LEADERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS OF
OHIO BLACK MAYORS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

By

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*** *** ***

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INTRODUCTION

Since the Voting Rights Act of 1965, increasing numbers of Black men and women have sought and won positions of leadership, both political and non-political, in communities throughout the nation.\(^1\) This growth in Black leadership is particularly evident in the political arena; that is, specifically in the expansion in the numbers of Black mayors elected in American cities, villages and towns.

This increase in the election of Black mayors suggests that voters have begun to recognize and accept the plausibility of Black administrative leadership at the municipal level. As the numbers continue to increase, there will be a greater need to detail Black leadership characteristics for the purpose of historical analysis and contemporary research on minority leaders. Further, as institutions attempt to prepare individuals for leadership positions in society, an accurate interpretation of the role minorities play in community development is essential. It is therefore pertinent to study Black mayors in their attempts to become the vanguard in developing solutions to solve urban and rural problems. The impact of Black leadership in improving the

\(^1\) In 1980, eight Ohio cities were headed by Black mayors. This figure rose to nine in 1981 and then declined to seven cities in 1982.
quality of life for all citizens must be documented for a complete and realistic understanding of Black contributions to American society.²

Although the significance of progress in Black leadership has been examined from a national perspective in works such as *Negro Politics - The Search for Leadership* and *Profiles of Black Mayors in America*, research has yet to be conducted on the development of Black mayoral leadership in Ohio. It is therefore proposed that a study of Ohio's Black mayors be conducted to examine their leadership behavior in solving community problems. Over the last five years, governmental cutbacks have significantly challenged the skill and talents of decision makers at all levels of society. An analysis of Black leadership, in terms of the methods used to secure resources for public services, will: a) document and demonstrate the significance of Black municipal leadership and b) illustrate how Black leaders have established public/private initiatives to address issues of community concern.

This research will examine how Ohio's Black mayors have attempted to serve on the "cutting edge" of change in Ohio towns. The development strategies used by Black mayors will, upon analysis, detail how Blacks' leadership skills have been used to satisfy campaign goals and to build community agendas. The research information obtained will be of

increasing value to educators and institutions of higher
learning as they attempt to prepare and train future leaders
for roles of community leadership.

"Leadership is a special form of power."3 Leaders take
the initiative to achieve a purpose and can, through their
actions, create change and influence development within the
environment in which they function. This initiating or
decision making is of particular importance to those groups
in our society which have historically lacked opportunity.
The impact of decision making within Black political leader-
ship has had implications for governing policies and strate-
gies. It is, therefore, pertinent to research and document
the social, institutional and system-wide initiatives
designed and taken by Black mayors to transform limited
municipal planning goals into new purposes and objectives.

Partnership between the public and private sectors has
become an indicator of organized community response to social
needs. An analysis of Black leadership in terms of public/
private initiatives is, thus, a timely one. The Committee on
Public/Private Initiatives, begun by President Reagan four
years ago, has worked to stimulate interest and enthusiasm
for increasing private support of community needs projects.
A study of Ohio's Leadership will contribute to the documen-
tation of this contemporary effort.

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3James MacGregor Burns, Leadership (New York: Harper & Row,
In general, the success of leadership strategies may be the result of communication, motivation, and/or negotiation. The practice of leadership is reflected in the creation of new processes and structures, as well as problem solving techniques which can further human economic development.\textsuperscript{4} The vitality of both the urban and rural environment can therefore be linked to the leadership abilities of the decision makers. Individual leaders, particularly in the political sector, are charged with the responsibility of engineering social benefits for their constituents. Clearly, appropriate management in the administration of public services and initiative in securing needed resources can be examined to illustrate leadership practices.

Leaders in positions of authority may exert both organizational and personal influence over a wide range of resources. These resources may contribute to the improvement, stagnation, or even regression of community life. Social obligation and responsibility are demands which public leaders must address if they are to respond to change and to influence the coordination of services which affect the social fabric of a community. Leadership can thus be examined in relation to the alternatives and options selected

by those responsible for solving problems of simple and complex proportions.\textsuperscript{5}

Research on leadership and its characteristics has been a topic of study and discussion for several decades. Much controversy has arisen throughout the years concerning the theoretical problems of leadership: 1) How does one become a leader; and 2) What are the traits that determine leadership effectiveness. A broad range of theories exist exploring the dimensions of leadership.

Researchers have analyzed numerous dimensions of leadership to determine the truth or fallacy of the suggestion that "being a leader is in large part a matter of such sociological, economic, or political factors as age, financial status, being at the right place at the right time, or being encouraged by happenstance."\textsuperscript{6} Current literature supports the approach for a study of leadership which addresses the process of group interaction and goal achievement as a primary focus.\textsuperscript{7} Leadership is thus viewed as a changing process which varies according to the individuals involved and circumstances of the situation in which the group must interact.

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnote{Harry Levison, Executive (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 138.}
\footnote{Ibid., p. 180.}
\end{footnotesize}
The complexity of leadership has been important to those responsible for the administration of public and private service programs. Practical application of leadership concepts has led to the analysis of leaders in terms of group functioning. That is, the performance of a group depends on both the leader's style of interacting with his group members and on the nature of the group situation in which he and his group find themselves. The creation of both leadership and group effectiveness is significant to professionals and their achievements in the work environment. Understanding the nature and/or characteristics of leadership provides administrative direction for planners, managers, and executives. Research has shown that trait studies have produced little information useful to differentiate between those who can and cannot be considered leaders. Fiedler concludes that "a number of investigators have identified various leader attributes that affect group behavior in important ways."

However, the results which have been found in one set of groups, or under one set of conditions, have not always occurred in other conditions, or in other sets of groups. As a result, researchers have not been able to generalize from

8Ibid., pp. 253-254.


one situation to another. Fiedler further concludes that it seems more promising at this time to teach the individual to recognize the conditions under which he can perform best and to modify the situation to suit his leadership style.

Situational analysis, a contemporary emphasis in leadership research, is an evolution of comprehensive study in the field. Early efforts to analyze leadership, as indicated by Smith and Kruger (1933) and then Jenkins (1947) found that leadership, as a concept, was ill defined and sometimes not defined at all. In 1948, Stogdill surveyed literature on leadership; the studies included were only those which researched personal factors and traits related to leadership. Stogdill found that from the more than fifteen studies surveyed, a group of factors associated with leadership could be classified categorically—capacity, achievement, responsibility, participation, situation, and status. However, the final analysis led him to suggest "that leadership is not a matter of passive status, or of a mere possession of some combination of traits. It appears rather to be a working relationship among members of a group, in which the leader acquires status through active partici-

11Fiedler, Leadership, p. 12.

12Ibid., p. 255.


14Ibid., p. 64.
pation and demonstration of his capacity for carrying cooperative tasks through to completion."15

Useful studies were pursued to improve business and professional understanding of leadership. In 1945, the Personnel Research Board of Ohio State University initiated the Ohio State University Leadership Studies. The purpose of these studies was for developing "research methods and obtaining information which might lead to a better understanding of leadership."16 The methods used provided for an analysis of leadership "in terms of status interactions, perceptions, and behavior of individuals in relation to other members of the organized groups."17 Early studies attempted to measure leader effectiveness (Carter and Nixon, 1949) and leadership style (Lewin, Lippit and White, 1939). Conclusions made indicated that effectiveness in leadership is related to the criterion used. Much discussion occurred concerning the categorization of leadership in terms of democratic, autocratic, or laissez-faire styles. Although it was determined that the democratic style was best, researchers (e.g. Roby, Nicol, and Farrell, 1963) eventually compiled evidence that the autocratic leadership style was equal to (if not better than) the democratic style. It became

15Ibid., p. 66.


17Stogdill, Personal Factors, p. v.
apparent that the circumstances of the situation in which a leader functions are directly related to the effectiveness and behavior of the leader. 18

Black mayors have been forced, because of major community needs, to identify and seek untapped financial and human resources. Their leadership behavior in seeking these resources may be characterized by several factors: a) the determination of objectives; b) the manipulation of means; c) the instrumentality of action; and, d) the stimulation of coordinated action. Also, their leadership, as evidenced by performance on the job, involves risk taking and the acceptance of responsibilities. Leaders who pursue systematic growth for organizations increase their ability to contribute to long-term growth and improve services to others. It seems that the chief executive officer who successfully exerts his power or authority can facilitate the development of alternative strategies to satisfy community needs. The emergence of such expertise can now be observed in the development of a new leadership group—the Black American Mayor.

As Black mayors have assumed positions of responsibility throughout the nation, their leadership has been recognized in such cities as Los Angeles, Atlanta, Gary, Cleveland and Chicago. The political achievements of these men and women are historically important, and documentation of their

contributions to community development is appropriate. To detail how Black mayors in Ohio have developed public/private initiatives and have used these initiatives to solve community problems will provide valuable models for future leadership training programs within Ohio universities and communities. Such information will also provide useful data for national programs such as the National Conference on Black Mayors (NCBM).

Leadership and managerial effectiveness will continue to be priority concern for those providing public services to others. The role of Black mayors in effecting needed changes needs analysis in Ohio. Michael MacCoby states in Leadership Needs of the 1980's that "there is a shortage of both the kinds of leaders needed and the education they require. If adequate leadership emerges, it will be largely through on-the-job, social research and development, . . . (and will include) studying organizational problems, experimenting with solutions, and evaluating alternatives according to both economic and human (moral) criteria."¹⁹ The nature and quality of the leadership that Black mayors have contributed to their communities has not been detailed.

Concern for community needs and solutions has led Black mayors to develop ways to establish closer ties between the government and community residents. Research shows that

leadership strategies by Black mayors at the national level have resulted in the implementation of numerous service projects. Some of these include: a) pre-service training programs for students to serve in municipalities headed by Black mayors; b) professional volunteer services to assist municipal program recipients in areas such as health care and child care; c) a series of community service workshops on security and utility information.20

The variety of community needs in basic areas such as employment, housing, health, and education have required the continued use of skillful leadership tactics by Black mayors. NCBM states:

As more Black mayors are elected to public office, there is a rapid realization that many of them are inheriting poorly functioning governmental bodies with no formal budgets and few operational functions in addition to the immense problems that come with their titles. They are finding too a dearth of resources to deal with these fundamental problems.21

The ability of Black mayors to handle major community problems has been hampered by the existence of full time office responsibilities with only part time staff available to perform necessary operations. However, Black mayors have sought to overcome existing difficulties by developing regional professional support and technical assistance


programs for themselves and other communities with Black mayors. Demonstration projects have helped Black mayors to become knowledgeable about administration and to pursue leadership roles in solving community needs through the pursuit of financial resources.

The need for access to available resources such as federal assistance programs has forced Black mayors to improve specific leadership capabilities. Obtaining resources to reduce problem areas affecting public services (such as energy conservation and production, economic development, municipal growth and management) has been a mayoral priority which needs examination.\(^{22}\) The extent to which Ohio's Black mayors have developed public/private initiatives to solve community problems will add to existing limited research and will increase our understanding of Black leadership. The results of the proposed research will be of value to professional educators, administrators, and management trainers, who are responsible for developing leadership capabilities through pre-service and in-service leadership development programs.

