc.).

Given the nature of the black condition in American society--poverty and racism--and given the fact that in spite of this condition, blacks are citizens of the country, the prevailing and consistent aspect of their lives which they all share in common is the necessity to live in two cultural arenas -- one black and one white (a pseudo-pluralistic society). This, then, is a significant part of the black situation which gives rise to black leadership,

and it grows out of the history and the acculturation of blacks in this society. Slavery essentially severed the blacks' cultural connections with their homeland, the result being that they were forced to adopt the only culture available, the culture of the dominant white society. At the same time, their participation in white society was circumscribed and conditional. Blacks, in other words, identified with the white society, but the opportunity to derive the benefits of that identification was denied. As a result, their acculturation was dichotomized. Because the gratification of certain sustenance needs (i.e., employment, economic resources, political power, and so forth) were lodged in the white society, blacks necessarily had to interact with whites. However, their needs for nurturance (i.e., family, friends, supportive institutions, and so on) were gratified in the black community.

When black leadership is understood as a psycho-social process involving these two interacting systems (each serving to meet specific needs of black individuals and groups), and when it is understood that this process was set in motion by the limitations placed on blacks' participation in the white society, the nature of the environmental demands on the psycho-social functioning of blacks becomes obvious. Limited opportunities for employment, meager economic resources, and circumscribed participation in the political sphere posed serious threats to their physical and social survival. Rampant personal denigration inconsistent responses from the white society, and the threat to physical and emotional well-being menaced their security. Implications of inferiority, denigration of their talents and skills, and insults to their dignity abused their group pride. One of the functions of black leadership, therefore, was (and still is) to mitigate and/or palliate these environmental demands for survival, security, and group pride (and by implication, self-esteem).

As has been said before, it is within the white society that threats to blacks' physical and social survival are found. However, black people, particularly black leaders, must make excursions into the white society if they are to survive, and they do so with the least danger to their integrity by relating only instrumentally to it. By this is meant that black leaders adopt a variety of strategies for obtaining the needed benefits without rendering black people vulnerable. The observation that many blacks perform quite adequately on jobs, but show no investment in the task is one manifestation of a larger leadership strategy. This strategy was even more commonly used during the period when racial discrimination was more blatant, and blacks of superior competence were consigned to menial tasks. Lack of interest in being a doorman, for example, when one possesses the credentials of a lawyer should be understandable. That some blacks used their political position to advance group interest is not surprising. This was (is) true, because the real political power resided (reside) in institutions which had (have) the power to end their careers. Manipulations such as feigned humility and other self-effacing behaviors were (are) also utilized in the course of obtaining survival needs.

The security and the group pride functions of black leadership also stem from the constraints placed upon blacks' participation in the wider society. In response to those constraints, blacks have been pushed to develop leadership which assures mutually supporting solidarity. This solidarity has both social and psychological implications which are interactive and reciprocal. Because the social implications are well known (e.g., the church, sharing resources), it might be well to devote attention to the psychological implications.

The psychological implications of this solidarity provide the genesis of the idea of a "black community." This idea of black community is ultimately an abstraction, for a real, unified monolith called the black community does not exist. What does exist is the shared feeling of "we-ness" among blacks growing out of their shared experiences in relation to the white society. This "we-ness" is facilitated by black leadership, and it serves as a haven against the assaults of the white society. When one refers to the work of leaders in supportive institutions within the black community, such as ministers in the black church and brothers in the various fraternal organizations, it is clear that they are able to do their work because of this affinity between and among black people. It is in this sense that one speaks of leadership in the black community.

The abuses to group pride are related to the implications of inferiority, the insults of dignity, and the denigration of talents and skills. Within the black community, black leaders serve as role models indicating, to other blacks, that it is possible to display their talents and skills and receive intrinsic and/or extrinsic rewards. While this could be observed more clearly during recent periods of black history, the group pride function of black leadership has always existed. What was once the pride in observing one's parents and friends within the territorial confines of the black community has now been generalized to the activities of one's black fellows, whether in academia, politics, religion, sports or other areas in the larger society.

In addition to the above, the group pride function of black leadership can be seen in its provision of a base for identity. The former slave who persevered, outwitting his master and surviving; the depreciated black child who struggled against heavy odds and achieved success; a people beaten down and whose spirits were crushed--all of these are elements of the black

identity. These experiences provide a sense of purpose in the lives of many black people. It seems that all groups, in one sense or another, define themselves in terms of how they have mastered their environments. And it is true that every group whose history has been tarnished by oppression has attempted to transform that oppression into an asset. This does not imply that the seeds of good germinate in oppression. It is suggested only that people do what they must to maintain their dignity and pride in the face of oppression. It implies only that the human being adapts (or copes) by using the means available to him/her.

Conclusions

Since generally, the issues for black leadership have been set by the white majority, it seems that the situational approach is ideal for studying it (see for example, the thorough works of Daniel Thompson, James Conyers and Walter Wallace, and Pranab Chatterjee).[43] Such an approach allows the researcher to study the black leadership role non-pejoratively, and as a function of the dynamic nature of its environment over time and from place to place. It also allows the researcher to narrow down the concept of black leadership so that it includes only those activities which are, or have been, specifically oriented toward the solution of some problem(s), or the achievement of some goal(s), which is (are) of particular relevance to blacks.

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CHAPTER II:

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF BLACK LEADERSHIP

Introduction

In this chapter, the situational approach is used to show the intimate relationship between social structure and black leadership strategy since 1841 (the year Frederick Douglass joined the Abolitionist Movement).[1] The definition of leadership in the previous chapter recognizes the leader as a member of a group who exercises most influence over other group members. Here, one must qualify the term influence by saying that it must be voluntarily accepted and focused in a shared direction, for when influence derives from a power source which is external to the group itself, the relation is that of headship rather than that of leadership. Since to lead is to engage in acts which initiate structure in the interaction of others as part of the process of solving a mutual problem, leaders can be identified by the relative frequency with which they engage in such acts.

Leadership acts may be defined variously, but this chapter focuses on clusters of indirect or direct acts which, when subsumed under goals may be considered as leadership strategies. The individual(s) whom the group thinks implement(s) these strategies (clusters of acts) is (are) considered the leader(s). Since the present concern is with black leadership, the tactics include those black efforts which are oriented toward the achievement of egalitarian treatment. The tactics are indirect action--verbal agitation, political participation, acquiescence, legalisms, rejection; and/or direct action--nonviolent, violent. Obviously, such a focus alludes to the leaders' technical proficiency, how they initiated and directed action, their social awareness, and their communication patterns.[2]

The goals of black leaders are categorized as those of integration (cultural and social fusion, implying assimilation), accommodation (acquiescence to a dominant social pattern), pluralism (mutual coexistence with political and economic unity, and toleration of cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity), or separation (cultural, social, and physical disassociation).[3] These are paraphrases of four of the five types of minority group adaptive strategies and goals which were deduced by Simpson and Yinger. The fifth type, militant, is a tactic which is oriented toward the accomplishment of one of the goals mentioned above, so it is not considered in this analysis, although, as a goal, it implies a total reversal in majority-minority group statuses -- to one of total domination by minorities. The black person(s) whom most people in the United States think expounds and facilitates the implementation of these strategies most are considered as leaders.

While the situational approach to the study of leadership implies at least five parameters, this chapter focuses on only the third and fifth parameters (see the third section of the previous chapter): the political, social, and economic characteristics of blacks as operational indicators of the race relations policy (and, by implication, the tasks with which black were confronted) in the United States at different historical periods. The race relations policies are categorized as either subjugation (coercive subordination), toleration (unacceptable, forced, antagonistic co-existence), desegregation (removal of norms which circumscribe arenas of interaction), or segregation (normatively circumscribing arenas of interaction.)[4]

In correlating the types of leadership strategies with the types of situations (race relations policies), one can develop a theory of black leadership which highlights its interactional nature. While this theory excludes

personality (because most traits have been found to be nondiscriminating),[5] it could provide a conceptual framework for making predictions about general types of black leadership based on detailed descriptions of situations. The emergence of group structure and the differentiation of function also depend on aspects of the situation (the interaction between and among leader and followers). It appears that an individual's assumption of the black leadership role depends not only on the needs of the group, but also on the members' perception of him/her as being capable of filling the group requisites. These, in turn, vary as the task changes. In general, it may be said that black leadership is a function of personality only to the extent that it is a predictor of certain clusters of leadership acts (strategies) which are called for in certain types of situations. This means that, over time, throughout the duration of the group, the requisite cluster of leadership acts (strategies) may change radically.

Procedures

Ideally, one needs to describe, in detail, the situations of blacks in different historical periods, and, within each context, present the aforementioned dimensions of leadership acts of nationally recognized black leaders. However, historical and biographical sources abound with complete accounts of these occurrences, so the following format is utilized:

1. Discuss briefly the types of race relations policies, and, by implication, the significant black issues in certain historical periods.
2. Correlate the types of race relations policies with the types of predominant strategies (construed as adaptive mechanisms) of nationally recognized black leaders during each historical period.

The reasons for focusing on nationally recognized black leaders are obvious. First, such a focus limits the number of individuals to be considered such that the analytical task is practical. Second, it shifts the

criteria of "influence" to one of "recognition": if most people in America attend to, react to, and label a given black as a leader, then, for all intents and purposes, he is a leader, especially if his/her philosophy and strategy are voluntarily subscribed to by a large proportion of the black population throughout America.

Analysis

1841 - 1865: Slavery

The Situation. Until 1865, blacks, as slaves, had no political or civil rights; they could not sue nor testify against whites; they could neither own property nor make wills, nor could they enter into contracts. State laws called Black Codes were passed to protect slaves as property, to maintain racial discipline, and to provide security for whites. These laws regulated slave assemblies, controlled slave movements, forbade teaching slaves to read and write (except in Maryland and Kentucky), and established special slave patrols and slave courts.[6] One can only characterize the race relations policy of this period as subjugation, and the most crucial issue facing blacks at the time was the abolition of slavery without provoking severe white retaliation, because any attempts by blacks or whites in the South to initiate abolition would have meant catastrophe for those who were responsible.

Leadership Strategy. In the North, however, abolitionists were quite active, attempting to use moral persuasion, via the freedoms of speech and press to get the slaveholder to repent and initiate voluntary emancipation of the slaves.[7] Obviously, any other strategy even in the North, would have been abortive. It was alleged that slavery was a sin and that it ought to be abolished immediately, and it was in this context that Frederick Douglass arose as an outspoken leader. After escaping from slavery in 1838, Douglass

joined the Garrisonian Abolitionists in 1841 at the age of 22. Douglass was self-educated while still enslaved, but as an abolitionist he became a powerful verbal agitator relating his experiences as a slave, the immorality of slavery, and the Garrisonian notions of social reform,[8] with the ultimate goal of full equality and integration of blacks.

In 1851, Douglass split with Garrison in an effort to promote political action, rather than moral persuasion, as a tactic for black integration; i.e., his notion of the goal did not change but his tactic did.[9] He played a leading role in the activist Black Convention movement in the 1840's, and in the 1850's he organized various self-help projects and worked to make blacks a viable political force.

1866 - 1877: Reconstruction

The Situation. From 1866 to 1877, the economic status of blacks in the South changed for the worse. During the war the use of slave labor persisted, and blacks were supported by the master, but during Reconstruction, with no more slave labor and a shortage of money, staple crop production was resumed on plantations by the sharecropping system.[10] Yet even in virtual economic peonage, the political/legal status of blacks changed for the better, since the South was forced to free, enfranchise and attempt to protect the newly given civil rights of the ex-slaves via the supervision of the Freedmen's Bureau and the Union Officers. Until 1865, even most Northern states had denied the franchise to blacks, but when black enfranchisement came to be seen as a means of ensuring the ascendancy of Republicans and Northern businessmen, expedience seemed to override prejudice and blacks were given the franchise.[11] The Northerners did not give blacks economic independence through land reform, but they did change their legal and political statuses through the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth

Amendments, revised Southern state constitutions, two Civil Rights Acts, the Freedmen's Bureau, and the Force Acts. Reforms also came in education, prisons, criminal codes, and social services.[12] This was a period of forced tolerance of blacks' mandated freedom, and it appears that the main task facing blacks was to attain social and economic integration via their status as legal and politic equals.

. Leadership Strategy. As a result of the foregoing, some states which had white majorities in the population had black majorities in the electorate, while others had their white majorities drastically reduced.[13] The enfranchised blacks immediately elected delegates to constitutional conventions and obtained full-scale political participation in all aspects of state and local offices. That most of the black officials had less education, less political experience, and less property than whites is obvious. But, their appearance at the polls and elsewhere was spectacular.[14]

Contrary to expectations, the newly elected blacks were remarkably modest in their demands, for they sought few special advantages for blacks.[15] They were unassertive and deferential. In no state did they hold office and power in proportion to their actual numbers and voting strength.[16] Therefore, their leadership strategy cannot be characterized as one of black domination: it was one of "attempte " black integration as they served in positions which spanned the entire spectrum of public offices (except for the positions of governor, Vice President and President).

1877 - 1920's: Post-Reconstruction

. The Situation. The withdrawal of federal troops from the last Southern states and the resumption of home rule by Southern whites in 1877 probably signaled the end of Reconstruction.[17] Increasing urbanization and industrialization in the North during the eighties and nineties intensified agricultural

depression in the South, which made the black and white farmers economic competitors for scarce resources; and blacks became scapegoats. From 1877 through the 1920's both legal and extralegal forms of intimidation and suppression of blacks increased radically.[18] For instance, from 1889-1919, recorded lynchings averaged one every 3½ days with a high of 232 in 1892, and a rash of race riots occurred all over the country. This, along with conservative victories at the polls, initiated a movement to disfranchise blacks, which grew rapidly, with all levels of whites joining in the effort. By 1910, all the ex-Confederate states passed laws or amended state constitutions with the "grandfather clause" qualified to disfranchise blacks.[19] This was a period of extreme de jure re-segregation, and the most crucial issue facing blacks at this time was survival.

Leadership Strategy. It was in this historical context that Booker T. Washington emerged as a national black leader. Historians note his 1895 Atlanta address as his debut. He chose a policy of extreme accommodation and conciliation, not one of protest and agitation. Apparently, he saw this strategy as one of practicality and the only feasible one under the circumstances. Actually, Washington enunciated a strategy which dominated black thought at the turn of the century, and it set the terms for the debate on black programs for the next two decades. Largely blaming black people themselves for their condition, and describing the Southern whites as the black man's "best friends," Washington minimized the extent of racial prejudice and discrimination, accepted segregation and the separate-but-equal doctrine, deprecated political activity, favored vocational training and working with the hands at the expense of higher education and the professions, and recommended economic accumulation and the cultivation of Christian character as the best methods for advancing the status of blacks in America. The

strategy sacrificed enfranchisement and equal interaction with whites since they seemed to be bones of contention with whites, but it salvaged education (although a technical variety) and self-reliance.

Naturally, Washington's strategy angered black intellectuals in the North who were not encumbered by the Southern tradition. So in 1905, accommodation was challenged by a small group of black intellectuals in the North who advocated a pluralistic brand of integration. The group which was led by W. E. B. DuBois (1868-1963), formed the Niagara Movement which held whites directly responsible for the race problem, and denounced segregation, the separate but equal doctrine, and the disfranchisement laws which they held to be incompatible with economic progress. Finally, they insisted that the only way for blacks to gain their rights was through verbal agitation and complaints. In 1910, the group evolved into the NAACP whose explicit goal was to use legalisms to obtain constitutional rights for blacks,[20] and during the following decade, the NAACP was able to get the Courts to declare the "grandfather clause" and the residential segregation ordinances unconstitutional.[21]

1920's: Black Migration to the North

The Situation. During the late 19-teens and the 1920's, the situation was such that many social and political changes occurred for blacks, principally resulting from the mass migration of blacks to the North, World War I, and Wilsonian Idealism. Yet the same years saw the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan, racial tensions in the military, problems of post-war demobilization and job competition, and extensive race riots during the summer of 1919.[22] From 1910 to 1920, the black population of New York City increased by 66 percent; and from 1920 to 1930, it increased by 115 percent.[23] Most of these immigrants were black Southerners who were disenchanted with the South and

who came North to seek "a better life." By 1930, fewer than 25 percent of the city's blacks had been born in New York.[24] There were more blacks in New York City in 1930 than in Birmingham, Memphis, and St. Louis combined.[25] This pattern was also duplicated in other northern cities, and it caused whites to react with fear, increased de facto segregation, and hostility.

Leadership Strategy. One of the black responses to this situation was an increased interest in black nationalism. The Harlem Renaissance[26] was launched by black intellectuals and artisans, but the Garvey movement was the most noted response because of its appeal to the masses. Both promoted black consciousness, black unity, and black pride. However, the Garvey movement also rejected white stereotypes of black life and white control of black institutions and communities, and it went on to glorify black people, culture and history, and it subscribed to the belief that separation offered an attractive alternative to integration or accommodation. Garvey was a black "Zionist" who saw the creation of an independent African nation as essential to racial redemption.[27] He believed that such a nation would give blacks everywhere a sense of identity, prestige, and protection.

1930's - 1960's: From the Depression to the Revolution

The Situation. During the depression of the 1930's (which was economic catastrophe for blacks), Hoover's failure to curb the depression became a primary reason for blacks' massive shift from the Republican Party to the New Deal Democratic Party which benefited black people. Also, the Democratic Party, under Roosevelt, selected a "Black Cabinet," as many blacks were appointed to significant federal posts (20,000 by 1946) and their advice was sought and heeded.[28] However, the New Deal social and economic programs, in some respects, continued discriminatory practices in the form of farm

payments which often went to landlords rather than to black tenants and sharecroppers; government-sanctioned wage differentials which favored whites; federal housing programs which increased segregation; and minimum wage, maximum hours, and Social Security legislation exempted domestics, farm workers, and other menials, thus excluding many blacks.[29]

Additionally, during the 1930's, the old problems of Southern disfranchisement, de jure segregation, lynching, economic subordination, discrimination, and Northern ghettos remained. So during the 1940's and 1950's Truman, by executive order, established a Committee on Civil Rights which developed a report for a comprehensive civil rights bill. Although the bill was turned down by Congress, the report became a blueprint for civil rights reformers for the next two decades.[30] Later, in 1948, Truman issued another executive order to end segregation in the armed forces (which was fully implemented during the Korean War) and an order for fair employment in the federal government. While during the 1950's Eisenhower relaxed on civil rights (being preoccupied with the Korean War), during the early 1960's, Kennedy again relied on executive orders to combat discrimination in housing and employment until public opinion, in 1963, finally stirred congressional action on a significant scale.[31] In all, this was a period of gradual desegregation and rising expectations as blacks enjoyed more and and more social, economic, and political freedoms. The critical issues, therefore, facing blacks concerned desegregation; i.e., to attack the de jure and de facto barriers to equality.

Leadership Strategy. The depression and the New Deal produced, among the black leaders in the NAACP, a deep concern for economic problems. Also, in the favorable atmosphere of the New Deal, the NAACP broadened the scope of its legalisms to include educational discrimination

concentrating on black-white teacher salary differentials and the absence of graduate and professional schools for blacks in Southern states.[32] During the 1950's, the NAACP won many victories in the courts, successfully attacking racially restrictive convenants in housing, segregation in interstate transportation, and discrimination in publicly owned recreational facilities.

Consistent with NAACP legalisms, A. Phillip Randolph, in 1941, secured employment for blacks in the discriminatory defense industries by organizing and threatening a non-violent direct action mass march on Washington,[33] and CORE was organized in 1942, by James Farmer, to use non-violent direct action (such as interracial-group sit-ins) to attack discrimination in places of public accommodation in the cities of the Northern and border states.[34] This growing use of direct action heightened during and after the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott of 1955-56, which was led by local blacks, and catapulted Martin Luther King, Jr. into national prominence. King, who professed a Gandhian belief in the principles of non-violence, believed that since love was more powerful than hate, the civil rights demonstrators who were beaten and jailed by the hostile whites could actually educate and transform the whites through the redemptive character of their unmerited suffering.[35] With this philosophy, King organized SCLC, in 1957, to use non-violent demonstrations and push voter registration. His leadership during the late 1950's and 1960's was facilitated by mass media coverage, but his role in the Montgomery bus boycott, the Selma March, the 1963 March on Washington, and others, signaled the emergence, especially in the South, of a new militant black leadership strategy: a strategy which stressed integration, but which, tactically, stressed immediacy (rather than the old NAACP gradualist approach), which physically resisted injustice, yet left the resister morally blameless.

1960's: The Revolution

The Situation. During the revolution of the 1960's, the whole process of social change in race relations was speeded up, and the barriers standing against the recognition of the blacks' constitutional rights were largely destroyed. This seemed to have turned blacks toward a deeper concern with the economic and social problems which particularly affected the masses: discrimination in employment opportunities and the quality of education and housing.[36]

Blacks obtained desegregation of public accommodations in the South, and thousands of jobs in retail stores and consumer-oriented industries in the North. They obtained the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, but they met white resistance in using strikes, school boycotts, and demonstrations against discrimination in the building trades unions.[37] Progress was being made, but it was not keeping pace with rising expectations, and genuine equality appeared as distant as ever.

The 1964 Anti-poverty Act accelerated the shift from an emphasis on national legislative programs to grass roots action by the poor themselves, but it seemingly increased the frustration and discontent among the black poor by further escalating expectations while delivering nothing substantial. Paradoxically, the War on Poverty, in stressing that government programs should be initiated and administered by people at the grass roots level, but failing to solve the problems of the poor, led to a heightened militance among them and set the stage for the dramatic appearance of the slogan "black power."

"Black power," first articulated by Stokely Carmichael of SNCC, signaled a mood rather than a program--disillusionment and alienation from white America, race pride, self-respect, and black consciousness.[38] The

precipitating occasion was James Meredith's march from Memphis to Jackson in the early summer of 1966, but the slogan expressed tendencies which had been present for a long time. In political terms, "black power" meant independent action: black control of the political power of the black ghettos and its conscious use to better the slum dwellers' conditions. With escalating expectations among blacks, it seems that the primary issue was political control of their destiny for further social and economic improvement, especially in areas where blacks were in the numerical majority. This is a variant of pluralism.

Leadership Strategy. SCLC, the Southern college student sit-ins, and the formation of SNCC in 1960 initiated events which made direct action temporarily preeminent as a civil rights technique and ended NAACP's dominance. But it also started a steady radicalization of tactics among black leaders: from legalism to direct action to black power; from guaranteeing the protection of blacks' constitutional rights to securing economic policies which would ensure the welfare of the disadvantaged in a progressively automated society; from appeal to whites' sense of fair play to demands based upon the power in the black ghetto; from concentrating in the South to concentrating nationwide; from participation by the upper and middle classes to mass action by all classes.

The number of black leaders proliferated and became more associated with organizations which, in turn, became more militant, inclusive, far-reaching in their demands, and urgent in their attitudes;[39] so, by 1965, non-violent direct action had waned.

It can be said that the leaders were: (1) pluralists - composed of SNCC and many individuals in CORE, Black Panthers, etc.; (2) integrationists - consisting of Urban League officials, a substantial group in the NAACP,

SCLC, A. Phillip Randolph, etc.; and (3) separatists - consisting of the Black Muslims, the Republic of New Africa, etc. However, they differed far more substantially on tactical grounds.[40] For instance, SNCC applauded guerrilla warfare and saw riots as rebellions for political independence; CORE saw riots as natural explosions, urged violence only in self defense, and advocated working within the Democratic Party for economic gains. Black Muslims also advocated violence only in self-defense but eschewed political action; and others were revolutionary separatists, variously advocating armed resistance, reparations, territorial separation, and/or complete control of the central cities.

1970's: Post-Revolution

The Situation. Blacks today enjoy full legal citizenship, access to public accommodations, and the "opportunity" to enjoy a relatively moderate level of affluence. American institutions are being forced to comply with affirmative action, equal employment opportunity, fair housing, and school desegregation guidelines, etc. However, while many blacks may be classified as middle class, the proportion of middle-class blacks today is lower than it was in the 1960's.[41] With the demise of emphasis on black power (perhaps because most black power advocates were either imprisoned, killed, forced out of the country or co-opted), the life styles of affluent blacks are becoming more indistinguishable from the life styles of whites, but the poor blacks are severely disadvantaged.[42]

This may result from the subtle effects of institutionalized racism via prejudice, which cannot be ignored. Most blacks recognize the fact that prejudice cannot be legislatively controlled. Therefore, blacks are faced with the inevitable problems (which today result from the prejudicial, organizational implementation of ostensibly just city, state, and national statutes) of

de facto segregation, extremely high unemployment, disproportionate representation in penal institutions, a progressively widening gap in economic status between blacks and whites, increased urbanization (and therefore ghettoization) of blacks, a de-emphasis on social services and welfare, a conservative trend in higher education toward tightening admission and performance standards, a de-emphasis on formal black culture programs (e.g., black studies), and a decline in emphasis on massive reform programs like OEO and Model Cities.[43]

More and more blacks are verbalizing the need for cultural pluralism and integration via public office and political participation,[44] but the conservative trend in race relations policy, particularly regarding economic concerns (which are exacerbated by the recent recession and current inflation), forces blacks to defer the focus on cultural pluralism to black intellectuals and artisans while concentrating their main efforts on social and economic integration. Therefore, education and training emphases seem to be increasing. It seems that the utility of black studies and programs in black cultural awareness are now being de-emphasized and scrutinized in vocational terms, while enrollment in other types of courses seems to be attracting more blacks.[45] Integration still seems to be as distant as ever as a race relations policy since blacks and whites are competing with each other for scarce resources but only under the duress of affirmative action guidelines, thus allowing insitutionalized racism to victimize blacks as "the last to be hired and the first to be fired." It seems that the current race relations policy is again one of social tolerance of blacks, who are kept from attaining full equality via economic constraints. The critical task, therefore, facing blacks is to attain economic parity with whites by combatting the subtle forms of institutionalized racism.

Leadership Strategy. Black leadership today is monolithic neither in goals nor in tactics; it is basically locally based, thereby pre-occupied with the social and economic problems of individual localities.

In late 1971, when the Congressional Black Caucus was originated, Augustus Alven Adair, the Caucus staff executive director, indicated that, "the black community isn't in the frame of mind for a messiah or single leader but rather is looking for collective leadership and institutionalized programs."[46] In spite of PUSH, the Urban League and the NAACP, civil rights, as an issue, is now defunct and black leadership can now be described as local headship via organizational affiliation and/or public office.[47] The latter point was underscored by the Joint Center of Political Studies in Washington which released a report on the numbers of black elected officials in the United States. The report indicated that 3,503 of the 500,000 persons in elected offices as of May, 1975, were black.[48] Also, it is clearly evident that many blacks across the country occupy positions which carry executive responsibility (although a strong emphasis is being placed on attaining tenure, stability, and institutionalization). The leadership function has become very much distributed throughout the black population. Further it seems that this trend was forecast by Stokely Carmichael in the early 1960's, when he said that he "envisioned moving out all across the black-belt counties of the South--and even into Northern ghetto areas such as those in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Chicago--to create new and independent all black political parties based on his Lowndes county model." In areas where blacks constituted majorities or near majorities, he argued, "they will not hesitate to seek political power and once having gained it to remake the social and economic institutions in their own image. Only in this way," Carmichael said, "can blacks overcome, or at least cope with, the racism rampant in American Society."[49]

In this new capacity, black leadership tactics seem to be directed toward: (1) analyzing and formulating policy which will assure compliance with anti-discrimination legislation, (2) educating whites of the economic inefficiency of institutionalized racism, and (3) serving as facilitators and role models for the black masses, particularly the youth, for ultimate mobilization to a level of economic parity with whites.