CHAPTER I
THE PROBLEM

Problem Statement

Of the 19,000 mayors nationwide, there are now 225 Black mayors in 28 states. This increase is significant since fewer than 50 Black mayors were governing in 1970. Ohio has boasted between 7 to 9 Black mayors over the last five years. These Black mayors represent new leadership and an opportunity to make changes significant to the communities they serve. It is the purpose of this study to profile Ohio's Black mayors through a study of their leadership in acquiring grants for public services in their cities.

Existing research on Black political leadership includes case studies in Washington (Harrigon, 1970), the urban south (Johnson, 1970), Gary, Indiana (Nelson, 1971), Detroit (Wright, 1972), Los Angeles (Robinson, 1976), and Richmond, Virginia (Hammon, 1972). However, as previously mentioned, research on Black mayoral leadership in Ohio has not been conducted. It is, therefore, pertinent to examine the creation of projects and aggressive efforts of these mayors to secure assistance for their cities. If new leaders are to build upon the expertise of those coming before them, it is vital that Black municipal leadership be considered important
for research attention. It is the intent of this study to examine the types of grants pursued and obtained by Ohio Black mayors as a measure of their leadership skills. While this research piece utilizes the case study approach, some research questions were answered with data gathered by a variation of the Leadership Behavior Descriptive Questionnaire (LBDQ). Questions answered include:

1) What are the leadership characteristics of Black mayors in Ohio as determined by the LBDQ?

2) What effect do levels of education, political experience, age, party affiliation and other factors have on Black mayors' ability to exhibit high quality leadership?

A two by two grid was used to establish high-low and initiator-consideration relationships.

The LBDQ, as an instrument, was designed by a research team at Ohio State University to describe behavior exhibited. Selected variations of these items were used to assess leadership characteristics in Ohio Black mayors.¹

This study was designed to include the following:

1) Profile of Ohio's Black mayors over the last three years (particular attention to mayors serving two or more terms);

2) Types of public/private initiatives developed (leveraging of community and federal support);

¹Stogdill, Personal Factors, p. v.
3) Grants requested and grants secured by the Black administrations (identifying projects of municipal importance);

4) Impact of the projects within the community (how the needs of cities relate to mayoral initiatives and accomplishments); and

5) Implications for educational and leadership training programs for minorities.

Researchers John B. Kotter and Paul Lawrence use five categories of classification that depict a mayor based upon his ability to set agenda, utilize or build networks of people and groups, and styles of goal accomplishment. Mayors of this study are evaluated based upon the criteria of the above study.

Significance of Study

The increase in Black political strength in America has been of considerable significance to Black populations throughout the country. The leadership opportunities and subsequent impact on the quality of life of Black citizens is a continuing concern. This study provides documentation of the leadership capabilities of a select group of Black decision makers. A review of the acquisition of public service grants clarifies the role of Blacks in developing and implementing public/private partnerships to solve their community problems.

Existing studies have emphasized the analysis of Black leadership in relation to the political process, race relations within the governmental system, and policy develop-
ment. These research efforts have provided useful information about Black political leaders and the process of decision making. However, the total scope of Black municipal leadership has yet to be completely detailed on a regional basis. The information provided by this study is intended to create a foundation for further research on Black leadership at the municipal level. It is the intention of this research to characterize the contributions of Black mayors and their leadership in improving life within Ohio communities. It is hoped that this research will be used to stimulate minority interest and involvement in strengthening those administrative qualities useful for positive community development and managerial governance.

Research Design

Numerous trait studies have been conducted analyzing leadership. However, Speiss concludes that "despite extensive study, researchers have been unable to develop any meaningful list of attributes of leadership."² There is still scholarly questioning of the connections between leadership and such variables as age, self-sufficiency, and emotional control.³ Speiss cites Hersey and Blanchard to further support his conclusions concerning an approach to the

³Ibid.
study of leadership: "Fifty years of study have failed to produce one personality trait or set of qualities that can be used to discriminate leaders and non-leaders."⁴ Boles and Davenport state, "Leadership is a process and is not a category of behavior."⁵ In addition, Cook states that "there are quite a few people who believe that there is a natural connection between leadership and hierarchy and to talk about identifying leadership means to locate the people who function in the highest levels of (the) community power structure hierarchy."⁶

Leadership, then, can be viewed as a process of interaction (the behavior of individuals in a group) and can be considered a "dynamic" process that varies from situation to situation.⁷ Speiss concludes that a most useful approach to studying leadership is the situation/functional approach. This analysis approach is important to this research. The Black mayors' leadership activities are profiled according to the "initiating structure functions" (achievement of a specific group goal) and the "consideration functions" (group

⁴Ibid., p. 6.


maintenance). Because research shows that leadership traits may vary according to the situations, a trait analysis is not included. In the study, each mayor is analyzed in terms of his or her leadership behavior in a group which has clearly established objectives. The Ohio State University Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire provided the basis for the research questionnaire design. Leadership involves "the leader's responsibilities to help a group define its goals, assist in the selection of means to those desired ends, and direct activities along the lines selected." To interpret the leadership process of the mayors, the following serve as guidelines for analysis:

* External Leadership --> Acquisition of Resources (Initiating Function)

* Internal Leadership --> Coalescing Community for growth and development (Consideration Function)

The effectiveness or noneffectiveness of the mayors in terms of their "external" and "internal" leadership is examined, in format, through the use of the Johari Window concept (figure 1).

External leadership is characterized by the way in which the individual mayor structures the working relationships between group members and him/herself. The leader's behavior

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8 Ibid.

9 Ibid., p. 7.
Figure 1: Johari Window Two by Two Grid Depicting Internal and External Leadership Characteristics

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is assessed in terms of the development of an efficient system of operations within the administrative hierarchy— effective communication techniques, clearly organized principles of operation, and definite procedures for required tasks. The ability of the leader to acquire resources for community development documents the "initiating functions" of the mayor for the purposes of this study.

Internal leadership is characterized by the way in which the individual mayor established personnel relations. Mayoral attentiveness to staff in relation to personal systems, professional needs, and group cohesiveness is documented to detail the "consideration functions" of the mayor's administration. The degree (†) to which the mayor proved successful in both the external and internal leadership categories are determined by responses compiled
from research data extracted from both personal interviews and case study materials.

This study therefore considers leadership as a functional process and examines Ohio's Black mayoral leadership in securing resources in terms of the following:

1. goal setting
2. motivating the group toward the goal
3. establishing effective group relations
4. development of group cohesiveness
5. providing resources to the group

Speiss believes the situational approach to be of special value to educational administrators. "This approach incorporates a very basic concern for leadership in the group context and allows for analysis of leadership needs in relation to group dynamics and function . . . the educator is concerned with leadership in a small group." 10

As previously considered, to apply the situational analysis approach in this research, a pre-experimental design--the case study--is used. Because of the historical nature of this research, it is most feasible to apply a non control group methodology for the study of Ohio's Black mayors. Tuckman supports the approach--"When a comparison or control group cannot be included . . . one might consider the one shot case study." 11 The case study is developed through the interview/questionnaire technique. In addition to the

10Speiss, p. 7.

mayoral profile, four categories were used to select community residents to interview. The variety of communities to be included in this research in terms of characteristics (demographics) required that flexible and broad categories be used in the selection of participants for the opinion/community interviews. To provide continuity of response, a minimum of four individuals were selected from each community.

a. mayor's campaign manager (party chairperson, etc.)
b. business leader (President of the Chamber of Commerce, etc.)
c. banker (federal fiscal officer, etc.)
d. social service leader (Director of United Way, etc.)

The purpose of this study is to document the leadership skills of Ohio's Black mayors (1980-82) in securing resources to provide public services to residents in the communities they serve. The methodology used focused on securing data from public and private sources.

Research was conducted utilizing both questionnaires and personal interviews. Case studies were made and profiles constructed on individual Black mayors in Ohio. Leaders, studied from the group interaction process, often display a variety of abilities and characteristics. Because no conclusive evidence has been established which supports one approach to studying leadership, the examinations of the leader, the situation, and related interaction groups is most appropriate. From the case studies, an analysis of the effectiveness and noneffectiveness of the mayors as well as
generalizations as to the reasons for both of these performance levels were made. The descriptive case study interview methodology satisfies the research objectives previously described in this analysis.

Selection Procedure

Over a four year period, eleven Ohio cities have been led by Black mayors. These cities comprise the basis for performance profiles constructed. The cities were categorized and paired on the basis of such commonality as size, population and form of mayoral government. It was unfeasible to compare Urbancrest and Cincinnati, for example, because of the differences of the above variables. The following were contacted to participate in this research:

- Mayor Brown (Marysville)  - Mayor McGee (Dayton)
- Mayor Preston (Rendville)  - Mayor Hairston (Urbancrest)
- Mayor Smith (Woodmere V.)  - Mayor Blackwell (Cincinnati)
- Mayor Lawson (Cincinnati)  - Mayor White (Portsmouth)
- Mayor Mobely (Lincoln H.)  - Mayor Hunter (Silverton)
- Mayor Davis (E. Cleveland)

Individual Contact

Confidentiality of sensitive information was respected. Supportive data was requested and solicited from administrators collaborating with Black mayors. Businessmen
directly involved in public/private initiatives were asked to respond to a project related questionnaire. Evaluations of selected projects were also requested.

Each mayor's office was asked to submit documents relating to the following:

a) program objectives of the mayor;
b) the platform components stressed during the campaign;
c) needs assessment/community profiles;
d) private support for "priority" projects; and
e) impact of projects supported through federal and/or private funds.

Interviews

In addition to mayoral interviews, two additional interviews were conducted in each city. The City Council chairperson was asked to respond to a limited questionnaire and interview, also a community resident(s) was selected for an interview. The one hour interviews covered topics such as:

- Public/Private Partnerships
- Community Needs
- Resource Development
- Project Impact

This information was compiled for individual mayoral profiles.

Presentation of Results

Leadership was analyzed in terms of characteristics of leadership behavior: a) the determination of objectives;
b) the manipulation of means; c) the instrumentality of action; and d) the stimulation of coordinated action.

In addition, the results are presented in four sections:

a) description of professional profiles of the Black mayors;

b) summary of pertinent projects developed by Black mayors to assist in solving community needs through public/private initiatives and the leadership skills involved;

c) an analysis of the impact of major projects conducted and funded through public/private initiatives;

d) suggestions for educating and preparing future minority leadership for municipal responsibilities.

Definition of Terms

Black Mayor - An Afro-American descendant elected or appointed to the office of mayor of a state recognized city, village or town.

CBDG's or Community Development Block Grants - Federal dollars, from the Community Development Act, diverted to entitlement cities (usually large ones) or to the state to disburse to smaller cities.

EDA - Economic Development Administration handles federal dollars to lower office of governments for public works projects.
Leadership - "The process (act) of influencing the activities of an organized group in its efforts toward goal setting and goal achievement."\(^{12}\)

Public/Private Partnership - Cooperative arrangements between the public and private sectors in designing, planning, financing or operating community needs projects.