Walton underscored the above in 1972, by postulating that: "Black Americans, especially in politics, were trying to achieve two basic goals: (1) to become an independent force in American politics, and (2) to use politics as a tool to remove much of the burdens upon blacks in this country. The two goals, which are interrelated and complement each other, are outgrowths of the now-defunct Civil Rights movement. In fact, the political activities of blacks in the seventies are a continuation of the pressure of nonelectoral tactics of blacks in the sixties."[50]

Summary and Conclusions

Chart I, which summarizes the findings in this chapter, shows that the relationship between race relations policies and modal black leadership strategies is as follows:

1841-1865, Slavery

> When the race relations policy was subjugation, the modal black leadership strategy was oriented toward integration, and the tactic used was morally-based verbal agitation.

1866-1877, Reconstruction

> When the race relations policy was forced tolerance, the modal black leadership strategy was oriented toward integation (with a slight emphasis on pluralism), and the tactic used was public office via political participation.

1877-1920, Post Reconstruction

> When the race relations policy was de jure segregation, the modal black leadership strategy was oriented toward accommodation (with a slight

CHART 1: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Types of Majority - Group Race Relations Policies

Types of Adaptive Strategies of Black Leaders	Subjugation (1861-1865)	Forced Tolerance (1866-1877)	De-Jure Re-Segregation (1877-1920's)	De-Facto Segregation (1920's)	Gradual De-Segregation (1930-1960's)	Rapid De-Segregation (1960's)	Tolerance (1970-)
Integration	Frederick Douglass	Elected Officials	NAACP	NAACP People	NAACP People A. Phillip Randolph Martin Luther King	NAACP People Martin Luther King Urban League	Elected Officials
Pluralism		Frederick Douglass	W. E. B. DuBois			Stokely Carmichael and Eldridge Cleaver	Intellectuals Artisans
Accomodation			Booker T. Washington				
Separation				Marcus Garvey	Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X	Robert Williams James Foreman	

Indirect Action		Direct Action	
1. Verbal Agitation	1. Political Participation 2. Legislation	1. Verbal agitation (legally or constitutionally based) 2. Acquiescence (conciliation)	1. Verbal Agitation 2. Legalisms

Tactics

emphasis on pluralism), and the tactic used was acquiescence (with continuing legally-based verbal agitation).

1920's, Black Migration

When the race relations policy was de facto segregation, the modal black leadership strategy was oriented toward separation, (with a slight emphasis on integration), and the tactic used was nationalism (with legalisms and continuing verbal agitation).

1930's-1960's, Depression to the Revolution

When the race relations policy was gradual de-segregation, the modal black leadership strategy was oriented toward integration and separation, and the tactics used were non-violent direct action and nationalism (with continuing legalism, verbal agitation and political participation).

1960's, Revolution

When the race relations policy was rapid de-segregation, the modal black leadership strategy was oriented toward integration, pluralism, and separation, and the tactics used were non-violent direct action, violent direct action and nationalism (with a continuing emphasis on legalisms, verbal agitation and political participation).

1970's, Post Revolution

Now that the race relations policy is tolerance, the black leadership strategy is oriented toward integration (with a slight emphasis on pluralism), and the tactic used is headship and public office via political participation (with an increasing emphasis on education and training).

These findings lead to the following conclusions:

1. Over the years, most black leadership has been oriented toward integration.
2. There has been a continuous dialogue between the integrationists and the separatists.
3. During the past 140 years, the race relations policy has run full circle: from subjugation and tolerance to tolerance again.
4. Blacks never have been satisfied with their plight in the United States.
5. Even when the race relations policy was most extreme, blacks reacted either by protesting or shrewdly acquiesing.
6. Indirect action was a general pattern until desegregation began, and then direct action obtained until the 1970's.
7. Direct action obtained results faster.

8. The types of leadership tactics used by blacks have been cumulative.

9. Over time, the modal tactics have changed from verbal agitation, legislation and court litigation aimed at securing blacks' constitutional rights, to direct action tactics, to mobilizing the potential power of the black masses along political and economic lines.

10. Over time, black leadership has become more distributed throughout the institutional framework; i.e., more and more blacks have become involved in implementing the leadership role both in terms of frequency and in terms of the multiplicity of strategies throughout the American society.

11. Currently, the race relations policy can be described as one of tolerance, with institutionalized racism being predominant, and black efforts toward egalitarian treatment can be characterized as multiple headship rather than leadership.

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[1]While it is true that numerous protests occurred prior to 1841 (notably in the form of slave runaways, the underground railroad, Nat Turner's insurrection, etc.), the geographical location of blacks prior to 1841 and the institution of slavery tended to obscure the emergence of nationally-recognized black leaders. See Melvin Drimmer (ed.) Black History, (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969).

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[28]T. T. Lyons, op. cit.

[29]Ibid.

[30]A. Meier, et al., op. cit.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid.

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[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid.

[38]J. Haskins, Profiles in Black Power (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1972), p. 11.

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CHAPTER III:

SELECTED EMPIRICAL ANALYSES OF BLACK LEADERSHIP

Introduction

In this chapter, the results of three empirical studies of black leadership using different situational variables are presented. The situational variables in the first study are the characteristics of the followers, and the purpose of the study was to determine the distributive aspects of black leadership. Accordingly, a sample of black leaders and non-leaders were asked to respond to a semantic differential designed to assess differences in the meanings which they ascribed to five key leadership traits. It was assumed that similarities or differences in meanings imply similarities or differences in behavior, and would reveal the extent to which black leadership adapts to the characteristics of its followers.

The situational variables in the second study are the socio-demographic characteristics of the leaders themselves. Accordingly, a sample of black leaders was selected from a local setting (Houston, Texas) and asked to indicate some of their socio-demographic characteristics. These characteristics were, in turn, correlated with areas of leadership and leadership roles. It was assumed that the characteristics of the leaders operationalized the social and cultural milieu in which they served and by implication, prescribed the adaptive leadership strategies which they implemented.

In order to test this assumption on a broader scale, the third study assessed the socio-demographic characteristics of a larger group of successful

blacks (defined as positional leaders by virtue of the prominence of their success and the high probability of their influence) who were selected from a national setting. In this regard, the 1973 Ebony directory of 1,000 Successful Blacks was used as a sampling frame. These characteristics were also correlated with certain indicators of leadership, and it was assumed that they also prescribed the adaptive leadership strategies.

A Study of the Distributive Aspects of Black Leadership

The study of leadership has been conducted as if it were non-distributive or not spread throughout the membership of a group. Gibb argues that leadership is a group quality; i.e., a set of functions that is carried out by a group rather than by a single person or by a subgroup of persons.[1] Janda indicates that all the existing conceptions of leadership can be explicated in terms of the more basic concepts of social psychology, although the intuitive notions of leadership, being replete with merely common sense ideas, are too ambiguous to elicit agreement upon any single conception.[2]

The development of a systematic body of knowledge depends, in part, upon the development of a vocabulary which can provide an exact description of the specific subject under study. However, this task is complicated by the fact that investigators generally utilize the common vocabulary of the language in which they communicate. As used in everyday language, a word frequently has several different denotations, more than one of which might be related to the subject of study. Moreover, conventional words sometimes acquire additional connotations which add to their richness, but subtract from their precision. For instance, the conventional word "leadership" has been incorporated into the more restricted, technical vocabulary of those attempting

to construct a systematic body of knowledge about general social behavior. Janda believes that, when employed in a specialized sense, the conventional word becomes a label for a scientific concept and eventually becomes the concept itself.[3]

The explication of the concept of leadership has focused upon the individual-social continuum, which corresponds to investigating the traits of the leader himself/herself, in addition to examining three other sets of factors: (1) the social and physical nature of the environment within which the group operates; (2) the nature of the group task; and (3) the characteristics of the other group members. This means the concept of leadership, as has been said before, has developed from the trait through the situational/interactional approaches.

In making the assumptions that leaders do not always lead in every social situation, and that leadership is distributive, i.e., that each member of a group exhibits some degree of leadership, this study attempts to explicate the concept of leadership quantitatively instead of qualitatively. Under the latter assumption, a logical deduction is that the traits of the leader are not exclusive determining factors, but contributing factors to be examined in conjunction with the traits of the non-leaders or other group members. Leadership must bear some relationship to characteristics, activities, and goals of the followers. Therefore, it must be conceived in terms of the interaction of variables which are in constant flux and change.[4] The collective conceptual and operational definitions which are advanced in the name of leadership are too disparate to be combined under a denomination more precise than that referring to some form of what Janda calls, "saliency attributable to individual members within a group."[5]

Statement of the Problem

Since five traits (originality, popularity, sociability, judgment, and aggressiveness) were found by Stogdill to have the highest overall average correlations with leadership in general,[6] this study was designed to see if they are similar for black leaders and black followers, by measuring the semantic meanings which the two groups attribute to them. The specific purpose of this study, therefore, was to construct specific semantic profiles of black leaders and black non-leaders. The primary hypothesis in this study was that black leaders do not differ significantly from black non-leaders on the semantic meanings of the five traits of leadership.

While trait studies of leadership have commanded much attention in the past, surprisingly little has been done with minority groups. Stogdill comments on this dearth when writes, "there is a severe lack of studies on the attributes of leadership within the cultural milieu of black and other minority groups."[7] Therefore, this study has significance in focusing on black leaders and non-leaders and suggesting a way in which leadership traits can be identified, measured, and organized according to similarities and/or differences in their uni-dimensional or multi-dimensional semantic meanings.

When two groups, such as leaders and non-leaders, do not differ significantly in their meanings of particular traits, the assumption is that behavioral similarities are being tapped also. To the extent that the semantic differential can index the meanings of leadership traits which are similar for black leaders and non-leaders, it seems capable, therefore, of providing insights into the variables at work in black leadership behavior.

Methodology

The Semantic Differential. This study used Osgood's semantic differential for quantifying the connotative meanings of leadership traits as semantic

concepts. The logic of this technique is summarized as follows: First, the process of description of judgment can be conceived as the assignment of a concept to an experiential continuum, definable by a pair of polar terms. Individuals respond to the semantic differential in ways suggesting that they "carry about" stabilizing frames of reference based upon a lifetime of making such judgments. Each "absolute" judgment of a particular concept on a particular scale is really a comparative judgment against a multitude of previous concept-scale assignments.[8] Second, many different experiential continua, or ways in which meanings can vary, are essentially equivalent and may be represented by a single dimension (a generalized evaluation factor). Third, a limited number of such continua can be used to define a semantic space within which the meaning of any concept can be specified.

The semantic differential is essentially a combination of controlled association and scaling procedures wherein the individual is provided with a concept to be differentiated along a set of bipolar adjective scales. When an individual judges a concept (e.g. introversion) along a series of scales, e.g.,

Introversion

Happy ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ Sad,

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

each judgment represents a selection from among a set of given alternatives like the following: 7 = Extremely Happy; 6 = Quite Happy; 5 = Slightly Happy; 1 = Extremely Sad; 2 = Quite Sad; 3 = Slightly Sad; and 4 = Neither Happy nor Sad.

The Semantic Differential Dimensions. Factor analyses of semantic differential data consistently show that there are three major dimensions of rating response: evaluation, potency, and activity (in order of importance). Studies which have dealt with a great variety of scales, stimuli, and subjects

have demonstrated the prominence and significance of these dimensions,[9] and Osgood speculates that they represent fundamental dimensions in the adjustment of the individual to objects in his/her environment.[10]

The first dimension, evaluation, corresponds to the individual's tendency to approach the stimulus or to avoid it. It measures the extent to which the stimulus positively or negatively reinforces the individual's responses. Semantic differential results make it clear that one of the components of the denotative or referential meaning of adjective forms are an ascription of positive or negative reward value.[11] Potency is the strength of the concept; activity is the extent to which the concept denotes action or movement.

The position the individual assigns to a particular concept is a function of two interrelated variables: (1) the degree to which he/she perceives, in the stimulus or its referent, positive or negative reward value to himself/herself or to individuals with whom he/she identifies: and (2) the degree to which the adjective scale in question refers to any one or more of the three dimensions: evaluation, potency, and activity.

The Semantic Differential Scales. The Semantic differential constructed for this study consisted of twenty-eight empirically tested bipolar scales which represent only the evaluation dimension (since evaluation seems to subsume potency and activity) and which were highly loaded on the evaluation dimension in Osgood et al's original study (see Table 14 in Appendix A). The twenty-eight scales were used to pre-test the judgments of black leaders and nonleaders of each of the five leadership traits (concepts)--originality, popularity, sociability, judgment, and aggressiveness--which were selected for this study on the basis of empirical evidence which indicated that they had the highest overall average correlation with leadership.[12]

Each of the five leadership traits (concepts) was printed at the top of individual sheets of paper with the twenty-eight bipolar adjectives placed beneath them. A brief description of the nature of the study along with directions for using the scales were included on a cover sheet. The respondents judged the concepts in relation to a seven point scale, where the middle of the scale, 4, indicated that the concept was neutral in relation to each end of the scale. Marking outward from the middle indicated a progressively stronger relation to either end of the scale. For the purpose of statistical treatment, the scales were weighted from one to seven, starting with seven for the left polar term. Six of the twenty-eight scales were reversed at random to counteract response-set tendencies.

Identification of Black Leaders and Non-Leaders This study used the reputational and positional approaches for identifying black leaders and non-leaders in Houston, Texas, in 1976.[13] The elicited responses from a panel of black informants, who were assumed to be knowledgeable about community affairs and black leaders, yielded a list of potential black leaders. The panel members were asked only to list names and not describe behavior or name the criteria on the basis of which they had selected the leaders.

As a result, fifty leaders who held formal positions or offices in Houston were randomly selected from the list which the panel provided. Subsequently, fifty matched black non-leaders were selected (non-randomly) from a list of individuals known to the panel never to have been formal leaders in Houston.

Data Analysis

Reducing the Number of Scales in the Semantic Differential. The raw data for each of the scales from the sample of one hundred (which included fifty leaders and fifty black followers) were coded from one to seven, and

factor analyses were performed to refine the semantic differential or reduce the number of scales. The basic data for the factor analyses consisted of five correlation matrices comprised of the bi-variate correlations for all possible pairs of scales for each concept. Therefore, the five 28-by-28 interscale correlation matrices served as the input for the factor analyses. After factor analyses were performed, the solutions were rotated by the Varmax routine to identify meaningful configurations of the scales. An arbitrary criterion of loadings greater than .35 was used. Table 15 in Appendix A gives the rotated factor loading in this study on the evaluation dimension. Scales with a factor loading of .35 or better in both Osgood's factor studies and in the present study were selected and are indicated in Table 1.

For an ideal semantic differential instrument, Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum suggest a selection of a small set of scales having the following properties: (1) high loading on the factor they represent; (2) high correlation with the other scales representing the same factor; and (3) a high degree of stability across the various concepts being evaluated.

The scales which were associated with the evaluation factor/dimension (at or above the .35 criterion level) for the five leadership traits (concepts) were: (1) Originality: relaxed-tense, healthy-sick, good-bad, valuable-worthless, nice-awful, empty-full, and pleasant-unpleasant; (2) Popularity: nice-awful, honest-dishonest, pleasant-unpleasant, bitter-sweet, bright-dark, fair-unfair, high-low, good-bad, and kind-cruel; (3) Sociability: nice-awful, kind-cruel, fair-unfair, near-far, and pleasant-unpleasant; (4) Judgment: sweet-sour, high-low, tasty-distasteful; and (5) Aggressiveness: fair-unfair, pleasant-unpleasant, sacred-profane, bitter-sweet, honest-dishonest, and kind-cruel.

TABLE 1

ROTATED FACTOR LOADINGS ON THE EVALUATIVE DIMENSION

Traits (Concepts)	Scale	Evaluative Factor
Originality	Relaxed-Tense	-.94
	Healthy-Sick	.93
	Good-Bad	.92
	Valuable-Worthless	.90
	Nice-Awful	.88
	Empty-Full	-.77
	Pleasant-Unpleasant	.74
Popularity	Nice-Awful	.92
	Honest-Dishonest	.90
	Pleasant-Unpleasant	.88
	Bitter-Sweet	.88
	Bright-Dark	.86
	Fair-Unfair	.85
	High-Low	.85
	Good-Bad	.83
	Kind-Cruel	.83
Sociability	Nice-Awful	.95
	Kind-Cruel	.89
	Fair-Unfair	.87
	Near-Far	.83
	Pleasant-Unpleasant	.70
Judgment	Sweet-Sour	.94
	High-Low	.91
	Tasty-Distasteful	.84
Aggressiveness	Fair-Unfair	.93
	Pleasant-Unpleasant	.89
	Sacred-Profane	.85
	Bitter-Sweet	.84
	Honest-Dishonest	.81
	Kind-Cruel	.80

Comparison of Black Leaders and Black Non-Leaders. Since the purpose of this study was to test the hypothesis that black leaders were similar to black non-leaders on the semantic meaning of the traits of leadership, only the responses to the scales which were associated with the evaluation dimension (at or above the .35 criterion level) were used for comparison. Each individual's scores on these scales were summed to arrive at composite scores for each concept, and subsequently, the differences between the leaders' and non-leaders' composite mean scores for each concept were assessed via the t test. It was decided that a difference, in either direction, at the .05 level would be considered significant.

Table 2 shows that the results are as follows: Originality had a t value of 1.36 and a two-tailed significance of .198; Popularity had a t value of 1.37 with a two-tailed significance of .188; Sociability had a t value of 2.14 and a two-tailed significance of .050; Judgment had a t value of -.09 and a two-tailed significance of .931; and Aggressiveness had a t value of 1.04 and a two-tailed significance of .313. It is clear that the least similarity for the two groups occurred with sociability, the next least similarity occurred with popularity, originality and aggressivity; and the greatest similarity occurred with judgment.

In order to display scale-by-scale comparisons of black leaders and non-leaders, a graphic representation is presented in Table 3. The table shows that black leaders think that: (1) sociability is quite nicer, kinder, nearer, and more pleasant than black non-leaders think that it is; (2) popularity is a little nicer, more honest, fairer, better, and kinder than black non-leaders think that it is; (3) originality is a little more relaxed, nicer, fuller, and more pleasant than black non-leaders think that it is; (4) aggressiveness is a little more pleasant, and more sacred and honest than black non-leaders think

TABLE 2

t-TEST SCORES FOR BLACK LEADERS AND NON-LEADERS

Traits	t-Values	2-Tailed Significances
Originality	1.36	.198
Popularity	1.37	.188
Sociability	2.14	.050
Judgment	-.09	.931
Aggressiveness	1.04	.313

TABLE 3

MEAN PROFILES FOR BLACK LEADERS AND NON-LEADERS ON FIVE LEADERSHIP TRAITS

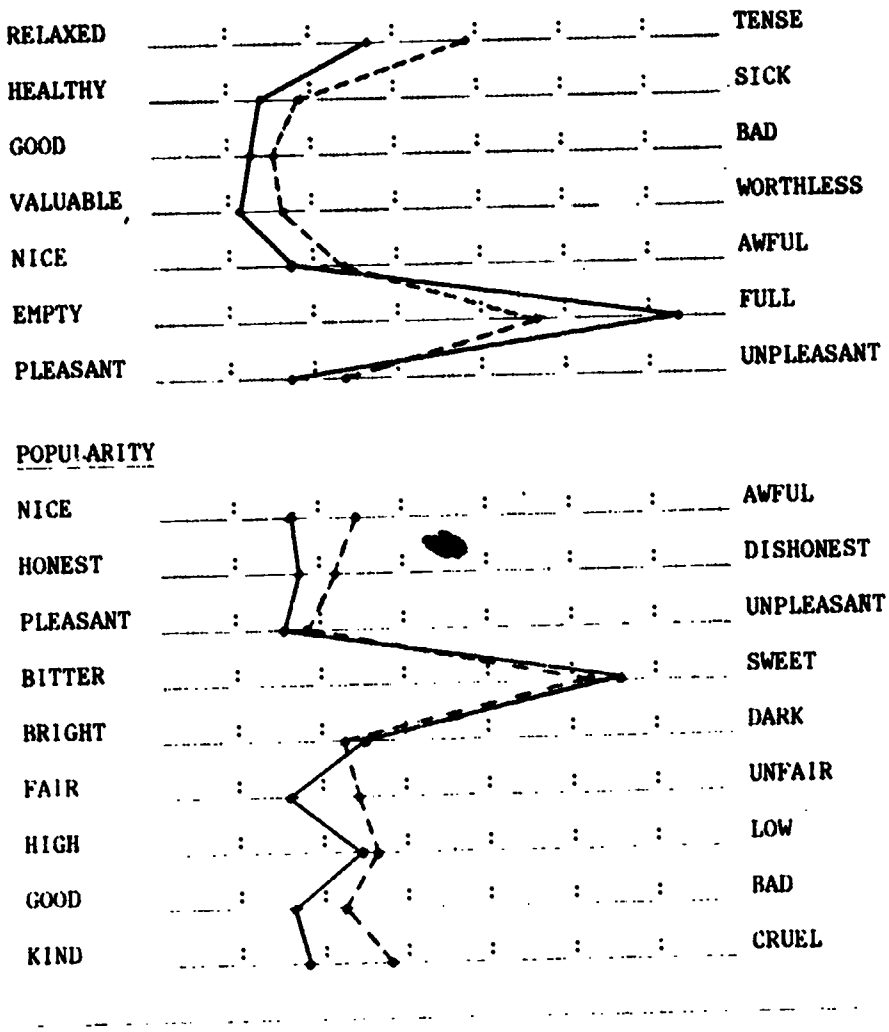
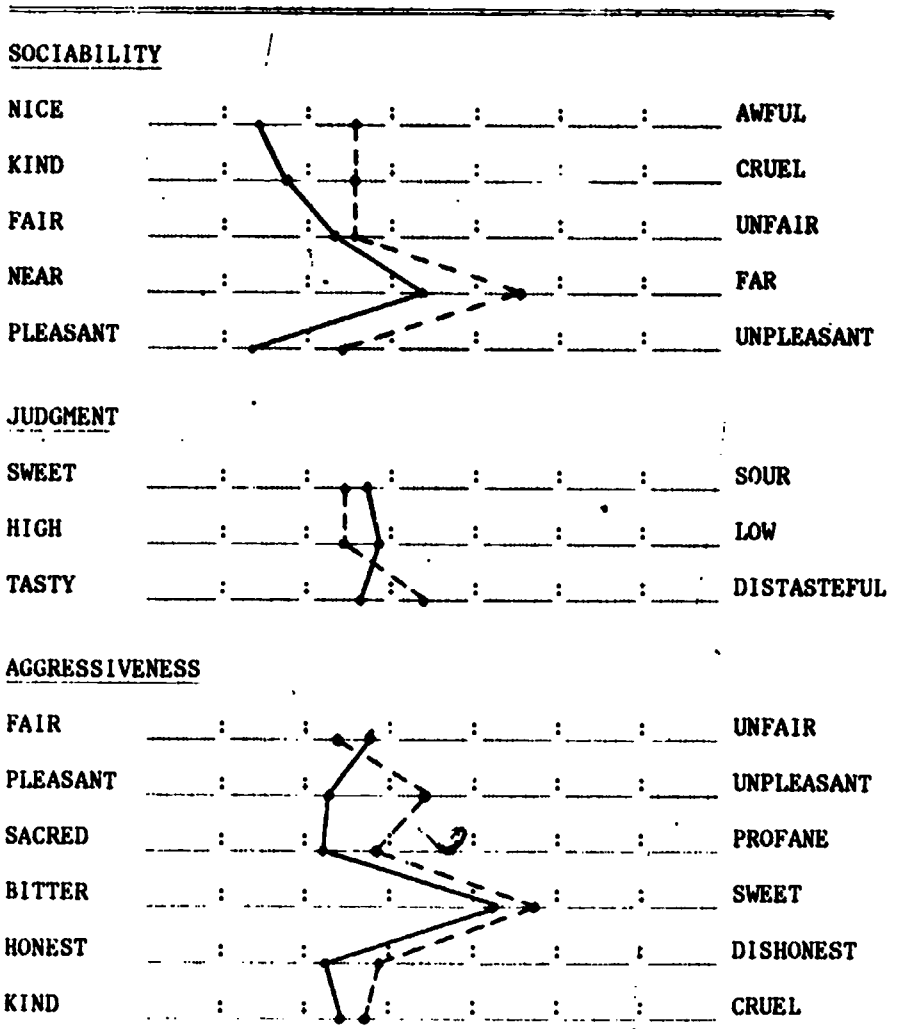


TABLE 3 (continued)



that it is; and (5) judgment is a little more tasty than black non-leaders think that it is.

Discussion

In an effort to tailor the semantic differential ideally to meet the requirements of this study, factor analyses were used to: (1) select a small number of scales having high loadings on the evaluation dimension, and (2) to get a high degree of stability across the five traits (concepts).

A careful inspection of the results of the factor analyses with these two criteria in mind resulted in success for number one and a lack of success for number two. While collectively thirty scales were chosen (from a possible one hundred and forty) which represented high loadings on the evaluation dimension, no scale was consistently represented on all five concepts. Also, the scales nice-awful, pleasant-unpleasant, and fair-unfair were represented on three concepts, while the scales good-bad, bitter-sweet, and honest-dishonest were represented on two concepts.

It appears suggestive from this study, and corroborated by other studies,[14] that there might have been some degree of concept-scale interaction: the meanings of scales and their relations to other scales varied considerably with the concept being judged. The evaluation dimension for the separate concepts was difficult to isolate purely, with secondary loadings in evidence on the majority of the scales. While Osgood and his associates suggest the desirability of factoring for each concept, the results obtained in this study and in other studies suggest unstable factors and fragmented loadings.

Based on the assumption that traits could be used to compare leaders and non-leaders, coupled with studies which specify that certain traits highly correlate with leadership, this study proceeded to compare black leaders and

non-leaders on the thirty factor-analyzed scales representing semantic meanings of five traits. In comparing the two groups, the fact that only the trait sociability showed a significant difference (while the others showed little or no significant difference) implies that black leadership traits are distributed, and that, aside from being more sociable, black leaders are quite similar to black non-leaders. It appears, therefore, that the black leadership role is shared by both leaders and followers, and that the role of the black leader adapts to the leadership abilities of the followers.

A Study of Some of the Socio-Demographic Correlates of Local Black Leadership

Statement of the Problem

The discussion in Chapter II indicated that black leadership in the United States is monolithic neither in strategy nor in tactics; it was considered to be fundamentally locally-based, thereby preoccupied with the social and economic problems of individual localities. Further, it was noted that black leadership tactics seem to be directed toward: (a) analyzing and formulating policy which will assure compliance with antidiscrimination legislation; (b) educating whites of the economic inefficiency of institutionalized racism; and (c) serving as facilitators and role models for the black masses, particularly the youth, for ultimate mobilization to the level of economic parity with whites.

Since the late 1960's, it has been assumed that black leadership has, indeed, become locally-based, concentrating more on regional, state, city, and community issues, rather than national issues. Simultaneously, it has been assumed that black awareness has become institutionalized, such that it is accepted by most black leaders in America as a legitimate posture. Given the

recent low visibility of black leaders in the national media, it is not clear whether these two assumptions are valid; i.e., it is not clear whether black leaders have a common set of motives, but different sets of demographic and leadership profiles which are adaptive to local environments. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to investigate black leadership on a local level in order to test the assumptions mentioned above.