UDAG's or Urban Development Action Grants - Part and parcel of the Community Development Action Grants. Competitive based. Federal grants to a lower unit of government for a sponsored project (loan).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Leadership

Leadership, as a topic of research, has generated considerable empirical evidence concerning the nature and predictability of its existence. However, the variety of suggestions, assumptions, and conclusions about the various approaches to studying leadership continue to generate much scholarly attention.

The need to translate information on leadership for practical application in the business, academic, or public service arenas has continued to motivate researchers to investigate the "processes" of leadership. The relationship between the leader as "one who influences his followers to achieve an objective in a given situation" and his followers (whether peers, superiors, or subordinates) is a focus for those interested in the training and development of leaders. Leadership has been scrutinized in terms of traits, group interactions, and situational functions. The dynamics and

1 Fiedler, Leadership Effectiveness, p. 10.

and significance of these approaches still remain pertinent for generalizations at best.

A leader may be evaluated in terms of characteristics, but both the setting and group members involved affect the traits evidenced by a leader in a given situation. These variables encouraged researchers to study leaders in terms of: a) the awareness of group attitudes, b) ability in abstract thinking, and c) emotional stability displayed in the group setting.\(^3\) The early research on leadership (prior to 1945) which emphasized trait studies, proved to create more investigation since few trait studies provided leadership lists with common identifying traits.\(^4\)

As indicated by their investigation efforts, researchers Stogdill and Fiedler clarified the function of variables in the accurate assessment of effective leadership. Stogdill's survey of more than one hundred other studies has provided a basis for continued practical restraint in attributing, without questions, specific traits to leaders as a whole.\(^5\) Evidence that accumulated established the merit of utilizing a varied approach in studying leadership. It became suggested then that leadership is one component of the larger social system and depends not only on the leaders, but also

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 196.


on the followers, the situation, and relationships operating within the group.\textsuperscript{6}

The issue of leadership style, defined as democratic, autocratic, or laissez-faire, arouses much interest in the categorization of leadership. These styles have been defined as follows:

- **autocratic** - uses formal authority, rewards, punishment to gain group obedience

- **democratic** - uses group impact for decision making, encourages ideas from the followers prior to final decision of leader

- **laissez-faire** - uses minimum of control techniques within the group, serves as resource and group facilitator in goal achievement\textsuperscript{7}

Researchers such as Gouldner\textsuperscript{8} and Speiss showed, however, that universal leadership characteristics were least supported by documented evidence, but group process, as a dynamic leadership function, was more directly related to effective leadership behavior.

In 1950, Katz, MacCoby, and Morse developed the Michigan leadership studies which resulted in the following conclusion: There are two dimensions of leadership behavior, employee centered (managers in high production areas) and

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\textsuperscript{6}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{7}Ibid., p. 198.

production centered (managers in low production areas). Rouch (1956) determined (through a factor analysis study) that other dimensions, specifically the consideration and initiating structures identified through the Ohio State study of leadership, were insufficient in accurately describing managerial behavior. The attention to leadership in both cases related the behavior of the leader to process oriented situations. It became recognized that management requires a variety of techniques to accomplish goals, and so leadership study would have to address the complexity of the situation involved.

Research continued which addressed various situational demands and their relationship to leadership. Hershey and Blanchard (1972) found that time restraints affect leadership. Cribbin's research (1972) found that culture, the society, political structure, technology and philosophy are variables which influence leadership. Other researchers such as Katz and Kahn (1966) and Vroom (1960) studied leadership and determined that leadership effectiveness and situational environment are continuously interrelated. Additional studies were performed which analyzed the relationship between executive roles and the organizational setting. Work by Katzell, Barrett, Van and Hogan (1968) as well as by

9 Ibid., p. 6.
10 Ibid., p. 31.
11 Ibid., p. 7.
Wofford (1967, 1970, and 1971) provide evidence that there is a relationship between the executive role and variables in the work environment.¹² Further, Olmstead (1967), Hollander and Julian (1969) and Scott (1966) found that leadership is a decision-making process which requires interaction between the leader and followers in a given situation.¹³ These few examples illustrate the varied and extensive amount of research conducted in leadership. One group of studies previously mentioned is especially pertinent to the evolution of leadership and its significance in the workplace—The Ohio State University Leadership Studies.

The methods designed for the Ohio State studies were, it has been observed, especially conducive to analyzing leadership in terms of individuals' perceptions, status, interactions, and behavior as members functioning in organized groups.¹⁴ Through the Ohio State studies, it was hoped that a useful ten year program of basic leadership research could be conducted. A secondary objective of study was to produce data which would be of value to the "selection, training, and assignment of persons for leadership roles."¹⁵ This research was conducted by economists, psychologists, and sociologists. The group's studies

¹²Ibid.
¹³Ibid., p. 9.
¹⁴Stogdill and Shartle, Methods, p. v.
¹⁵Ibid., p. vii.
included a variety of professionals, business executives, college administrators, school superintendents, aircraft commanders and many administrative officers. The underlying hypothesis of the research was that the particular demands of the position would influence the behavior demonstrated within a specific leadership position. Through the Ohio State studies, leadership was analyzed in terms of the frequency with which that particular behavior occurred.

To achieve objectives, researchers developed the Leadership Behavior Description Questionnaires (LBDQ) to describe behavior exhibited. The selected items for the questionnaire were then used in a study of business and military organizations. A useful categorization of leadership behavior was developed during the course of the studies. The LBDQ consisted of 150 original items from which a specific number of items were categorized according to consideration and initiating structures. "Consideration refers to behavior on the part of a leader that is characterized by warm friendly relations with group members, concerns with group member welfare, and respect for their integrity. Initiating structure refers to activities on the part of a

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16 Ibid.
17 Ibid., p. 1.
18 Ibid., p. 2.
leader that introduce organization, new ways of doing things, and new procedures for solving group problems.  

The researchers hypothesized that the behavior of a leader in a given position would also be related to factors such as the following: his status in the organizational hierarchy, the structure of the organization, and the performance of the members of the organization. In all, seven different methods were used to study organizational leadership. These included: interviews; sociometric techniques; Responsibility, Authority, and Delegation Scales (RAD); work analysis forms; and Leader Behavior Description Effectiveness Ratings. Efforts to discuss leadership traits and characteristics were made by researchers through analysis of biographical case history data, observation of behavior in group situations, and ratings of leader behavior by qualified observers. The results of these efforts showed that chronological age, weight, health, etc., have differing results when attempts were made to determine positive or negative correlations. Other traits studied also had varying degrees of positive or negative correlations (appearance, fluency of speech, intelligence, insight, knowledge, origin.

20Ibid.
21Ibid., p. 3.
22Stogdill and Shartle, Methods, p. 3.
23Stogdill, Personal Factors, p. 36.
nality, initiative, persistence, ambition). Therefore, when items were constructed for the LBDQ, writers were instructed not to include items describing general traits or characteristics.

The Ohio State researchers developed a paradigm for the study of leadership which placed group factors as the first area of hierarchical concern: group history, composition, structure, tasks, goals, activities, and responses to the environment. It was recognized from research that it was "quite evident that there is a large range of individual differences among leaders in how they do their job." The thorough process used in the Ohio State studies provided substantial research which has proven to be both valid and reliable for the study of leadership through the years.

Academic administration also became a focal point for the application of leadership research. A study of leadership and the administration of twenty-two departments of a major university were studied to "explore the relationships between the leader behavior of the department administrator and the reputation of his department for being well administered." The leadership information from this and similar

24Ibid., pp. 39-46.
26Ibid.
28Ibid., p. 87.
studies provided additional evidence that leadership was and is a matter of process.

A study of the performance of seventy-five school leaders in twenty-six communities in Ohio analyzed "how leadership styles within the schools is a function of community and cultural pressures surrounding the organization."29 This consideration of leadership style was also presented in the Contingency Model of leadership discussed by Fiedler. The performance of the group, according to this model, is directly related to the situation involved and the degree to which that situation enables the leader to influence his group members. "The model suggests that group performance can, therefore, be improved either by modifying the leader's style or by modifying the group-task situation."30 Group productivity becomes contingent upon the "supervisory leadership rather than satisfaction with the job or group as a whole."31

To consider leadership, then, for business, academic and/or professional development, it is necessary to utilize the results of this varied research. As a whole, the literature reviewed strongly suggests that leadership must be viewed in terms of a process that involves dynamic interactions within a group to achieve a goal or an objec-

29Ibid.

30Fiedler, Leadership, p. 151.

31Stogdill, Leader Behavior, p. 162.
tive. Leadership and its development becomes a fundamental aspect of the work environment for planners, administrators, and managers. The direct application of leadership research is therefore crucial to citizens and the progress of the cities in which they live.

For the purposes of this analysis, it is therefore pertinent to consider the leadership of mayors and their constituent communities as important links in planning effective processes of decision making and action. Both the mayor and the city are important to municipal planning relative to federal, state, and local initiatives. In a study of rural leadership and public services, variables (leadership and organizational) were examined which might be changed to improve the institutional mechanisms involved in providing services to rural areas. The level and types of funding obtained by community leadership was determined to be related to the quality of public services as well as grant conditions accepted.32 In a comparative analysis of two rural towns, research supported the suggestion that town development is directly linked to leadership within the community.33 This community development might be the result of direct action by the mayor. Lockhard categorizes the

32 Ann Williams, Russell Youmans, Donald Sorensen, Providing Rural Services, Leadership and Organization Considerations Report 449 (Oregon: Oregon State University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1976), p. 64.

following types of mayors: the Reformer, the Program Protector, the Evader, and the Stooge.\textsuperscript{34} Hendrix uses five dimensions in discussing leadership, which include group action components observed at administrative levels:
1) group processing, 2) self-enhancing, 3) dynamic interacting, 4) structural achieving, and 5) compromising.\textsuperscript{35} These elements of leadership are applicable to a focused study of leadership behavior in mayors. The challenges of planning program assessment and overall community development require that contemporary mayors exhibit a variety of skills and leadership behaviors. A discussion of Black leadership is now warranted since the elections of Black mayors have continued to increase and be of significance to both urban and rural community development.

**Black Leadership**

Black leadership has been exemplified in a variety of levels in the political arena. Many of the elected officials have publicly become well known individuals: Georgia State Representative Julian Bond; former Massachusetts Senator Edward Brooke; Gary, Indiana, Mayor Richard Hatcher; and former Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes. All have sought to represent and serve constituencies through politically astute


\textsuperscript{35}Hendrix, Contingency Approaches, p. 30.
leadership. Their leadership has been defined in terms of their interactions with groups (supporters and nonsupporters) existing within the bureaucratic structure and community.  

Harris, in her discussion of Black leadership and the situational approach to the study of leadership, states that "the interacting milieu, the multiplicity and complexity of problems facing Black leaders are more apparent." These interactions are affected by variables, and research has shown that, for example, race is a variable that influences and may affect the performance of Black elected officials. Efforts have been made to examine Black officials' behavior and the variables impacting their leadership.