Methodology

During 1976-77, a random sample of fifty-five black leaders in Houston, Texas, was selected for study from a population of approximately ninety. The population of leaders was identified on the basis of the frequency with which they were mentioned as leaders in the local media, from a list of prominent blacks which was provided by the Houston Citizens Chamber of Commerce (HCCC), and from a reputational survey of those leaders who were included on the HCCC list.

Subsequently, a questionnaire was sent to the individuals in the sample (follow-up interviews were conducted with those who did not respond immediately). The questionnaire included items concerning educational, demographic, and social background; leadership roles, perceived leadership attributes; leadership activities; leadership arenas; issues; and projections of future leadership activities. The responses to the questionnaire were collated and presented in percentage form for descriptive purposes. For analytic purposes, the responses to each question were correlated with areas of leadership and leadership roles using the Contingency Coefficient and Chi Square at the .05 level of significance.

Data Analysis and Discussion.

Description. Table 4 presents a demographic profile of the local black leaders. The table shows that, for the most part, the black leaders are

middle-aged and older married males who have lived in the local area from fifteen to fifty years and who have been leaders in the black community for a long time (See Table 5). They come from either small or large stable (intact), religious (Baptist), working class families (with their fathers being slightly more educated than their mothers). Most of them have either undergraduate or graduate degrees in education/counseling, business, or government/law, and their primary occupations tend to be in those same areas, although an appreciable number of them are administrators. There is a slight tendency for the leaders to follow in their fathers' footsteps occupationally, but the predominant trend is for them to have more professional occupations than their parents had (their parents, for the most part, were low-level professionals, farmers, laborers, domestics, or housewives). There is a tendency for them not to be the first child in their original families, and their own nuclear families tend to be much smaller than their original families. One-third of them have spent two to three years in the military services (primarily in the army as privates or non-commissioned officers). They are frequent church attenders, and they are affiliated with many organizations. Most of them are primarily affiliated with the church or local business organizations as board members or officers on the board.

In order to test the assumption that local black leadership in Houston adapts to the local environment, it was necessary, first, to construct a profile of the general and black populations in the city and compare them with the profiles of the black leaders. Table 4-a shows that the general population is older, has more husband-wife headed households, is more educated, has far better jobs, has a higher median income, has more people far above the poverty level, and has families with fewer dependent children than the black population. This implies that the general population is more

TABLE 4

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF BLACK LEADERS

Sex	Male	69
	Female	31
Age	20 - 30	2
	31 - 41	24
	41 - 50	28
	51 - 60	16
	61 - 70	20
	70 +	10
Marital Status	Single	10
	Married	79
	Widowed	11
Who Reared You	Mother	13
	Father & Mother	79
	Other Relatives	6
	Guardians	2

Religion	Self	Parent
Baptist	58	76
Methodist	19	4
Catholic	8	6
Other	9	10
None	6	4

Church Attendance Per Month	Self	Parent
None	4	8
1 - 3	38	19
4 - 6	50	67
7 +	8	6

Political Preference	Self	Parent
Democrat	77	71
Socialist	0	10
Republican	6	11
Independent	9	6
Other	0	2

Highest Education	Self	Father	Mother
Elem.	4	37	33
Jr. H. S.	6	17	19
Sr. H. S.	13	15	23
Some College	11	6	11
College Deg.	25	15	10
Grad. or Prof. Degree	31	6	0
Earned Doctrt.	10	0	0
Other	0	4	4

Area of Specialty	Self	Father	Mother
Non or Gen.	24	65	69
Medicine	6	2	4
Theology	4	6	4
Education/ Counseling	17	8	19
Business	21	9	0
Phy. Sci.	4	4	0
Gov't. /Law	12	4	0
Soc. Sci./ Humanities	10	0	0

Primary Occupation	Self	Father	Mother
Administrator	16	4	0
Busi. Owner	15	10	2
Minister	4	11	0
Teacher/Counselor	17	10	16
Physician	4	0	0
Pharmacist	0	2	0
Nurse	0	0	4
Judge	2	0	0
Politics	4	0	0
Personnel	6	0	0
Lawyer	2	0	0
Auditor	6	0	0
Salesman	4	0	0
Civil Servant	2	4	0
Farmer	0	15	0
Skilled Labor	4	15	4
Common Labor	4	15	4
Domestic	0	2	13
Housewife	2	0	44
None	10	15	13

Estimated Social Class	
Upper	8
Middle	65
Working	2
Lower	10
No answer	15

No. of Children	Siblings	Own Children
None	13	15
1 - 3	42	58
4 - 6	15	19
7 +	31	8

Like to be Referred to as:	
Black	63
Colored	4
Negro	29
Afro-American	4

No. Years Residency in City	
None	6
1 - 5	4
6 -15	23
16 -25	15
26 -35	17
36 -45	10
46 -55	15
56 -65	6
66 +	4

Military Experience	
None	67
Army	21
Navy	4
Air Force	8

Highest Rank	
None	67
Private	10
Non-Com.	12
Officer	11

Years of Service	
None	67
2 - 3	18
4 - 5	10
6 +	5

Primary Organizational Affiliation	
None	13
Church	23
Frat./Soro.	10
Civil Rights Org.	15
Social Serv. Org	15
Business Org.	15
Ed. Inst.	8
Labor Org.	2

Position in Organization	
None	13
Pres./Bd. Chmn.	46
V.P./Ass't. Bd. Chmn.	8
Bd. Mmbr/Trustee	25
Secretary	2
Consultant/Advisor	6

*The numbers in the table are percentages based on an N of 55.

TABLE 4-a
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF THE GENERAL AND BLACK POPULATIONS OF HOUSTON*

		General		Black	
Age	Under 5	9.3		11.4	
	5-9	10.3		12.9	
	10-14	10.3		11.9	
	15-19	9.1		9.7	
	20-24	9.0		8.7	
	25-34	14.3		13.8	
	35-44	13.2		11.5	
	45-54	10.8		8.6	
	55-59	4.1		3.3	
	60-64	3.3		2.8	
	65-74	4.2		3.7	
	75+	2.2		1.7	
	Total	100.0 (1,232,740)		100.0 (316,651)	
Type of Family Structure	Female Headed or Female Primary	12.3		28.6	
	Husband & Wife Headed	84.9		57.8	
	Other	2.8		13.6	
	Total No. of Families	100.0 (307,619)		100.0 (90,399)	
Highest Education	None	1.8		2.4	
	Elem (1st-7th Grade)	16.2		25.7	
	Jr. HS (8th Grade)	7.1	Md=12.1	8.4	Md=10.4
	Some HS (9th-11th Grade)	23.1	51.8% Com-	28.8	34.7% Com-
	HS (12th Grade)	23.6	pleted HS	21.1	pleted HS
	Some Coll (1-3 yrs)	13.3		7.7	
	Coll. Deg. Plus (4 yrs. or More)	14.9		5.9	
	Total (over 25 yrs old)	100.0 (635,768)		100.0 (143,796)	
Occupation	Professional, Tech., & Kindred	16.6		8.3	
	Managers & Adm. (except Farmers)	8.8		2.3	
	Sales Workers	9.0		2.6	
	Clerical & Kindred	20.1		11.7	
	Craftmen Foremen & Kindred	13.1		9.7	
	Operatives (except transport)	9.3		12.4	
	Transport Equip Operatives	4.2		8.9	
	Laborers (except Farmers)	5.2		11.8	
	Farm Workers	.2		.6	
	Service Workers	11.1		22.8	
	Domestics	2.4		9.2	
	Total (Employed 16 yrs +)	100.0 ($15,599)		100.0 (120,427)	
Median Family Income		$9,876 (307,939)		$6,392 (71,663)	
Ratio of Family Income to Poverty Level	Less than .50 of Poverty Level	4.6		11.0	
	.50- .74	2.6		6.5	
	.75- .99	3.5		7.7	
	1.00-1.24	4.3		8.9	
	1.25-1.49	4.6		8.7	
	1.50-1.99	10.3		15.7	
	2.00+	70.1		41.4	
	Total No. of Families	100.0 (307,939)		100.0 (71,663)	
Average No. of Dependent Children per Family	No. of Children under 18 yrs old / No. of Families Reporting Family Structure	442,347 / 307,619 = 1.4		133,731 / 90,399 = 1.5	

*The percentages in this table are computed from the 1973 Census Report for the City of Houston.

TABLE 5

LEADERSHIP CONTEXT

Own Areas of Leadership	
Political	36
Educational	27
Business	25
Soc. Welfare	2
Religion	4
Professional	2
Entertainment	2
Military	2

Leadership Role	Self	General
None	17	19
Facilitator	19	15
Organizer	31	19
Teacher	16	4
Administrator	19	6
Role Model	8	36

Years of Leadership	
0 - 9	10
10 - 20	4
21 - 30	13
31 - 40	10
45 - 50	23
51 - 60	21
61 - 70	17
70 +	2

Race of Followers	
Black	77
Black & White	6
Black, White, Brown	17

Leadership Scope	
Local	49
Regional	12
State	10
National	29

Perceived Barriers to Own Leadership	
None	11
Personal Inadequacies (lack of knowledge, lack of econ. resources, not enough time, impatience, greed, over-confidence)	39
Black Negativity, (apathy, hostility, jealousy among blacks)	21
White Negativity (restrictions, racism, lack of credibility)	29

Perceived Difference Between Black and White Leaders	
None	34
Economics	6
Demographics	13
Values	10
Environmental	11
Knowledge Level	10
Leadership Ability	4
Emotional Qualities	2
Social Contacts	6
Proper Identification	2
Organizational Ability	2

Most Outstanding Leader in Lifetime (Role Model)	
None	4
Martin Luther King	50
Barbara Jordan	10
Booker T. Washington	10
Others (each received less than four votes)	26

Reason for Role Model	
None	11
Concerned for all	12
Defied Whites	4
Concerned for Blacks	8
Held high position	40
Awakened U.S.	11
Was Creative	10
Built Black Self-Image	4

*The numbers in the table are percentages based on an N of 55.

conservative than the black population but exercises extreme social and economic constraints on the progress of black people. Obviously, the major task confronting black leaders is to make maximal use of the political, educational, and business mechanism to gain, for blacks, educational and economic parity with whites. This implies that one of the white attitudes toward blacks is: "You pull yourself via your own efforts, I'm not going to help you." Even so, it is clear that the age, family structure, education, occupation, perceived social class, and family size profiles of the black leaders (see Table 4) are remarkable similar to the profiles of the general population in Table 4-a. The characteristics of the black leaders do not reflect the characteristics of the black population but those of the general population. It seems that in attempting to accomplish the major task, the black leadership group adapts, in a relatively conservative environment, by becoming a microcosm of the general population on key social, educational, professional and economic dimensions. This possibly assures acceptance of them by both whites and blacks, thereby facilitating the accomplishment of the major tasks.

The second test of the assumption regarding the adaptation of local black leadership required a description of the black leaders "leadership context" and their perceptions of the importance of certain attributes of leadership. Table 5 presents the responses of the black leaders to questions regarding leadership context, while Table 6 shows their perceived importance of certain attributes for black leadership. In Table 5, it appears that the respondents are prominent in the precise areas in which they were trained: politics (government/law), education, and business. Generally, they think that a leader should be a role model, but they see themselves more broadly as facilitators, organizers, teachers, and administrators who have filled these

roles from twenty to fifty years. Their main constituents are local blacks, although some of them think that the scope of their leadership extends beyond the local and state boundaries. A large number do not see any difference between black and white leadership, and they tend to suggest more personal inadequacies and black negativity than white negativity as barriers to their own leadership. The overwhelming majority think that Martin Luther King, Jr., Barbara Jordan, and Booker T. Washington were the most outstanding black leaders in their lifetimes (by implication, their own role models), and the main reason given is that these individuals held positions of prominence.

An inference, from these findings, is that the leaders are a relatively conservative group of locals whose demographic and leadership context profiles do not differ markedly from those of the general population. Therefore, one would expect their philosophy of black consciousness to be conservative also. This expectation is partially confirmed by the facts that, from Table 4, one-third of the leaders like to be referred to as "colored" or "Negro" rather than "Black" or "Afro-American," and seventy-two per cent of them consider themselves as either upper class or middle class.

It appears also that the leaders in this study endorse the Protestant-Capitalistic Ethic which alleges that prominence can only be attained through hard work, diligence and dedication. These conclusions are substantiated, to some extent, by Table 6, which shows that the respondents think that the following are ideal attributes for black leadership which helped them to become leaders (those which have a response of fifty per cent or above in the second column): pleasant personality, intelligence, high ideals, proper morals, friendliness, personal ambition, education, dedication, flexibility, diligence, organizational ability, altruism, and discipline. While they are

TABLE 6

PERCEIVED IMPORTANCE OF CERTAIN ATTRIBUTES OF BLACK LEADERSHIP

	Generally Important	Helped Respondent
Pleasant Personality	92	69
Family Background	48	31
Skin Color	23	8
Charisma	87	48
Good Clothes	64	10
Intelligence	96	62
High Ideals	96	63
Proper Morals	92	60
Friendliness	90	61
Athletic Ability	31	19
High Academic Achievement	75	23
Luck	50	11
Personal Ambition	89	56
Being Slick	98	11
Money	56	11
Education	75	50
Religion	92	46
Involvement in Black & White Issues	71	45
Involvement Only in Black Issues	92	42
Dedication	98	60
Flexibility	96	54
Diligence	98	50
Contact with the Right People	94	44
Popularity	85	18
Political Savvy	83	23
Organizational Ability	98	58
Pro-Black Orientation	70	13
Cosmopolitanism	61	8
Concern for Others	94	63
Discipline	98	58
Aggressivity	88	88

*The numbers in the table are percentages based on an N of 55.

concerned about black issues (but a pro-black orientation is not one of them), they are least concerned about cosmopolitanism. This implies that the black leaders in this study do not consider black consciousness as a major issue, but are, instead, concerned with black economic and political issues at the local and state level.

Their perceptions of self as leaders are consistent with the results of using the reputational approach to select them, for most of them see themselves as leaders (see Table 7), and they want to be leaders. Although they are only moderately satisfied with their leadership, they think that they are democratic decision-makers, and they tend to work very hard. Only a little over a third of them feel that they were forced by circumstances to become leaders (implying that their leadership is voluntarily pursued). They think that their most outstanding accomplishments are in the area of institutional and organizational change which were facilitated, for the most part, by their own personal ambition and family background. Finally, those who have leadership aspirations for the next ten years would like to be administrators, although most of them expect to be generic teachers.

Correlates. Table 8 shows the variables which correlate significantly ($<.05$) with two aspects of black leadership: areas of leadership (political, educational, business, or social/religious), and perceived leadership role (facilitator, organizer, teacher, administrator or role model). The variable which correlates most highly with areas of leadership is whether involvement in black issues helped the respondents to become leaders. It seems that most of those respondents who feel that it did help them are in the political arena, while most of those who feel that it did not help them are in education. The variable which correlates most highly with perceived leadership role is leadership expectations for the future. Those who expect to be facilitators are now

TABLE 7

PERCEIVED LEADERSHIP PERFORMANCE

	Positive Responses
Do you see yourself as a leader?	89
Do you want to be a leader?	71
Are you satisfied with your leadership?	56
Do you make most of the decisions as a leader?	35
Do you feel that you work harder than others?	65
Do you feel comfortable in relating to others?	90
Do you delegate responsibility?	87
Do you feel that you were forced to be a leader?	38
Do you strive for consensus?	87

Accomplishment as a Leader

None	15
Organized Blacks	15
Inst. & Org. Chng.	42
Changed Attitudes toward Blacks	4
Converted Blacks to Christianity	8
Served as a Role Model	10
Obtained Black Jobs	4
Other	2

What Facilitated Accomplishment

None	23
Family Background	4
Church	6
Personal Ambition	33
Gen. Life Experience	6
Awareness	13
Friends	4
Org. Ability	9
Political Context	2

Leadership Aspiration in Ten Years

	Like	Expectation
None	36	40
Facilitator	14	13
Organizer	2	6
Administrator	27	0
Teacher	0	35
Role Model	13	4
Obtaining Black Jobs	6	0
Others	2	2

Honorary Degrees

None	96
H.L.D.	4

Most Valuable Leadership Experience

Family Background	69
Church	4
School	13
Org. Affiliation	6
Other	9

*The numbers in the table are percentages based on an N of 55.

TABLE 8

CORRELATES OF BLACK LEADERSHIP

	Leadership Area	Leadership Role
Sex	.29	
Father's Education	.46	
Whether First Child		.53
Years in Houston	.45	.53
Skin Color*		.38
High Ideals*		.47
Involvement in Black Issues*	.41	
Dedication*	.44	
Political Savvy*	.44	
Family Background**	.39	
Charisma**	.30	
Involvement in Black Issues**	.51	
Contact with the Right People**	.46	.37
Discipline**		.45
Aggressivity**	.41	.48
Years of Leadership		.44
Scope of Leadership	.49	
Whether See Self as a Leader		.40
Whether Make All Decisions	.35	
Whether Feel Comfortable in Relating		.40
Whether Delegate Responsibility		.41
Leadership Expectations for the Future		.67

*Generally important for black leadership

**Attributes which helped respondents become leaders

organizers; those who expect to be teachers are now organizers; and those who expect to be role models are now facilitators.

In summarizing the correlates with regard to areas of leadership: (1) those in politics are males; have a broad scope of leadership; have fathers with high education; think that involvement in black issues, dedication, and political savvy are important for black leadership; and think that family background, charisma, involvement with black issues, and aggressivity helped them to become leaders; (2) those in education are females; have fathers with high education; have lived in the city for a long time, have a narrow scope of leadership; and think that involvement in black issues is important; (3) those in business have fathers with high education; are long-time residents of the city; have a narrow scope of leadership; think that dedication and political savvy are important; and are autocratic; and (4) those in social service/religion have no distinct pattern.

In summarizing the correlates with regard to leadership roles: (1) those who are facilitators are long-time residents of the city; think that high ideals are important; think that contact with the right people and discipline helped them become leaders; delegate responsibility; feel comfortable in relating to others; and would like to be role models in the future; (2) those who are organizers think that skin color is important; think that contact with the right people helped; see themselves as leaders; feel comfortable in relating to people; delegate responsibility; and would like to be facilitators in the future; (3) those who are teachers are long-time residents of the city; and would like to be organizers in the future; (4) those who are administrators are first children; think that contact with the right people helped; feel comfortable in relating to people; delegate responsbility, and would like to be organizers in the future; and (5) those who are role models have no distinct pattern.

Conclusions

The findings pertaining to the race of the followers show that 77 per cent are black. This significantly high ratio of black followers-to-leaders implies that, although the local black leaders are quite similar to the general population socio-demographically, they tend to be leaders only in the black community rather than in the community at large.

The findings regarding perceived barriers to own leadership indicate that 39 per cent of the respondents felt that personal inadequacies were major barriers to their leadership. Further, they reflected a rather conservative orientation. This implies that assertiveness among the local black leaders would not be tolerated by the local environment and would minimize the extent to which the leaders could mobilize resources for the greatest collective economic and political gain. More microscopically, the particular correlates of leadership areas and leadership roles suggest that only certain skills and knowledge are deemed appropriate for certain areas and roles. They also suggest that the local environment is more conducive to black "headships" rather than "leadership." This point is underscored by Chatterjee, who indicates that "most black leaders on the local level are not outstanding like Ghandi or King, but are either traditional or bureaucratic leaders."[15] Also, virtually none of the local leaders in the present study reported any of the non-traditional, militant, aggressive leaders of the 1960's as their role models.

A Study of Some of the Socio-Demographic Correlates of National Black Leadership

Statement of the Problem and Methodology

For many years, there have been lists of the "top ten," the "100 best," or the "most influential" blacks in America, and many of these lists have been

produced by the black press. In this regard, Ebony has run a regular feature, spotlighting outstanding blacks, which has become highly popular, and over the years, has resulted in the accumulation of a large number of biographies.[16] About five years ago, the editors of Ebony decided that these biographies represented a unique opportunity,[17] and produced a three-volume set of books, of which one volume is a comprehensive directory of over a thousand blacks.[18] The directory was used in the present study to discern the possible socio-demographic correlates of black success and/or black leadership on a national level.

The original idea for the directory, according to its editor, was to inspire young blacks toward the achievement of their personal goals or ambitions by showing that other blacks from all kinds of socio-demographic background have achieved. Accordingly, inclusion in the directory was not limited to just those who had money or fame. Over the years, Ebony sent a large number of biographic questionnaires to prominent individuals throughout the country, allowing them to use the positional approach and indicate whether they thought they were successful and/or leaders. Thus, responses were obtained from a florist, a retired elementary school principal, a fire chief, along with doctors, congressmen, judges and entertainers. The individuals in the directory are successful simply because they accomplished what they set out in life to do, but they are leaders because they have influenced directly the behavior of many others. Therefore, they are considered as leaders in this study by virtue of their prominence and influence.

After reading a number of the biographies in the directory, it was decided that a socio-demographic study of them would be conducted. Three variables were selected as indicants of leadership (level of education achieved--high school or less, some college, bachelors, masters, or doctoral;

professional area--divinity, government, business, scientific, education, medicine, the arts, entertainment, or civil rights; and predominant race of work setting), and nine variables were selected as socio-demographic correlates (age; sex; size of birthplace--rural, urban, metropolitan;[19] marital status--single, married, divorced, widowed; region of BA education--northeast, southeast, north central, mountain, southwest, pacific; predominant race of BA school;[20] size of BA school--small (under 2500), medium (2501-10,000) and large (over 10,000); BA major--divinity, pre-law, physical sciences, education, pre-medicine, liberal arts, biological sciences; and birth region).[21]

Using level of education achieved, professional area, and predominant race of work setting as indicators of leadership, this study was designed to answer the following question:

1. What impacts do age, sex, size of birthplace, marital status, region of BA education, predominant race of BA school, size of BA school, BA major, and birth region have on level of education achieved?
2. What impacts do age, sex, size of birthplace, marital status, region of BA education, predominant race of BA school, size of BA school, BA major and birth region have on professional area?
3. What impacts do age, sex, size of birthplace, marital status, region of BA education, predominant race of BA school, size of BA school, BA major and birth region have on predominant race of work setting?

Consistent with the foregoing, the purpose of this study was to: (1) describe the leaders in terms of the twelve variables; (2) assess the relationships among the three indicators of leadership (using $p \leq .05$ as a criterion of significance); and (3) answer the three questions above (using $p \leq .05$ as a criterion of significance).

Data Analysis

Description. Table 9 presents the socio-demographic profile of the 1,000 national black leaders. It is clear that, for the most part, they are middle-

TABLE 9

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF
1,000 BLACK LEADERS

		%
Age	0 - 34	6
	35 - 39	8
	40 - 44	14
	45 - 49	16
	50 - 54	15
	55 - 59	12
	60 - 64	12
	70+	9
	Total	100
Sex	Males	83
	Females	17
	Total	100
Birth Region	Northeast	17
	Southeast	38
	North Central	31
	South Central	21
	Mountain	1
	Southwest	6
	Pacific	2
	Total	100
Level of Education Achieved	High School	8
	Some College	14
	Bachelors	25
	Masters	22
	Doctorate	31
	Total	100
Predominant Race of Work Setting	Black	41
	White	59
	Total	100
Marital Status	Single	6
	Married	84
	Divorced	6
	Widowed	4
	Total	100
Region of BA School	Northeast	18
	Southeast	39
	North Central	28
	South Central	5
	Mountain	1
	Southwest	2
	Pacific	7
Size of BA School	Small	43
	Medium	25
	Large	32
	Total	100
Professional Area	Divinity	8
	Gov./Law	29
	Business	23
	Science	1
	Education	17
	Medicine	4
	Writing/Arts	4
	Entertainment/Sports	10
	Civil Rights	4
	Total	100
BA Major	Divinity	10
	Pre Law	14
	Phy. Science	11
	Education	8
	Pre Med	6
	Liberal Arts	29
	Soc. Science	13
	Fine Arts	7
	Bio. Science	2
	Total	100

aged and older married males who were born in southeastern urban areas. They are well educated with almost a third of them having doctorate degrees. Most of them obtained their undergraduate degrees in liberal arts, pre-law, or social science from small southeastern or north central white and black schools. Their primary occupations seem to be in the same kind of areas in which they were trained as undergraduates: education, law/government, and business. Interestingly enough, almost sixty percent of them work in predominantly white settings, and only four percent of them work in civil rights.

These findings bear a remarkable similarity to the findings from the study of local black leaders in Houston. Although no information on their conservative vs. liberal orientations was obtained, one could infer that they are similar to the local black leaders in this regard also. However tenuous such an extrapolation, it appears that the conservative race relations policy which is predominant in the United States during the seventies does predict a conservative and rather status quo-oriented black leadership profile.

Relationships among the Three Indicators of Leadership. The three indicators of leadership--level of education achieved, professional area, and predominant race of work setting--essentially respond to three implicit questions: (1) How qualified are the black leaders educationally?, (2) In what professional areas do they work primarily?, and (3) Do they work primarily in predominantly black or white settings? While each of the three variables indicates leadership separately, it is not clear whether all three of them do so together. Therefore, it was necessary to assess the relationships among them. Table 10 shows that level of education achieved is significantly related to professional area, and professional area is significantly related to predominant race of work setting. Even though predominant race of work setting is not significantly related to level of education achieved directly, it

may be inferred that the relationship is indirect by virture of predominant race of work setting's relationship to professional area and professional area's relationship to level of education achieved. As a result, it appears that the three variables are highly interrelated and, together, serve as consistent indicators of leadership.

Specifically Table 10 shows that: (1) most of the black leaders who have just some high school education are in entertainment/sports and work in predominantly white settings; (2) most of the black leaders who have some college are in law/government (working in predominantly white settings) and business (working in predominantly black settings); (3) most of the black leaders who have bachelor's degrees are in law/government (working in predominantly white settings) and business (working in predominantly black settings); (4) most of the black leaders who have master's degrees are in law/government (working in predominantly white settings), business (working in predominantly black settings), and education (working in predominantly black settings); and (5) most of the black leaders who have doctorate degrees are in law/government (working in predominantly black settings), and medicine (working in predominantly white settings).