Perry studied Black elected officials in California to "determine if commonly identifiable life experiences, personal and social circumstances" have influenced Black leaders in their career choice and activities. Perry also considered personal qualities and leadership styles of Black officials as a part of her analysis. She concluded that Black leadership styles have been influenced by a range of factors from the extremes of conservativism to the extreme of

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37 Ibid., p. 88.


39 Ibid., p. 8.
militant philosophies. These styles, however, may be exhibited by a single leader according to the situation in which he or she is involved.\textsuperscript{40} The conclusions are supported by studies of Black leadership by researchers such as James Q. Wilson: \textit{Negro Politics, the Search for Leadership}; and F. Charles Colston: \textit{The Influence of Black Legislators in the Ohio House of Representatives}.\textsuperscript{41} It is shown that Black leadership is dynamic and is shaped through interaction with the community, environmental restraints, and situational support.\textsuperscript{42}

Perry found that California's Black elected officials, the majority of whom have above median incomes and educational levels, must be prepared for negotiation strategies which require broad knowledge and experience.\textsuperscript{43} At times, the problems of the Black mayor may actually be perceived to be the problems of mayoral leadership in general.\textsuperscript{44} The Black mayor's basic responsibility becomes "the building of feasibility sets that include resources and powers of financial, administrative, and technical natures as well as

\textsuperscript{40}Ibid., pp. 57-66.
\textsuperscript{41}Ibid., pp. 57-59.
\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., pp. 66-68.
\textsuperscript{43}Ibid., p. 261.
\textsuperscript{44}Ibid., pp. 263-267.
political powers.\textsuperscript{45} That is, the ability of Black mayors to gain the support of the community power base affects the leader's ability to negotiate with those who control the resources needed for community services.\textsuperscript{46} It is clear that the position of mayor is a leadership role that incorporates the mayor's objectives as well as those who must assist him in attaining those objectives.\textsuperscript{47} This process is of particular importance when remembering that the Black mayor confronts basic resource problems, such as adequate manpower and stable fiscal base, crucial to the functioning of city offices. "The extent that these [and other] resources are at the command of a mayor determines to a great extent the success he will have in implementing innovative programs in his community and building a powerful leadership structure."\textsuperscript{48}

The Black mayor operates within an environment in which situational characteristics are influenced by the community's political, economic, demographic, and legal bases.\textsuperscript{49}

Significantly, the Black mayor has emerged at a time when the


\textsuperscript{46}Ibid., pp. 17-18.

\textsuperscript{47}Ibid., p. 21.

\textsuperscript{48}Ibid., p. 22.

\textsuperscript{49}Ibid., p. 39.
demand for municipal services has increased but budget resources have stagnated. These leaders have found that, to obtain their municipal goals, they must have the jurisdiction to tackle the urban problem areas and to represent themselves as leaders of the total community. The impact of leadership thus becomes related to the ability of the mayor to successfully act upon his political initiatives. Levine states: "effective leadership means a wide range of policies are politically feasible, less effective leadership means that a smaller range of policies are feasible." He continues, "The mayor leader is confronted with two basic strategies, he can either work within a rigidly prescribed set of constraints and adhere to traditional values and policies, or he can attempt to restructure his constraints to make a wider or different set of policies feasible." Thus, issues such as municipal reform and civil rights advocacy become leadership concerns which Black mayors must face on a continuous basis. Community power, crisis leadership and Black power are still dimensions that characterize the


51Ibid., pp. 19-20.

52Levin, Community Conflict, p. 122.

53Ibid., p. 123.

54Ibid., p. 228.
dynamics of Black mayoral leadership whether their administrations began five, ten, or fifteen years ago.55

The research literature on Black leadership has attempted to distinguish different kinds of leadership goals and to demonstrate how the social structure of segregation conditions the goals selected by Black leaders.56 Many Black leaders elected as mayors have consistently been involved in situations which "structured subordination and economic-political dependence upon whites."57 The leadership of these mayors has been dependent upon the situation or environment in which they developed their political agenda.58 The traditional leader has been integrated into the minority sub-community, where the Black militant leaders have been less tied to existing institutions and structures.59 Thus, strength of the Black mayor changes according to the strength of the social/political relationships developed and maintained.60

Hoestra's study of Black leadership in Central City, Michigan, makes him conclude that "if economic and

56Ibid., p. 13.
57Ibid., p. 29.
58Ibid., pp. 66-67.
59Ibid., pp. 65-66.
60Ibid., p. 92.
occupational opportunities open up to upwardly mobile Black leaders, two sets of tensions affect their leadership . . . tension between occupational and leadership roles . . . and tension between the evidently growing number of middle class Blacks who form the traditional pool for local leadership, and the large number of Blacks whose economic condition remains static or worse. "61 The Black political leader is viewed suspiciously by many Blacks but for others he is a "symbol of racial achievement." 62 The leadership of the mayor is thus dependent upon an ongoing attempt to balance perceptions, understanding, and interpretation of municipal goals. The ability of the Black mayor to handle these cycles of power adjustment, however, continues to increase despite the economic and political climates of recent years. The Black mayor has emerged as an important force in the development of American cities.

Paulson, in his study of Black mayors, makes pertinent generalizations about the "typical" Black mayor in the United States. The Black mayor:

a. is college educated, male, middle-aged and married;

b. belongs to the Democratic Party;

c. desires to help all citizens within the community;

d. relies on personal skills and relationships rather than formal power structures;

61 Ibid., pp. 399-400.

e. was elected into "strong mayor" forms of city;

f. believes the state and federal government do not provide enough assistance to the small city;

g. believes race relations in the communities have progressed;

h. is most affected by the size of the Black population in his city and the size of the city;

i. has opposition by city councils in large cities where the mayor has social status;

j. has poor relationships with bureaucracy in large cities with racially mixed communities.  

These characteristics, however, are best understood in terms of the goals of the city administration and the cooperative efforts of those involved.

Black mayors have been elected increasingly in cities where coalitions between business, labor, and the city is necessary. In these coalitions, the Black mayor must be aware of and recognize the needs of the Black community as well as the white population. This political reality exists even though many Black mayors, particularly in the South, are heads of cities which have been specifically de-annexed from white counties and towns reluctant to provide basic gas, sewer, or plumbing service lines.

These Black mayors, both male and female, must firmly establish a public image within their communities and are

63Ibid., p. 13.


responsible for developing new alliances between public and private sectors. Some begin their terms characterized as conservatives for the way they administer policies.66 Others, like Mayor Marion Berry, Washington, D.C., emerge as activists with militant backgrounds from the civil rights movement of the 1960's.67 Still others begin office with a conflicting leadership image, such as Mayor Johnny Ford (Tuskegee, Alabama) who publicly supported George Wallace and President Richard Nixon.68

Regardless, Black mayors have common problems and issues of concern and are hampered by similar constraints limiting their power. Institutional racism, the lack of appropriate veto power, and limited appointive responsibilities all affect the operations of the mayors' offices. Constraints involve staff and ongoing necessary federal and/or state funds.69 Fundamentally, such constraints hamper community relation efforts by the mayor, particularly when minority citizens view the election of a Black administration as the immediate solution to all Black community needs.70

Fortunately, this expanding leadership base consists of highly skilled politicians and administrators. But even highly respected mayors like Tom Bradley, of Los Angeles, have acknowledged that the actions of Black mayors are scrutinized more carefully than their white counterparts.\textsuperscript{71}

The difficult economic conditions in urban areas headed by Black mayors has required decision making that, for some, appears insensitive to minorities' needs. Staff reductions, program cutbacks, and other "belt-tightening" techniques have in recent years created both positive and negative public sentiment for the Black mayor. This scrutinizing challenges the limits of power and the effectiveness of the Black mayor as municipal leader.\textsuperscript{72} Economic parity thus becomes a focal point for the public's attention.\textsuperscript{73}

The experience of many Black public figures such as Maynard Jackson indicates that the success of affirmative action goals and joint ventures with established corporations takes both time and patience.\textsuperscript{74} Black mayors "find themselves balancing the needs of their constituents against the


\textsuperscript{72}"The Nation's Youngest Mayor," \textit{Ebony} (October, 1979), p. 72.

\textsuperscript{73}"In the News," \textit{Black Enterprises} (October, 1980), p. 22.

\textsuperscript{74}J. Gray, "Atlanta's David & Goliath," \textit{Black Enterprises} (September, 1980), p. 18.
demands of the financial community. Fiscal deficits inherited from previous administrations may make economic development efforts suspect and difficult to initiate. However, Black mayors have been able to create community changes conducive to minority economic goals. Black mayors have taken the necessary leadership steps to show that "re-investment in the cities and support for minority business can be taken out of the context of social service and viewed simply as good business."

Voters are looking to Black mayors and their creative talents to tackle problems of decaying urban areas. "What voters are starting to discover, however, is that Black mayors by themselves are not going to make the urban problem vanish overnight." The leadership required to achieve complex municipal goals has become manifested within the Black ranks as collective effort. Both Black voters and politicians are becoming more sophisticated about the need for developing alliances between Black and white political


77 "Is a Black Mayor the Solution?" U.S. News and World Report (April 7, 1975), p. 34.


79 "Is a Black Mayor the Solution?" Black Enterprises (April 7, 1975), p. 34.
forces." This progress has met with resistance, both Black and white, and support has not emerged from all sectors. Yet, this political force continues to build; as evidenced through the increasing number of Black candidates winning elective office.

To be successful, the Black mayor, once elected, must continue to solidify the power of the Black voting public. Though Black mayors are being elected in areas where Blacks make up less than 2% of the population, such efforts are politically astute. Even in areas where the Black population is the majority and that have a solid voting block, Black mayors have faced stiff opposition to their administrations and must initiate conciliatory efforts. The impact of Black mayoral leadership is evidenced in situations where the city council will attempt to reduce mayoral authority, as was the case with Chicago's Mayor Harold Washington. Some mayors

have found themselves in serious legal battles stemming from politically related controversies. Criminal charges, for example, against the former mayor of Tchula, Mississippi, in 1982 was a reminder of "just how fragile the gains made by Blacks in electoral politics since the passing of the 1965 Voting Rights Act are."\textsuperscript{85}

The outstanding records of Black mayors such as Tom Bradley have yet to eliminate the impact of racism, evident in Bradley's defeat in his bid for governor of California.\textsuperscript{86} "Yet, no Black politician ever has achieved the national status of Mayor Bradley, a friend of Blacks and whites, business and labor and other minorities."\textsuperscript{87} When Mayor Billy Johnson was elected in Wadley, Georgia, the town's 64% Black population rejoiced. However, a year after Johnson's election, "Blacks began to learn the difficulties of using the political power obtained. The politics of race became the focus of dealings between city council and the mayor. The attitudes of segregation, reinforced through social habits, rendered Mayor Johnson powerless to make appointments or to authorize expenditures."\textsuperscript{88} The legacy of racial


\textsuperscript{86}"California Dreaming," \textit{Time} (October 4, 1982), p. 36.


prejudice has continued to confront Black elected officials, especially those whose positions have been obtained through building coalitions with White liberals and moderates. The media widely reported that Mayor Wilson Goode (Philadelphia), during his campaign found it necessary to disassociate himself from Jesse Jackson because of political implications.89 The issue of race thus becomes an ongoing dimension of Black mayoral leadership in the large and small cities.