Correlates. Only age and sex correlated significantly with level of education achieved, and Table 11 indicates that age is a more significant correlate than sex. It appears that the younger leaders are less formally educated than the older leaders (most of the younger leaders have bachelors degrees or less, while most of the older leaders have masters and doctorate degrees). The shift seems to occur between 49 and 50 years of age, and this implies that education, as a qualification for black leadership, is less important for younger people. It also implies that the massive disenchantment with formal education which occurred during the sixties established an

TABLE 10

THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THREE INDICATORS

OF LEADERSHIP

		Level of Education Achieved					
		High Sch	Some Coll	BA	Masters	Doctorate	Total
Professional Area	Divinity	5	3	9	12	7	8
	Law/Government	10	28	32	27	35	29
	Business	24	37	36	26	6	23
	Science	--	1	1	--	2	1
	Education	--	4	6	22	36	17
	Medicine	--	6	--	2	11	4
p = .0001	Writing/Arts	4	6	5	6	1	4
	Entertain/Sports	52	15	7	3	--	10
	Civil Rights	5	6	4	2	2	4
	Total	100 (82)	100 (144)	100 (252)	100 (220)	100 (301)	100 (999)

		Level of Education Achieved					
		High Sch	Some Coll	BA	Masters	Doctorate	Total
Predominant Race of Work Setting	Black	43	40	39	40	45	41
	White	57	60	61	60	55	59
	Total	100 (82)	100 (139)	100 (247)	100 (214)	100 (291)	100 (973)

p = .663

		Predominant Race of Work Setting		
		Black	White	Total
Professional Area	Divinity	15	2	8
	Law/Government	9	43	29
	Business	32	18	23
	Science	1	1	1
	Education	24	13	17
	Medicine	3	4	4
p = .001	Writing/Arts	4	4	4
	Entertain/Sports	5	13	10
	Civil Rights	7	2	4
	Total	100 (413)	100 (589)	100 (1002)

TABLE 11

THE IMPACTS OF AGE AND SEX ON

LEVEL OF EDUCATION ACHIEVED

Age

		0-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70+	Total
Level of Education Achieved	High Sch	16	7	7	10	5	7	7	1	11	8
	Some Coll.	16	18	17	13	11	15	13	10	13	14
	Bachelors	25	40	28	26	27	24	20	19	21	25
	Masters	26	12	22	26	24	17	21	6	20	22
p = .02	Doctorate	17	23	26	25	33	37	39	44	35	31
	Total	100 (55)	100 (72)	100 (136)	100 (147)	100 (142)	100 (109)	100 (110)	100 (70)	100 (81)	100 (922)

Sex

		Males	Females	Total
Level of Education Achieved	High Sch.	8	7	8
	Some Coll.	14	16	14
	Bachelors	24	30	25
	Masters	22	25	22
p = .05	Doctorate	32	22	31
	Total	100 (761)	100 (161)	100 (922)

educationally negative environment for black leadership to which it adapted by minimizing the perceived need for educational qualifications for black leadership. With regard to sex, Table 11 shows that, although both males and females are, for the most part, formally educated, the males are more educated than the females. This is consistent with the national trend of males occupying more positions where higher education is required than females.

Table 12 shows that only predominant race of BA school correlated significantly with the second indicator of leadership (professional area). This finding is unexpected since an equal number of the leaders attended both black and white schools at the BA level. Both black and white undergraduate schools aid in providing the foundation for black leadership in law/government, business, and education, but, beyond that, each type of school prepares more black leaders for ultimate work in some professional areas than in others. Black undergraduate schools seem to prepare black leaders more for ultimate work in divinity, education, and medicine, while white undergraduate schools seem to prepare black leaders more for ultimate work in law/government, business, writing/arts, entertainment/sports, and (surprisingly) civil rights. This is probably due to the different undergraduate major possibilities and the different opportunities for career preparation at the two types of schools.

Seven of the correlates significantly related to the third indicator of leadership--predominant race of work setting. These seven correlates are age, birth region, sex, size of birthplace, BA school region, size of BA school and predominant race of BA school (see Table 13). The table shows that: (1) the older the leaders, the more they are inclined to work in predominantly black settings; (2) those who were born in the South are more

TABLE 12

THE IMPACT OF PREDOMINANT RACE OF BA SCHOOL ON PROFESSIONAL AREA

		Predominant Race of BA school		
		Black	White	Total
Professional Area	Divinity	13	4	8
	Law/Government	30	31	29
	Business	20	28	23
	Science	1	1	1
	Education	25	16	17
	Medicine	5	4	4
	Writing/Arts	2	6	4
	Entertainment/Sports	2	6	10
	Civil Rights	2	4	4
	Total	100	100	100
		(393)	(393)	(786)

p = .00^1

TABLE 13
THE IMPACTS OF AGE, BIRTH REGION, SEX, SIZE OF BIRTH PLACE, BA SCHOOL REGION, SIZE OF BA SCHOOL, AND PREDOMINANT RACE OF BA SCHOOL ON PREDOMINANT RACE OF WORK SETTING

		Age									
		0-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70+	Total
Predominant Race of Work Setting	Black	31	40	41	34	39	47	46	40	43	41
	White	69	60	59	66	61	53	54	60	54	59
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
p = .05		(55)	(72)	(136)	(147)	(142)	(109)	(110)	(70)	(81)	(922)

		Birth Region							
		NE	SE	NC	SC	MOUNT	SW	PACIF	Total
Predominant Race of Work Setting	Black	35	45	36	49	29	37	50	41
	White	65	55	64	51	71	63	50	59
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
p = .05		(165)	(369)	(205)	(149)	(7)	(63)	(20)	(978)

		Sex		
		Male	Female	Total
Predominant Race of Work Setting	Black	42	36	41
	White	58	64	59
	Total	100	100	100
p = .05		(832)	(176)	(1008)

		Size of Birth Place			
		Rural	Urban	Metropolitan	Total
Predominant Race of Work Setting	Black	50	42	34	41
	White	50	58	66	59
	Total	100	100	100	100
p = .0009		(259)	(423)	(291)	(973)

		BA School Region							
		NE	SE	NC	SC	MOUNT	SW	PACIF	Total
Predominant Race of Work Setting	Black	36	52	37	52	33	60	21	41
	White	64	48	63	48	67	40	79	59
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
p = .002		(145)	(316)	(227)	(42)	(9)	(20)	(42)	(801)

		Size of BA School			
		Small	Medium	Large	Total
Predominant Race of Work Setting	Black	53	38	33	41
	White	47	62	67	59
	Total	100	100	100	100
p = .0001		(326)	(186)	(245)	(757)

		Predominant Race of BA School		
		Black	White	Total
Predominant Race of Work Setting	Black	52	35	41
	White	48	65	59
	Total	100	100	100
p = .0001		(393)	(393)	(786)

inclined to work in predominantly black settings than those who were born in the North, Mountain, or Pacific areas; (3) males are slightly more inclined to work in predominantly black settings than females; (4) those who were born in urban areas are more inclined to work in predominantly black settings than those who were born in metropolitan areas, and an equal number of those from rural areas work in both predominantly black and predominantly white settings; (5) those who attended undergraduate schools in the South are more inclined to work in predominantly black settings than those who attended undergraduate school in the North, Mountain, or Pacific areas; (6) the smaller the undergraduate school attended, the more the leaders are inclined to work in predominantly black settings; and (7) those who attended predominantly black undergraduate schools are more inclined to work in predominantly black settings than those who attended predominantly white undergraduate schools.

Discussion

These findings clearly indicate that prejudice and discrimination based on age, birth region, sex, size of birthplace, and type of undergraduate school attended affect black leaders just as they affect other people in the United States. Specifically, as national human relations policies, these phenomena force black leaders to adapt by determining where they work and, by implication, the kind of work they do and the leadership roles they implement. This is confounded by the fact of race, which is the ultimate criterion of prejudice and discrimination. One can merely speculate on the specific nature of the leadership behavior which is manifested by the black leaders in the two different (black and white) settings, but it is clear that they are different. Black leaders in black settings probably feel freer to espouse black causes

and take bold initiatives than black leaders in white settings. However, since those who work in black settings are older, have higher degrees, are in professional areas like divinity, education, and medicine, their assertiveness is probably reduced by virtue of their age, education, and professional orientations. Further, while those who work in white settings are relatively unrestrained by age, education, and professional orientations (implying that they should feel free to espouse black causes and take bold initiatives), the mere fact that they work in white settings probably reduces the tendencies toward such efforts. So, the net effect is that both groups probably tend to be somewhat conservative.

Summary and Conclusions

The three empirical studies in this chapter highlighted the fact that black leadership adapts to its situational context regardless of whether that context is made up of characteristics of the followers, the local social environment, or the national social environment. However, obviously, these single-shot studies are not definitive, for each empirical statement in this chapter is threatened by the possibility of invalidation in subsequent studies. Single studies only heighten the awareness that further research, to be useful, should be conducted with different samples, possibly using different methods. In the present three studies, the use of black leaders who were selected via the positional approach, the use of questionnaires, the use of $p < .05$ as a significance criterion, and the use of cross-tabulation procedures may have presented impediments to the generalization of the findings. Further testing of the empirical statements presented in these three studies must attempt to avoid these possible limitations.

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CHAPTER IV:

IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH ON BLACK LEADERSHIP

Requisite Knowledge for Studying Black Leadership

In order to study black leadership, researchers must know or strive to know something about black people and black leadership in addition to knowing something about leadership in general. First, they should know that black people and black leaders have their own institutions through which they, collectively and individually, cope with environmental conditions and pressures which have been placed on them historically. Since blacks have been victimized and oppressed for centuries by whites, they have a history of struggle which includes efforts to preserve their social and cultural heritage and institutions. It is important to know that research which is undertaken on black leadership without understanding the black social and cultural heritage is vacuous and possibly leads to biased findings.

Second, while there is sufficient empirical evidence to suggest that economic, social, and class factors are paramount in the determination of black leadership and access to power, researchers should know that these factors do not automatically consign black leadership behavior to lower-class tension-release emotionalism and irrationality. Many analyses which attempt to explore the relationship between class and race often malign black behavior and aspirations while overlooking the fact that much of that behavior is not pejorative but rational attempts to adapt to dynamic and frequently hostile situations. Consequently, black leadership should be viewed as blacks'

attempts to gain access to power and the protection of their civil rights in an environment which is, by and large, dictated by others.

Third, researchers who are concerned with black leadership must understand the contemporary utility of cultural pluralism as it applies to their research. William Greenbaum indicates that: (a) Pluralism encourages not only respect for this country, but it also encourages the development of true universalism in which the merits and faults of different belief systems can be intelligently assessed because the individual and the group deeply understand more than one culture; (b) There is a paramount human need for self consciousness and self awareness, and by assuming the responsibilities for their own institutions and communities, blacks can preserve and use them for their benefit. In this context, whites' acceptance of cultural pluralism (rather than half-hearted tokenism) is essential; (c) Recognition of the failure of whites' practices to reduce the great inequities that affect black self-respect and prevent their meaningful pursuits supports the ideals of cultural pluralism; (d) Pluralism can offset the poverty of cosmopolitanism and antagonistic individualism. Pluralism emphasizes the human interdependence between/among individuals, families, groups, and communities. It seeks vehemently to alter the roles of the economy, science, technology, and government so that they serve rather than dominate people; and finally (e) Pluralism implies that for many Americans, irrevocable cultural and linguistic diversity already exists and provides firm foundations for strong institutions and respectable communities in which to live.[1]

Fourth, researchers should know that much of the research pertaining to blacks and black leadership has been controlled and/or conducted by whites; that there is continued victimization and colonization of blacks; and therefore, that there is a need for the de-colonization of such research along the

ethnographic research lines suggested by Valentine.[2] Here, it needs to be recognized that blacks, in addition to being subjugated to economic and political imperialism, are also susceptible to academic imperialism. Even the well-intentioned researchers who incorporate ethnographic strategies in attempting to avoid the possibility of academic imperialism must be quite cautious in assessing the relevance and appropriateness of their research endeavors. They must be aware of their own motivations for their work--whether it is conceptually and humanistically sound, or whether it is conducted solely for their own personal or academic advantage (implicitly and explicitly subscribing to and promoting institutionalized racism). If the latter is true, such work becomes exploitative, and it seems that it does not attend to the historical and environmental status of the objects of study--blacks. Further, little, if any, practical recommendations can be developed from such studies for the elimination of the long-standing victimization and oppression of blacks.

Theoretical and Methodological Issues in Studying Black Leadership

Clearly, it is possible that much of the research on black leadership ignores the situational contexts of blacks. However, in accusing researchers of conspiring to perpetuate institutionalized racism in conducting their studies of black leadership, it is necessary to extend the argument far enough to involve science (as a research strategy) in the criticisms in such a manner that remedial alternatives can be deduced whose implementation do not depend on the personal preferences of the researchers. Actually, the issue addresses a situation which is broader than (although it includes) institutionalized racism. It addresses one of the major paradigm crises in contemporary research methodology.[3] In the present context, this crisis has led to a

stultifying, yet inevitable, incapacity on the part of contemporary social science to depict the nature of black leadership, to yield results which explain how black leaders interact in their social environment, or to contribute to non-blacks' understanding of the reality of black leadership.

In fact, contemporary research methodology seems incapable of allowing for the accurate study of any social or cultural phenomena. This allegation is based on the fact, that, historically, the strategy was not designed to reflect the specific nature of social science (cultural) phenomena. For instance, when orthodoxy in scientific enterprise was established in the physical and biological sciences (i.e., long before the social sciences had passed beyond infancy), researchers became preoccupied with refining what was already considered as legitimate knowledge areas by establishing parameters around them and rigidifying the methods of exploration within them. While the process excluded social science as a knowledge area, it nevertheless established the basic paradigm for scientific enterprise.

Since the paradigm-bound knowledge restricted the problems which could be investigated and the methods which could be used to solve them, new approaches with different views of reality emerged to challenge the old orthodoxy. Social science emerged as a new approach. However, the orthodox scientific paradigm was not all that responsive to the new approach, for there seemed to be forces like the selective-exposure tendency, which greatly affected the thoughts and attitudes which researchers had (and still have) about the legitimacy of methods and areas of study.[4] For black leadership research as a social science, these forces pose problems at least at two levels: theoretical and technical.

At the level of theory, orthodoxy considers explanation as a highly-prized goal, and linear, probabilistic, deductive logic serves as the model for

explanation. This means that explanations must assume temporal causal sequences in events and speak of modal tendencies rather than particulars. Everything which departs from modal tendencies is considered as deviant and/or irrelevant. The nomological deductive framework requires that general concepts and laws be used as basic premises for which particular events are specific instances. These general concepts and laws must have relevance across time and space, such that the particulars are subsumable under them. Given this frame of reference, it is impossible for a particular proposition whose predicates are modal tendencies to specify the large number of subgroup variations in behavior patterns. Only those behavior patterns which conform to modal tendencies are reflected accurately in particular propositions. Obviously, black leadership behavior patterns do not conform to modal tendencies, so they are not reflected accurately in particular propositions.

To some extent, as Easton has pointed out, the problem is an epistemological one which directs the attention of social science researchers to concerns which are quite irrelevant to the major problems confronting the adaption of "deviant" black leaders.[5] The researchers' blindness or myopia which results from a limited world view translates into faulty theory.[6] This is especially true since theory is presented as concepts (and the relationships among the concepts), the meanings of which derive from stipulations and agreements among individuals who share a common orientation.[7] Given that the researchers are social scientists who (in attempting to maximize their legitimacy) usually implement the theory-hypothesis-test-conclusion research model, they share a monistic, reductionistic and physicalistic orientation. Howard thinks that, for those who share such an orientation:

> (Their) knowledge is largely isolated from reality, studied mainly through syntactical investigations by an abstract observational language which aims to reduce all knowledge to a priorily derived categories via the methods of physics. This logical-empiricism ...

> turns out to be disinterested in (studying actual) human (behavior). Any question (which is) asked is replaced by a logical question and the puzzle solving activities which follow become the end.[8]

As this is applied to the study of black leadership, theory-construction is minimized, and the social environment is viewed as a laboratory for theory-testing or concept validation. With black leadership behavior projected as something out there which can be categorized and which is consistent with logic, the act of studying it becomes a tour-de-force. Further, since the traditional scientific method is considered as the best way of studying black leadership, the scientific way easily translates into a way of seeking information to paint a portrait of black leaders which can be explained only by scientifically legitimate (actually illegitimate) concepts and theories.[9]

At the technical level, these forces (a limited causal view of the world, a goal of theory-testing, and a projection of logic as the justification for research questions) tend to converge to form a technology which can only misrepresent the reality of black leadership. However, as blacks know, researchers come armed with arguments supporting the 'rightness' of their studies even though many blacks insist on the need for a deeper understanding of their life styles to be considered and an opportunity to--at least in part--participate in posing research questions, and in gathering, analyzing, and interpreting the data. Conflict is inevitable, for from the perspective of traditional social science researchers, people empowerment is both illogical and illegitimate. With the researchers in charge, questions of accountability and the legitimacy of paradigm are irrepressible.[10]

The foregoing leads to the conclusion that three of the most crucial tasks facing black leadership researchers today are: (1) to derive a research paradigm (with appropriate technology) which focuses on black leadership as behavior (especially adaptive human behavior) and one which does not

emphasize hypothesis-testing; (2) to conduct sound, meaningful research vis-a-vis the paradigm; and (3) to translate the results of the research into concrete propositions which depict the reality of black leadership.

While general effort should be exerted to cover all three of the task-areas, it, particularly, should cover numbers 1 and 2. In fact, since black leadership is adaptive, and any attempt to study it per se merely focuses on its situationally specific manifestations, most research on black leadership should be devoted to assessing its social correlates vis-a-vis meticulously deduced paradigms. An appropriate strategy would be to study the leadership behavior itself descriptively, in its own context--without a priori hypotheses--in an attempt to discover, not deduce, the correlates. This presupposes a modified anthropological approach to data gathering and a descriptive statistical approach to data analysis. The adoption of such an approach would generate specific empirical knowledge bases which are space and time bound, which are relatively sound, and which are relatively unbiased (independent of the researchers' personal or social preferences).

A realistic, practical research paradigm of this sort should include, at a bare minimum, an understanding of black people, but a commitment to generate an ethynemic theory of black leadership (an ethynemic theory is one which does not use a priorily deduced generalizable concepts or propositions for explanatory purposes; it merely includes the principles for assessing relationships among a set of descriptive variables, and a statistical mapping of the relationships among the variables).[11] The paradigm would: (a) allow the variables within the set to explain each other with the ultimate goal of the researcher being to develop a tautology; (2) allow relationships to be simultaneous rather than linear and/or causal; (3) make it possible for the variables to be expressed in everyday rather than theoretical language; and

(4) require the participation of blacks in every phase of the study, especially the conceptualization and interpretation phases.

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APPENDIX A:
THE EVALUATION POLAR SCALES AND THE OSGOOD ROTATED FACTOR LOADINGS ON THE EVALUATIVE DIMENSION

TABLE 14

THE TWENTY-EIGHT EVALUATION POLAR SCALES

Good-Bad	Relaxed-Tense
Sweet-Sour	Clear-Hazy
Clean-Dirty	Nice-Awful
High-Low	Bright-Dark
Calm-Agitated	Fragrant-Foul
Tasty-Distasteful	Honest-Dishonest
Beautiful-Ugly	Valuable-Worthless
Kind-Cruel	Pleasant-Unpleasant
Bitter-Sweet	Fresh-Stale
Black-White	Fair-Unfair
Empty-Full	Near-Far
Sacred-Profane	Pungent-Bland
Brave-Cowardly	Healthy-Sick
Rich-Poor	Happy-Sad

Source: Charles Osgood, George Suci, & Percy Tannenbaum, The Measurement of Meaning, University of Illinois Press, 1957, p. 37.

TABLE 15

ROTATED FACTOR LOADINGS ON THE EVALUATIVE DIMENSION

Scale	Evaluative Factor
Good-Bad	.88
Sweet-Sour	.83
Clean-Dirty	.82
High-Low	.59
Calm-Agitated	.61
Tasty-Distasteful	.77
Beautiful-Ugly	.86
Kind-Cruel	.82
Bitter-Sweet	-.80
Black-White	-.64
Empty-Full	-.57
Sacred-Profane	.81
Brave-Cowardly	.66
Rich-Poor	.60
Relaxed-Tense	.55
Clear-Hazy	.59
Nice-Awful	.87
Bright-Dark	.69
Fragrant-Foul	.84
Honest-Dishonest	.85
Valuable-Worthless	.79
Pleasant-Unpleasant	.82
Fresh-Stale	.68
Fair-Unfair	.83
Near-Far	.41
Pungent-Bland	-.30
Healthy-Sick	.69
Happy-Sad	.76

Source: Osgood et al, The Measurement of Meaning, p. 37.

APPENDIX B:
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ASSESSING THE ATTRIBUTES OF LOCAL BLACK LEADERS

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. Sex _____
2. Age _____
3. Marital Status _____
4. Person(s) who reared you _____
5. Your religion _____
6. Your parent(s)' or guardian(s)' religion _____
7. Approximate number of times per month you attend church _____
8. Approximate number of times per month your parent(s) or guardian(s) attended church while you lived with them _____
9. Your political preference _____
10. Your parent(s)' or guardian(s)' political preference _____
11. Your highest level of education _____, and area of speciality _____
12. Your mother's highest level of education _____, and area of specialty _____
13. Your father's highest level of education _____, and area of specialty _____
14. If applicable, your guardian(s)' highest level of education _____, and area of specialty _____
15. Honorary degrees, if any _____
16. Your primary occupation _____
17. Your father's primary occupation _____
18. Your mother's primary occupation _____
19. If applicable, your guardian(s)' primary occupation _____
20. Number of brothers and/or sisters _____

21. Are you an only child, 1st child, 2nd child, etc.? _____

22. Countries, states and cities in which you have lived (starting with current residence and going back to place of birth).

	Country	City	State	Dates
a.				
b.				
c.				
d.				
e.				
f.				

23. Number of children you have _____.

24. The term you like to be used to refer to your race _____.

25. Your social class level _____.

26. Your parent(s)' or guardian(s)' social class level _____.

27. Your family's main source of income when you were growing up _____

_____.

28. Your main side interest (hobby) _____.

29. Military experience; if any: branch _____; highest rank _____; years of service _____.

LEADERSHIP CONTEXT

30. Area(s) in which you think your leadership is most pronounced (political, educational, business, entertainment, military, etc.) _____

31. Your role as a leader

32. The year in which you think you first became a leader _____.

33. Race of your main constituents (or followers) _____.

34. Scope of your leadership (local, state, regional, national, international, etc.) _____.

35. Your definition of black leadership _____

_____

_____

TRAITS OF LEADERS

36. Indicate how important each of the following is for becoming a Good Black leader by placing "V" for Very Important, "F", for Fairly Important, and "N" for Not Important in the appropriate spaces.

a. ___Pleasant personality

b. ___ Family background

c. ___Skin Color

d. ___Charisma

e. ___Good Clothes

f. ___Intelligence

g. ___High Ideals

h. ___Proper Morals

i. ___Friendliness

j. ___Athletic Ability

k. ___High Academic Achievement

l. ___Luck

m. ___Personal Ambition

n. ___Being Slick

o. ___Money

p. ___Education

q. ___Religion

r. ___Involvement in Black & White Issues

s. ___Involvement in Black Issues

t. ___Dedication

u. ___Flexibility

v. ___Diligence

w. ___Contact with right people

x. ___ Popularity

y. ___Political savvy

z. ___Organizational ability

aa. ___Pro-black orientation

bb. ___Passivity

cc. ___Cosmopolitanism

dd. ___ Concern for others

ee. ___Discipline

ff. ___Aggressivity

gg. ___

hh. ___

37. Please go back over the list of items in question no. 36 and place a check mark (√) beside each of the items which you think were important in your becoming a leader.

LEADERSHIP PERFORMANCE

38. How you see yourself as a leader. (Write yes or no in each of the spaces provided below):

a. ____ Do you see yourself as a leader?

b. ____ Do you want to be a leader?

c. ____ Do you feel satisfied with your leadership?

d. ____ In order to be a leader, do you make most of the decisions?

e. ____ Do you feel that you work harder than those around you?

f. ____ Do you feel comfortable in relating to other people?

g. ____ Do you delegate responsibilities?

h. ____ Do you feel that you were forced by circumstances to become a leader?

i. ____ Do you strive for agreement between you and your followers?

39. What are the three most important differences between black and white leaders?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

40. In your experience as a Black leader what have been the three most important barriers to you?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

41. What was the most important set of experiences that prepared you for leadership? (Family, school, military, vocation, organization, friends, other)

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

42. Who, in your lifetime, do you think have been the three most outstanding American black leaders (Indicate whether they are local, national international, etc.)

a. _____ Why? _____

_____

b. _____ Why? _____

_____

c. _____ Why? _____

_____

43. List five of your most important organizational affiliations (Start with the one which serves as the main base for your leadership).

	Organization	Position Held
a.		
b.		
c.		
d.		
e.		

44. What do you think are your three most outstanding accomplishments as a leader?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

45. What are the three most important factors which facilitated the accomplishments you listed above in question number 44.

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

46. Within the next five to ten years, what type of leadership position would you like to hold?

_____

47. Within the next five to ten years, what type of leadership position do you expect to hold?

_____

48. What factors do you think would facilitate the accomplishment of your leadership goals in the next five to ten years? _____

_____

_____

49. What factors do you think would hinder the accomplishment of your leadership goals in the next five to ten years? _____

_____

_____

50. What do you think will be the main style of black leadership in the next five to ten years? _____

_____

51. Please furnish any other information about yourself which you think may help us in this endeavor. _____

_____

_____

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

APPENDIX C:
EBONY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ASSESSING THE ATTRIBUTES OF NATIONAL BLACK LEADERS

Please fill out completely, answering all questions that are applicable

Name (please print): _____

Exact title of present job (or your profession): _____

Name and address of employing agency or firm: _____

_____

Kind of business or agency: _____

Name of public relations director: _____

Description of job or profession (be specific and use lay terms whenever possible): _____

_____

_____

Number of persons under your supervision: _____ Length of time you have been with agency or firm: _____

Other jobs held with agency or firm: _____

Length of time in present job or profession _____

Salary range (optional): _____

How was present job or profession attained? _____

_____

Specific educational training (on-job, school, etc.) for present job: _____

_____

_____

Estimation of how rare your job or profession is for blacks: _____

_____

_____

Estimation of future opportunities in your field for blacks: _____

Organizational affiliation: _____

_____

_____

Short statement about what you consider as your most significant achievement:

_____

_____

_____

PERSONAL DATA

Home Address: _____ Phone (include a.c.): _____

City and State: _____ Zip Code: _____

Business Address: _____ Phone (include a.c.): _____

City and State: _____ Zip Code: _____

Marital Status: _____ Number of Children: _____

Wife's/Husband's Name: _____ Children's Names and Ages: _____

_____

Educational Background (include all degrees and honors ... where, when, and in what field): _____

_____

_____

Leisure Interests: _____

_____

Please add any additional information about yourself and/or your career that will be helpful to our writers: _____

_____

_____

_____

Codes for the Relevant Variables in the Questionnaire

Age

0=30-34
1=35-39
2=40-44
3=45-49
4=50-54
5=55-59
6=60-64
7=65-69
8=70+
9=Missing values

Place of birth by size of community

0=Rural
2=Urban
9=Missing values

Level of education

0=High school or less
1=Some college
2=Bachelor's
3=Master's
4=Doctorate
9=Missing values

Education by ethnic majority at Bachelor's level

0=Predominately black
1=Predominately white
9=Missing values

Sex

0=Male
1=Female

Principal Salary Source

0=Black
1=White
9=Missing values

Marital status

0=Single
1=Married
2=Divorced
3=Widow/Widower
9=Missing values

Education by region on Bachelor's level

0=Northeast
1=Southeast
2=North Central
3=South Central
4=Mountain
5=Southwest
6=Pacific
7=Hawaii
8=Alaska
9=Missing values

Education by size of school at Bachelor's level

0=Small college (0-2, 500)
1=Medium college (2501-10,000)
2=Large University (10,000 +)
9=Missing values

Education by major at Bachelor's level

0=Divinity
1=Pre-law
2=Physical sciences
3=Education
4=Pre-med
5=Liberal arts
6=Social sciences
7=Fine arts
8=Biological sciences
9=Missing values

Practicing profession or vocation

0=Divinity
1=Law/Govt
2=Business
3=Scientific
4=Education
5=Medicine
6=Arts
7=Entertainment
8=Civil rights
9=Missing values

Place of birth by region

0=Northeast
1=Southeast
2=North Central
3=South Central
4=Mountain
5=Southwest
6=Pacific
9=Missing values

A Three-Dimensional Analysis of Black Leadership

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