The issue of Black municipal power and its relation to white political and business leaders is fundamental to the leadership goals of Black mayors. The 233 Black mayors must address: first, the notion that their "administrations will tend to become focal points for the entire Black liberation movement,"90 and second, the William F. Buckley concept that "race politics should be discouraged at every turn except where the primary interests of the race are clearly involved."91 The flight of white residents to suburbs and less centralized urban areas has made the cities dependent upon state and federal revenue for funds to provide public services. Consequently, Black mayors must handle the national administration, as well as their local corporate and


financial networks, to operate the cities. The control of city activities by independent commissions and boards makes it a difficult task for Black mayors to change the direction of city government in one term. The melding of diverse groups requires that the Black mayors establish a clearly defined system of communication and administration. "The ability of Black mayors to play such an initiating and organizing role depends on their assuming leadership of a genuine interracial alliance, because every issue of mass struggle--taxes, pollution control, mass transit, etc.--is a class-wide, not simply racial, character." 

The emergence of Black mayors has made a difference in the positive development of their cities. Crime, unemployment and white flight have been problems attacked by Black mayors with measurable success. Mayors like Coleman Young in Detroit, where the recession was particularly visible within the auto industry, have been able to build or revitalize organizations which are stable and effective. By cultivating the support of key community interests, mayors like Young have established a useful base of operations from which to develop their cities. These bold leaders have

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92 Greer, The New Mayors, p. 526.
93 Ibid., p. 529.
performed, as a group, laudably, exhibiting "a number of commendable qualities: integrity, resourcefulness, commitment to their cities, a willingness to innovate, a sensitivity to the needs of whites as well as Blacks."96

The effectiveness of Black mayors will continue to be analyzed in terms of Black community expectations and the realities of political power base coalitions.97 Attention to total community needs means that Black mayors must seek municipal improvements based upon their ability to secure both federal and private resources.98 This leadership, both in gaining community support and in obtaining financial resources, is an indication of the potential of Blacks' administrations within American communities. A study of Ohio's Black mayors in this context will establish a basis for future educational and political considerations in developing Ohio's municipal leaders.

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CHAPTER III
BLACK MAYORAL ADMINISTRATION:
THE PROCESS OF LEADERSHIP

Process of Election

In their study of large cities with sizeable numbers of Black residents, Marshall and Meyer argued that "whether or not a city has a Black mayor is in part due to the structural context within which the political process is played. This does not mean to regard individual attributes as unimportant—only that the organizational setting itself is a major consideration."\(^1\) The impact of the election of Black mayors can therefore be a direct result of the relationship of the individual to the social/situational environments.

The total participation of Blacks in the political arena, while not a reality, is a closer goal with the election of a Black mayor in a city. This election serves as a symbol or reminder of the increasing importance of minority participation in the democratic process.\(^2\) The assimilation\(^3\)


\(^2\)Ibid., p. 2.

\(^3\)Assimilation refers here to the "degree to which Blacks have the same distribution as whites on a particular variable."
of Blacks as a criterion for successful election of a Black mayor has been debated. The correlation of variables relating to the election of Black mayors indicates that such variables as income, occupation, education, residential segregation, region and the percentage of Black population are significant considerations. The outcome of this social research indicates that "as Blacks become assimilated into the education, occupation, and income structures of large cities it is increasingly likely that Blacks will hold important political offices."

The importance of both income and occupational differentials will continue to be important to the leadership study of Black elected officials in the structural context of the political process. Pressures from the differences and variations in socioeconomic and occupational differences between Blacks and whites will also continue to be of importance in the analysis of Black mayoral leadership.

Rural Power

There is some general speculation that leadership and hierarchy are directly related. That is, leadership can be determined by simply identifying those individuals who

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4 Marshall and Meyer, p. 4.
5 Ibid., p. 5.
6 Ibid., p. 1.
7 Ibid., p. 17.
attained high levels in the "community power structure hierarchy." However, Black mayors are represented in urban, suburban and rural communities. Rural development is particularly connected to the concept that the democratic process can be fundamental to the general development of the community. Approaches to the views of power in a community setting include the idea that power is actually widely dispersed within an administrative hierarchy.

Because of the needed development within incorporated and unincorporated areas, an appropriate concern for leadership is the development of skills needed to deal with a myriad of issues and problems. Because power and competence are not synonymous, networks involving levels of expertise that have numerous access points in the decision-making process have been observed to be specifically operating within rural environments. The more sophisticated urban and suburban communities have historically had more formalized networks within which professional knowledge has been more easily accessed.

Interdependence and diffuse competence are necessities of transitional communities employing the democratic process

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9Ibid., p. 3.
10Ibid., p. 6.
11Ibid., p. 11.
12Ibid., p. 12.
of leadership/decision making. The outcome of the actual use of democratic principles may prove to be a most valuable aspect of leadership development. The quality of life of cities with Black leadership may very well be directly linked to their level of participation in democratic decision making.\(^{13}\) It is, therefore, pertinent to examine Black mayors and their influence upon the direction of urban policy making.

The limited financial resources and occupational differences of the minority population impacts upon the analysis of the significant changes and progress in Black participation in the electoral process. Black mayors have found that supportive/welfare type programs are of major importance, but there are restraints which prevent a total budgeting emphasis in this social service direction. Hindrances such as "white flight" to suburbia, low tax bases and suburban dominated state legislatures, limit the extent of support programs a Black mayor can implement.\(^{14}\) The Black mayor, as a matter of political reality, has had to be responsive to the needs of the total community. Also, system-imposed restraints such as hostile city councils or state legislatures have prevented Black mayors from completing more socially oriented fiscal agendas. "Black mayoral styles and the political climates in which they

\(^{13}\)Ibid., p. 15.

\(^{14}\)Ibid., p. 43.
operate may tell us a great deal more about the possibility of mayoral success in policy making than some other variables."\textsuperscript{15} The Black mayor, as a fiscal, program, and policy manager, emerges as a pacesetter functioning on the "cutting edge" of social change.

**Black Mayors as Managers**

The emergence of Black mayors has provided enough research data to show that Black mayors face problems that are not faced by their white counterparts. "The heart of their dilemma is that they are, on the one hand, pressured by expectations of high performance, but on the other, handicapped in their ability to live up to these expectations by social, economic, and political factors that rob them of the resources and power they need to be successful in their roles."\textsuperscript{16}

A Black mayor, serving as a leader in the contemporary social justice movement, must be able to "exercise control and direction over city departments, activate nongovernmental groups in the community in support of his policies, persuade businesses to locate in the city and develop co-operative working relationships with labor unions, utilize the media to

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 50.

appeal to the public for support in battles with political opponents."17

A major and continually serious problem for Black mayors is the quest to secure necessary financial resources to operate their cities. The majority of Black mayors have been elected to cities where urban blight has been evidenced in growing proportions, but the tax base of these same cities has declined.18 The heavy demand on social services in cities headed by Black mayors, who have inherited monumental municipal services tasks, has not declined; but the effects of inflation and recession on these depressed urban areas has continued to be devastating.19

"The pivotal managerial dilemma that Black mayors face is that they are being elected mayors of dying cities whose cumulative ills are more numerous and more serious than those of any other cities in the nation."20 These problems are compounded by perception within the Black community that the Black mayor has immediate answers to the problems created by preceding administrations.21 "White mayors can frequently reduce costs by limiting city spending to basic housekeeping functions. Black mayors are expected to maintain an activist

17Ibid., p. 54.
18Ibid., p. 55.
19Ibid., p. 57.
20Ibid., p. 56.
21Ibid., p. 57.
posture and bring forth proposals that seek a broad redistribution of economic resources."

Consequently, Black mayors have spent a major part of their time trying to locate the resources necessary to keep their city governments operating. The Black mayors have been hampered by state legislatures that are "hostile" to needs of central cities' interests and do little to open the information network that is the key in developing political alliances necessary for successful state-city budgetary requests.23

It has been hypothesized over the years of emerging Black leadership that Black mayors "are inclined to spend more in welfare related items than on other budgetary items."24 However, data has shown that Black mayors and white mayors differ only slightly in the ways they make expenditure of funds, but the differences between white and Black mayors does impact policy.25 Scholars have suggested that "municipal budgets and expenditures could be seen as public policy preferences measured in terms of dollars and cents."26

22Ibid., p. 58.
23Ibid., p. 59.
25Ibid., p. 40-41.
26Ibid., p. 42.
Black mayors find their attempts to secure funds hampered by the planning requirements of certain federal funds (e.g., housing, transportation, health), that require cooperative arrangements "with suburban governments." "Black mayors are losing power to white suburban mayors who are being given a formal role in policy-making areas." The negative impact of this process is that white suburban interests take precedence over central city issues.

"Regardless of the administrative talents and political sagacity of the Black mayor, his very presence as a Black administrator, and his symbolic status as a spokesman for his race, will render him unacceptable to sizeable segments of the white power structure and ineffectual in his relations with them."  

"The distinguishing characteristic of Black political life is the subordination of Blacks by whites and the concomitant institutionalized belief that white domination is a function of the inherent superiority of whites." In his analysis of Atlanta's Black political power since 1965, Jones argues that the election of Black officials is not really an index of political power but the real test is in the use of

27Ibid., p. 59.
28Ibid., p. 61.
29Ibid., p. 64.
these positions to influence the behavior of power holders.\textsuperscript{31} "The political power of Black office holders may be viewed in terms of: 1) their success in reordering the priorities of their boards and commissions and persuading them to seek novel solutions to outstanding problems, particularly those specially salient in Black communities; 2) garnering for the Black community a more equitable government; 3) thwarting the passage of measures inimical to the welfare of the constituents."\textsuperscript{32}

To have greatest impact, the Black mayor needs a community base that is organized, disciplined and action-oriented. Many times Black leaders, concerned about their positions, display reluctance to establish organizations threatening to the white power structure.\textsuperscript{33} For Black leadership, an ongoing goal to strengthen an active community base will be necessary for future Black political empowerment.

**Conclusion: Black Progress**

As Blacks have achieved gains at the polls, there has developed a "social" perception that "the nation's debt to Black people for past injustice has been so fully paid that

\textsuperscript{31}Ibid., p. 93.
\textsuperscript{32}Ibid., p. 99.
\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., p. 117.
whites themselves are becoming the victims of reverse discriminations."³⁴

Blacks have continued to be vulnerable to discrepancies in securing jobs, income parity, quality housing and educational opportunities on par with whites.³⁵ The racial stratification that has continued to exist in this country, sociologists have concluded, will continue to create inferior social and occupational positions for Blacks.³⁶

Carnegie Corporation President Alan Pifer concluded, after a series of studies supported by Carnegie documented the progress of Blacks in America, that "one cannot discount the role of white conscience as a force for change."³⁷ The economic competition between whites and Blacks created by a serious inflation and recession laden economy requires the continued building by Blacks of broad-based coalitions with those of similar interests.³⁸ "What we must revive and bring up-to-date is the philosophical and moral vision of the 1960's and the practical recognition that it is in our

³⁵Ibid., pp. 9-10.
³⁶Ibid., p. 10.
³⁷Ibid., p. 13.
³⁸Ibid.
national self-interest to convert this vision into reality.\textsuperscript{39}

The reality of Black mayoral leadership is best portrayed through the detailed format of the case study approach. The studies which follow define parameters within which the Black mayors operated to achieve their political visions. The documentation reveals the significance of Black leadership and its influence/persuasion within the political process.

\textsuperscript{39}Ibid., p. 14.
CHAPTER IV
SECTION I

CASE STUDIES: CITIES AND MAYORS

Before this researcher attempts to make determinations as to the leadership capabilities of the subjects of the study or to succumb to the temptation of ranking according to ability as it appears, it is necessary to address the third component of our useful definition of leadership--situation. The research has shown that there are as many different situations as there are subjects. Some cities have no private component where others enjoy the luxury of business, industry and tax earnings. Some have very large populations while others are sparse. Locations and proximity to other large and small cities also vary. The levels of sophistication of citizenry are also factors. It would not be responsible to compare these cities or their mayors without a case description of the cities and their conditions. There is a relative degree of similarity between some of the cities of the study and in that regard we can assess the styles and accomplishments of those that compare.
Dayton and Cincinnati, Ohio

This is perhaps the most natural pair to examine. Both cities are large with substantial industrial, business and educational bases. The percentages of black population (approximately 33%) are almost equal. Both cities have the City Manager/Councilman-Mayor form of government. The mayors in this setting appear to need a special set of skills, primarily political, to succeed or to survive.

Both mayors have been able to survive politically. Though they are thirty years apart in age, both have impressive educational backgrounds and occupations. McGee is an attorney, and Blackwell a university vice president. In addition there has been extensive membership in organizations prior to the election that made both candidates well known and respected as well as experienced in negotiations and organizational savvy.

Race was cited as a factor in the election to council of both mayors, who were Council members before becoming mayor, but not a great factor in being elected to mayoral status or being able to perform the duties thereof. Once the council election has been held, where one stands in a field of candidates for mayor determines their election. A high "vote getter" can use that factor as a "leg up" in the inner negotiations that take place between council members who effect an election for Mayor and Vice-Mayor. This is the so-called "second election" for Mayor. The successful person
must convince the populace using one set of strategies, and get the vote of a small more competitive group, each of whom would probably like to be Mayor, using another set of strategies.

In terms of preparation for mayoral responsibilities, the leaders of the governments of Dayton and Cincinnati were educated on the undergraduate level here in Ohio. Mayor McGee received a B.S. in Business Education from Wilberforce in 1941 and Mayor Blackwell received a B.S. in Educational Psychology from Xavier in 1971. He received a M.S. in Education in 1972 from the same institution and later attended Harvard University where he received a M.S. in Public Administration. Mayor McGee received his law degree from Ohio State in 1948. Both men have received honorary degrees from Wilberforce University and McGee has received an additional honorary degree from Central State University.

Differences are more apparent between these two leaders when we examine their political ideologies. McGee is a traditional Democrat who joined the party in 1948 at thirty years of age and has continued with no other affiliation. On the other hand, Blackwell started out at age twenty-seven with the Charter Party.¹ He later switched to the Republican Party where he continued his membership. Both mayors continued their professions contributing an indeterminate

¹A splinter group which withdrew from the Republican Party, led by Charles Taft. Only known by this researcher as existing in Cincinnati, Ohio.
amount of time to mayoral duties earning $21,000 (McGee) and $27,000 (Blackwell) annually as salaries for their city duties. Mayor McGee served three terms in office. He was appointed in 1970 to complete a term and was elected in 1973 and 1977 for two more terms. Mayor Blackwell served one complete term as mayor and has continued on council and is now serving as vice-mayor. Mayor McGee has since left active politics.

The political platforms of McGee and Blackwell were similar. Both were faced with problems of shrinking populations and an erosion of the downtown as well as a decreasing tax base. Both men campaigned on promises of economic growth, downtown redevelopment, convention center establishment, tax credits, earning taxes, and neighborhood involvement and safety. Their reliance on volunteers for campaign work was substantial. Both were successful in these areas as a result of receiving various grants and benefits from public-private initiatives.

At the conclusion of their terms as mayor, both men left their posts with their cities being much better off than at the beginning. Blackwell felt that Cincinnati was in "relatively good" condition financially even though it had experienced a loss of residents due to flight from the central city by both whites and middle-class Blacks. These groups were attempting to escape the problems of the "city." There were other factors that contributed to the "shrinking
city" such as relocation because of super highways, decaying property and businesses moving to closer proximity to transportation arteries and in pursuit of lower taxes.

Through the receipt of UDAG's, EDA and Community Block Grants as well as public-private ventures and an Earnings Tax, Cincinnati was able to improve its condition during Blackwell's term. The "Downtown Plan" which was initiated was designed to "save the downtown." The Hyatt Regency project and the convention center were the most notable achievements. Their ventures were completed at a tune of 60 million dollars using one public for every five private dollars spent. Blackwell estimates an increase of 27,000 jobs for his city while being mayor.

Mayor McGee also used all possible grants to attain similar achievements in Dayton, which was faced with the same social and economic problems as Cincinnati. There were some fifty million dollars spent on the downtown development projects such as the Arcade (downtown shopping plaza), and the convention center. This was successful because of public-private venturing as well as state and federal grants. Mayor McGee gets credit for the development of the Dayton Municipal Airport. This project was rather difficult because the facility is located beyond several townships, which required considerable negotiations.

Mayor McGee rates his leadership as "very effective." He attributes his ability "to get all concerned people to
work together" as his strong point, and felt that, in areas where he might have been unsuccessful, he could have been successful if he had been in office longer. He is particularly proud of the development of the downtown area and the Convention Center.

Blackwell rates himself as an eight on a scale of one to ten in terms of his leadership effectiveness as the mayor. He felt that his ability to maintain open communication lines, and to look for issues that cut across lines rather than polarizing, enabled him to be effective. He feels his outstanding contribution, in addition to the downtown development projects, was the city's unique Crowd Control Plan that was an outgrowth of the deaths caused by the crowd at the famed WHO rock concert. This tragedy occurred the day after he took his oath as mayor.

In both cases there were no other Blacks (or relatively few) elected to other city posts. Each mayor was elected on the basis of individual qualities and felt that his own interests, preparation and efforts were responsible for his election. They see training pre-requisites for mayors as Liberal Arts with a concentration on English and Math (Blackwell), Political Science and Public Administration (McGee) and a great deal of commitment and work. Both believe that colleges and universities can add to the effectiveness of mayors in office by participating in joint
strategic planning, co-op programs, special projects and Manpower/Labor force planning.
Rendville and Urbancrest, Ohio

Rendville and Urbancrest, Ohio, have their roots at the turn of the 19th century and are among the "original" all-Black towns. They share this distinction with Hopson City, Alabama, and Mound Bayou, Mississippi. These cities established themselves early as Black towns with both Black governance and populations. Rendville was established by a white coal mine owner who brought Blacks in to break a strike. They stayed, which accounts for a substantial Black population in the "middle of nowhere on the road to nowhere." They were not welcomed in the "sister" all-white town of Corning so they formed their own community which numbered as high as 2,000 residents. Urbancrest is a "sister" community to Grove City, Ohio, which was considered an all-white community until the last ten plus years. Urbancrest was chartered as a town on November 5, 1890. The original residents were whites who literally moved their houses to Grove City and other nearby communities when Blacks began to move in. As Blacks migrated from the South several found themselves unable to live in Columbus because housing was not available to them for rental and they did not have the funds to purchase housing. They found the answers to their problems in the area of Urbancrest when a large land owner had divided a portion of land into small lots selling for prices they could afford. Some reports speak of five or ten dollars per lot. In addition to the low prices there were no
building codes to prevent them from putting up structures to fit their pockets. Urbancrest grew as a Black town and produced several well known citizens on both a local and national level.

Both cities have had strong family political groups. Party affiliation has not played as much of a part as which family the mayoral candidate is in or is supported by. Within the last few elections family identification has not played as much of a part as finding someone who wanted the position, was qualified and whom a large number of residents could support.

Eugene A. Preston (Tony) was born in 1952 in Rendville, a town of 500, became mayor at age 23, and was one of the youngest mayors in the country. A Democrat, Tony became affiliated with the party at nineteen years of age, when he started voting, and had served as precinct committeeman and city councilman prior to being appointed as mayor. He won the next election but resigned before completing the term. A Baptist, member of the NAACP, Masons and the Ohio Baptist Laymen Association, Tony is the son of a postmaster (mother) and a steelworker (father). As a sales manager of the parts department of Diamond Electric Company in Lancaster, Ohio, Tony gave great hope to a shrinking town. His elementary and high school education had been gained in the Rendville area and he had spent two years at Central State University studying political science.
Mayor Preston listed his platform objectives as "to secure federal dollars for housing and street improvements." His goals were partially realized with the receipt of a total of $250,000, which was used for street improvements and water service. He cites the financial condition of the city as extremely poor with a population of around two hundred people who are mostly in the middle or elderly age brackets. His salary while mayor was $180.00 per year. The city is still in the need of housing, safety services, sewer and water service expansion.

Mayor Vaughn Hairston was born in 1929 in his home city of Urbancrest. He is a Baptist, worked as a laborer while mayor and is now an antique dealer. The population of Urbancrest was around 2,500 with a 90% Black population. A number of whites have moved into a large apartment complex, as well as others who see the low cost of land as an opportunity.

Hairston attended public schools in the area and did not attend an institution of higher learning. He is a Republican who became affiliated in 1950 and was elected mayor in 1968 at age 39 and again in 1976 at age 47. His salary as mayor was $500.00 per year. His platform objectives were to establish a recreational center for the youth and the elderly, new streets, housing, and water and sewer expansion. Although the city had received very little financial support from state and federal sources prior to his election, Urbancrest
received 6 million dollars in various federal grants under his leadership through what Hairston cites as his personal efforts. The most significant accomplishment was the multimillion dollar community center that served as a center for various activities for the city and surrounding areas. For the last few years the center has been closed due to the lack of operating funds.

Urbancrest is still in poor condition financially due to the weak tax base and lack of continuous federal and state funding. Hairston sees the needs of the city as more housing development, and increased industrial base. The Mayor feels that, even though he was very effective, the lack of outside participation prevented a more successful accomplishment of the goals that would have benefited the city.

Both mayors, Hairston and Preston, list the National Conference of Black Mayors and their special seminars and projects, such as the Universal Year of Action, as aids in the accomplishments. These are the types of programs they believe can help in the future.
East Cleveland and Woodmere, Ohio

These two cities are two of the sixty-eight suburbs of Cleveland, Ohio. East Cleveland is located closer to Cleveland and has historical significance as the summer home of the Rockefellers, who were prominent business people of the late 1800's and beyond. The city was chartered in 1918 and was considered to be an all-white city. But by 1975 it had become 86% Black due to the mass exodus of whites between 1965 and 1975 as Blacks moved into the area. Until May of 1985 the city operated under a Mayor/Commissioner form of governance with administrative duties performed by a City Manager. Since May of 1986 there has been a functioning Administrative Mayor who was elected as such. Under the former structure commissioners were elected at large, and by the process of election or consensus of the five Commissioners, one was chosen as the "Mayor" who mostly performed part-time procedural duties with the administrative tasks being performed by a full-time City Manager.

In 1979 Wallace D. Davis, a prominent formal Director, was the first Black to be selected as mayor. He had served as a commissioner and assumed the position of mayor upon the early retirement of the previous head of the city government. Mr. Davis has the distinction of being the first and only person to serve three consecutive terms as commissioner and now councilman. The third term will expire in 1987.
Mr. Davis was born in Youngstown, Ohio, in 1929, attended Youngstown College and the Cincinnati College of Embalming. He is a Democrat who has been involved in politics since age 21 and was 50 years old when he was formally elected mayor. Mr. Davis did not credit being Black as a factor in the daily performance of his duties, but believed it to be a factor in his election because of the sizeable Black population. Mr. Davis' significant contribution was the investment of city monies in more favorable institutions with better yields. Minority Savings and Loans Banks were also used.

At the time Mr. Davis left office the city was considered to be in bad financial condition and continues to be so due to decisions made by the city's legislative body, which has used less than rational basis. The inability of the city to establish its own water supply is a case in point. Another extreme need of the city is an updated sewer infrastructure. In the last ten years a total of twelve Black officials have been elected to positions in the city. Mr. Davis recommends courses in communications, psychology, business, and engineering to any aspiring person who desires to seek service as a public official, especially a mayor.

Woodmere's population is 760, and it is one of the farthest removed suburbs of Cleveland, which began as a residence for Blacks who worked as domestics and support personnel for the more affluent subsidiary of Pepper Pike.
The area approximately one mile square was laid out in lots 25' by 100' to accommodate the finances of the low-income purchasers and is surrounded by another community called Orange. It was incorporated in 1944 to stem the flow of encroachment by the surrounding community. The Black population decreased to a 50-50 ratio by the early 1960's because whites were taking advantage of the low cost of the land, and has dropped to 38% today because several apartment buildings have been erected. Mostly, whites have chosen to rent these apartments, but few exercise their vote in the Village election.

Rayner J. Smith, a long time resident and political activist, was elected to Village Council in 1962. A slate tile roofer by trade, Mr. Smith grew up in Cleveland, Ohio, and moved to Woodmere in 1947. He began his political involvement at age 21 as a Republican and later switched to the Democratic Party. At age 65 he was elected mayor (1974) after serving three four-year terms on council. His community involvement consisted of memberships on the Cuyahoga County Democratic Executive Committee, Vagahaus Social Club, County Regional Planning Committee and the Woodmere Volunteer Fire Department. Mr. Smith considers his most successful accomplishments to be the paving of streets and the acquisition of a free trash truck. This enabled the city to furnish the area's only no-charge trash service, which continues until this date.
A village whose political participants are mostly Black, Woodmere's financial condition is considered to be excellent. Utilization of Community Block Grants has facilitated the village's improvements with no private resources. Mr. Smith's greatest challenge was to find ways to "do more with less" and to aid the many cultural and age groups to work together toward a common goal. The ex-mayor believes an apprenticeship in some form is most valuable in the preparation of a "mayor."
Portsmouth and Marysville, Ohio

These cities are similar in their council/mayor form of governance but more so in their election of Black mayors in predominantly white cities. Portsmouth, a city near the West Virginia-Ohio border, elected its first and only Black mayor, Albert A. White, a Democrat who was thirty-eight years old at the time, in 1977. The city of 26,000 people, with less than six percent Black population, responded to the appeal of the former professional baseball player as well as to his reputation as a leader in community development organizations. This election was not expected in a city which was the last of any significant size in Ohio to integrate its schools.

White was born in Portsmouth in 1939, when the city had a population of 40,000. He is the son of a very political father and grew up with direction to participate in the political system as a method of helping all to advance their positions in life. The mayor, single and a Methodist, has been active in the NAACP, Black Elected Democrats of Ohio and the Ohio Regional Development Commission. Prior to his election, Mr. White served as the director of Neighborhood Youth Corps and was assistant director of Manpower for the Scioto County Community Action Agency. He grew up in Portsmouth and attended Capital University in Columbus before joining the Cleveland Indians baseball organization. After winning the election as City Councilman, Mr. White and other
councilmen drew lots for official positions. White drew the lot of vice-mayor and succeeded the mayor when he was forced to leave the city on a job transfer. His election to council resulted from the support of the majority of the Black vote supplemented by whites who were familiar with him as an individual and/or his reputation as a community worker.

As a mayor, Mr. White boasts of achievements in employment and community improvement which resulted in the city being selected as an All American City in 1980. The city also established a museum--The History of the River Valley--and secured a 7 million dollar manpower grant for job training, public service, and youth employment.

The mayor's opposition came from whites who were not willing to accept the leadership of a Black in the southern Ohio town whose history dates back to 1803. Mr. White left office in his third term after withstanding two recall elections. When he left council he was replaced by a Black female who was appointed to council but not to the post as mayor.

The city has suffered a downturn financially, due to the depressed economy of the area which was steel and shoe manufacturing. Several citizens believe the city qualifies for federal or state financial aid due to its financial condition.

Marysville, a small rural town northwest of Columbus, had less than one percent Black population when it elected
Clifton Brown to council and then to the post as mayor of a city which has the council mayor form of governance. Mr. Brown was born in Lebanon, Ohio, in 1918 and moved to Marysville in 1945 after marrying his college sweetheart, who was a native of the city. Marysville, like many small towns, never considered its "own" Black population as different, responded to Clifton Brown's campaign for election to council and elected him to three terms and to mayor for two terms. He died in office before completing his second term. Mayor Brown received extremely large support from the entire community because he was well known and respected. Mayor Brown had served as trainer for the school's sports team, which enabled him to know all of the students that passed through the public schools. He also was active in the American Legion, further serving to ensure continuing contacts with the community. Mr. Brown worked as Superintendent of Sewers and Development for the city and served as Librarian and Director of Development Services for O. M. Scott & Sons. He was ordained as a minister of the African Methodist Church (AME) and pastored in Bellfontaine, Ohio.

This extensive background, although not planned to prepare him for the position of leadership in Marysville, did indeed make Rev. Clifton Brown the "best of the lot" of those who desired to lead. His goal simply was "the betterment of Marysville." He did much to prepare the people for the
acceptance of the new Honda plant which was a significant "win" for the city. Rev. Clifton Brown's knowledge of the city's infrastructure enabled him to help the city to make sound decisions towards improvement. He was considered an intelligent, sensitive, hard working mayor who did not know how to give up, and one only wonders what Marysville would have been had he been able to continue.
Silverton, Lincoln Heights, and Woodland, Ohio

Silverton, Lincoln Heights, and Woodland, Ohio, are suburbs of Cincinnati and have become refuges for Blacks and whites who have tried to escape the problems of the big city. They are primarily "bedroom communities" for residents who mostly work in Cincinnati by day and commute home in the evening.

Mayor Richard Hunt of Silverton was born in Cincinnati in 1936 with a religious affiliation as member of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He has been a member of the NAACP, Association of Black Broadcasters, American Heart Association and other organizations of community service. He is an advertising sales manager and has served on city council for six years prior to his election. Silverton received its charter as a city in 1960 but was an established community for a number of years prior. As Blacks moved into the area opportunities for leadership were great. Hunt and others seized the opportunity to become leaders.

Mayor Hunt attended Xavier University, where he studied Broadcasting. He became involved in the Democratic Party at age 31 and was elected mayor in 1979 after serving six years. As of today he is serving his third term in the community in which he has lived since 1962 with an annual salary of $4,800.

Mayor Hunt's platform goals were neighborhood revitalization, recreation outlets and a systematic management
system. The most successful of the three was the first goal with major curb and street enhancement. Recreation outlets were moderately improved and in the area of management improvement, responsibilities were defined and the overall system was improved. The mayor considers the financial status of the community as "excellent" for the city of 6,300 which is only 45% Black.

Mayor Hunt considers himself as being "fair" in the area of leadership in acquiring resources for the community because the need has been "ongoing" and the prioritized need to "maintain" services has been paramount. He cites his Youth Employment Program as the one he would like to be mostly associated with because it provided income for youth and reduced the problems attributed to youth employment. Financial help for the project was received from the County of Hamilton. A significant number of Blacks have been elected to posts in the city. They are City Clerk, Treasurer, two Council Members and, of course, Mayor. That is five of the nine positions or 56%. In terms of training for future mayors, Hunt believes that courses in psychology, financial management skills, and public relations should be emphasized. Universities and other institutions could assist in providing aid in management.

Woodmere's Mayor James Mobley was born in 1930 in Lincoln Heights, a community of 10,000. A suburb of Cincinnati, it is one of the oldest predominantly Black
communities in the state and is the birthplace of the famed Isley Brothers, a soul/rock group. The city was settled in the 1920's and incorporated in 1946. It was originally known as Valley View before incorporation because of its scenic characteristics. Originally a white settlement, it was abandoned by whites and set aside for Blacks moving into the area, most of whom migrated from the South to the Cincinnati area. An Episcopalian, Mr. Mobley is from a family of six with four brothers and one sister. He is married and has two children. Active in the Masons, Boy Scouts, Optimist International, and the United Paperworkers, Mr. Mobley served his community as a school board member for eight years, as a local basketball coach and as an interim priest at a neighborhood church.

Mr. Mobley graduated from an all Black high school near Lincoln Heights (Locklan Wayne), and then attended a junior college in Morristown, Tennessee, and post studies at Mount Mary's Seminary. A lifelong Democrat since 1964, he was elected mayor in 1975 at 35 years of age and served two terms. He has also lived in Woodmere all of his life where he is a supervisor in a factory. His annual salary as mayor was $2,500.00.

Race was not a factor in the election of Mr. Mobley since Woodmere is an all Black town. However, the mayor cites race as both a positive and a negative factor. It was positive in the sense that he was able to get a great deal of
support from the residents of the city as well as that of neighboring communities. The negative factor was that mayors of small all-Black towns were generally left out of the handouts that were parceled out to cities by regional governmental entities such as the county.

Mayor Mobley was able to accomplish his platform objectives of growth and betterment of people, new streets and sidewalks, and public service improvements by the acquisition of both UDAG and EDA grants. There was an acquisition of a 20 million dollar UDAG loan that was to be paid over 20 years that assisted in the above objectives. Several EDA grants were instrumental in the goal completion.

In spite of the small number of residents (5,000+), the city was able to maintain a healthy financial posture through an earnings tax program and the acquisition of two factories financed by UDAG loans of $240,000 and $800,000 each. Assistance in securing the various grants and loans was given by the city of Cincinnati, Conference of Black Mayors, State and Federal fiscal representatives and the Housing and Urban Development Bureau (HUD) of Washington, D.C.

The village of Woodlawn began to change from a predominantly white to a predominantly Black suburb of Cincinnati in the late fifties. In 1975 the Black population was 68 percent. Now it is over 80 percent with a population of around 2700. Mayor Lawyer Lawson was elected to his first four-year term in 1980 and continues in that post today.
Affectionately referred to as the "Dean of Ohio Black Mayors" because of his efforts to organize and mobilize his Black counterparts, he has arranged and sponsored meetings and conferences of that group.

Thirty-eight years old when first elected, Mr. Lawson is a Democrat and has never been a member of another party. He was born in Cincinnati, and studied at Xavier University before becoming and elevator technician/repairman. His organizational affiliation includes National Conference of Black Mayors, Ohio Conference of Black Mayors, Hamilton County Municipal League, Cincinnati Housing Research Board and others.

Mayor Lawson has been most successful in the attraction of new industry to the city. This was achieved through Community Block Grants and the assistance of the Chamber of Commerce. The city is located along the interstate outer-belt, which makes it more attractive to business and industry. The financial condition of the city is very stable. The mayor has initiated a five million dollar financial development plan which is on schedule. The beautiful new municipal complex attests to the stability of the city and its confidence in its administration.

Mayor Lawson believes colleges and universities can aid in the development of trained mayors and other civil employees by providing and stressing courses in
communication, accounting, management, liberal arts and grant procurement.
CHAPTER 4
SECTIOII

Over the years researchers have developed various models to graphically illustrate concepts of leadership which are valuable for explaining their theses. The most widely used is the two by two dimensional model that describes "people" on one axis and "goal" or "task" on the other. Bernard (1938) was the first theorist to consolidate the two management orientations into a single theory. Other theorists have expanded on his work, notably Halpin of the Ohio State Leadership Studies. By 1966 he had developed the simple quadrant scheme (figure 2) to conceptualize the two factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initiating Structure</th>
<th>C-</th>
<th>C+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IS+</td>
<td></td>
<td>IS+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C-</td>
<td>C+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IS-</td>
<td>IS-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>III</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2: Halpin Model Illustrating Leader Behavior

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of Consideration (C) and Initiating Structure (IS). C is a measure of the "people" dimension while IS is a measure of the "task" dimension. To locate the leader style on the Halpin model a score is determined from an instrument that consists of thirty questions, one-half on "consideration" related issues and one-half "task" orientation related. The sum of the total of scores from each question in the "people" or "consideration" (C) lot is located on the graph and the same is done for the "task" orientation or "initiating structure" (IS). A line is then drawn perpendicular from each of the separate scores and the point where the lines cross represents visually the leaders combination of C and IS orientation. This allows a leader to be classed as one of four types.

Type I is high in both consideration and initiating. This is the ideal or most desired as it fits the needs of all situational events. The second type (II) is high in consideration and low in initiating. This leader can be successful in situations where the efforts of others are more of a factor than task orientation. The type III leader is low in both areas and is probably only successful in "maintaining" or as a caretaker. The type IV leader functions well where task orientation is paramount. His knowledge of the tasks at hand or his ability to acquire the necessary resources insures a reasonable amount of success where innovation, planning and development is required. In the
evaluation of organization at a given time any one of the types of leader may be more desirable than the others.

In our examination of identifying our sample as either high/low in consideration (people interaction) or high/low in initiating (task orientating) we can rate each mayor on the basis of scores attained through a derivative of the Leadership Behavior Descriptive Questionnaire (LBDQ). The instrument consists of thirty questions; fifteen describe consideration activities and the remaining fifteen describe initiating ones. The Likert scaled questions give a range of scores from zero to four for answers that range from "never" to "always". (See appendix for questionnaire.)

Each category of questions (consideration and initiating) would have a top value of sixty. Each mayor was evaluated by at least two members of the community in which he served as mayor and the evaluation reflects the above scoring. Our task is then to identify the mayor as to how he fits in the two by two grid in terms of consideration or initiating, then to determine where each stands in relation to each other and, lastly, to determine what it all means in terms of leadership. (See figure 3.)

The mayors' scores are listed by code number (figure 4)\(^3\) which can be used to determine this placement on our two by

\(^3\)To address confidentiality, each mayor was assigned a random code number. The actual coding is available to the Graduate Advisory Committee.
Figure 3: Two by Two Grid Depicting Scoring Composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High (+)</th>
<th>C(+)</th>
<th>C(+)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>IS(-)</td>
<td>IS(+) 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low (-)</td>
<td>C(-)</td>
<td>C(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>IS(-)</td>
<td>IS(+)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Initiating (Task Orientation) (IS)

Figure 4: Mayors' Scores on Consideration/Initiating Variables Resulting from Citizen Questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mayor Code #</th>
<th>Number Consideration</th>
<th>Number Initiating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
two chart. To do this we reduce the chart to cells, each having a value of ten (figure 5). The placement of mayor code 8 would be slightly over four cells up the vertical axis (41 for consideration) and slightly over three cells (31 for initiating). The lines from where these two points meet is where code 8 stands. A total placement of scores shows that 8 or 88% of the mayors are in the upper right quadrant denoting they are high in consideration as well as initiating. Mayors in this category range from moderate to high in consideration and mid high to high in initiating. The remainder subjects are below the mid range of consideration and on the mid line for initiating.

Figure 5: Mayors' Scores (Consideration/Initiating) Placed on a Ten by Ten Cell Grid
In the further analysis of the consideration variable, our sample, through the use of a line graph, shows ranges from thirty-three percent to ninety percent with a clustering of eighty-two percent of the sample in the seventy to ninety percent range (figure 6). In examining the initiating variable with the same line graph we find a different distribution pattern. Three subjects, or twenty-seven percent, are on the fifty percent line, one is on the sixty-five percent line, and seven or sixty-four percent are in the seventy-eight to ninety-three percent range.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consideration</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initiating</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6: Line Graphs Showing Consideration/Initiating Score Placements

Based upon the distribution of scores on the line graph, can we make statements relative to the ranking of the subjects in terms of leadership? To be able to answer this question we must remember the third component of our definition—situation. The environment of the leader plays
an important part in his success or failure. We then must define for our purpose the term success. The classical definition by political scientists would be the simplistic response of re-election. Simply, did he get re-elected to another term? We chose not to rely on this definition because of the many factors relative to the position of mayor. Indeed a mayor might get re-elected term after term because there is no one else in the town (especially our very small sample) who do not want the position. On the other hand a mayor who has made great achievements and has the confidence of 90% of the citizens might decide not to seek a second term. Neither example satisfies our analysis of leadership. We will use the term "successful" to describe the mayor who was able to reach the program goals (as per his assessment) or to facilitate significant improvement in his community as verified and corroborated by the Citizen's Questionnaire. The term "moderate" will describe the remaining mayors whose accomplishments were lower. There were no unsuccessful mayors. Other applications of the term "successful" and "moderate" can be used to examine other variables of the research question such as age, levels of education, political experience, party affiliation and other factors. The question becomes, what effect, if any, do the variables have on the mayor's ability to exhibit high quality leadership? Again we can use the two by two grid in a
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Involvement</th>
<th>Educational Preparation</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>7, 4, 1, 2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8, 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>9, 2, 5, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>5, 6</td>
<td>11, 6, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9, 10</td>
<td>5, 2, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7, 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7 — Mayor's Placement on Grid Per Scores of Political Involvement, Educational Preparation, and Age
different arrangement with both variables on the horizontal axis and the high/low relationships on the vertical axis.

**Political Involvement**

The availability of a viable political system indeed has its value in assisting a mayor in the role of leadership. To the extent a mayor can involve himself in and use the resources of that system he can be considered successful. In a lesser mode we consider him moderate.

In terms of definition a mayor will be categorized as successful if the research instruments and interviews show intensive involvement prior to mayoral election and/or service in political activities, elected positions, or employment in related governmental posts. Mayors who had limited political involvement will be considered moderate. Figure 7 shows over fifty percent of our subjects have significant involvement in the political arena, all serving in party politics and several elected as council members or working in the community governmental structure. These mayors are successful/high on our rating scale. It is useful to note that the leadership of communities with the largest populations (over 70 percent of our 11 subjects) are in this grouping.

In the moderate grouping, we find two subjects in the high range and three in the low. The high/low range subjects appear to have initiated involvement in communities with
limited availability for participation. The small number of interested and prepared persons of a small community do not provide a particularly extensive opportunity for one to exhibit his ability to function in a larger context.

**Educational Preparation**

Our educational grid presents an interesting picture (figure 7). We will define successful/low as a bachelor's degree and successful/high as above. Moderate/high will be less than a bachelor's degree but more than high school or some formal specialized training. Moderate/low would be less than a two-year study and high school or less. When we apply this definition to the subjects, three are successful/high, none are successful/low. Six are moderate/high and three are moderate/low. The three who are moderate/high have specialized training beyond the bachelor's level and two hold honorary doctorates. As a measure of success these three have been most successful in acquiring grants, resources and development projects for their cities. The six moderate/high subjects worked in smaller cities than the previous three and were less able to utilize and acquire the necessary resources. Education as a factor appears to be paramount in discerning where one should seek aid and getting the support and respect of the followers. The remaining two subjects are in the moderate/low category. As mayors of small towns whose tax base is almost non-existent, we might conclude that a
more highly educated person might not feel the need to seek the post as mayor. There was a noticeable absence of residents of the very small cities who exhibited or reportedly possess higher learning credentials.

Age (figure 7)

If we accept the common notion that experience, knowledge and ability increase with age we can suggest that older mayors were more successful than those much younger. There is a range of 43 years between the ages of our subjects when elected mayor with the youngest twenty-three and the oldest sixty-five. Dividing the range (43 years) into four parts to fit our grid we get approximately eleven years, therefore our moderate/low range will be twenty-three to thirty-four years of age; moderate/high, thirty-five to forty-six; successful/low, forty-seven to fifty-six; and successful/high, fifty-seven to sixty-five.

Age as a variable presents us with a different picture when examined on our grid. Only one subject falls into the successful/high quadrant which is the age fifty-seven to sixty-five. Three subjects fall into the successful/low quadrant which is the forty-seven to fifty-six age bracket. In the moderate/high grouping there are five mayors and two in the moderate/low category.

There is no pattern that indicates age as a factor determines success. Various ages of mayors are dispersed
over different sizes of cities, forms of government and locations relative to other cities of varying sizes. Our two youngest subjects were mayors of the largest and the smallest cities which indicates that age is not necessarily a factor in determining the likelihood of either being elected or successfully performing in the mayoral capacity.
CHAPTER V
SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Although research on mayors in general has been a limited area prior to 1974, Kotter and Lawrence note that there were at least ten different and important models of mayoral behavior exhibited in most serious literature. All ten have varied relationships to our use of the term "leadership." The models listed were:

The Power Broker Model--The ability to establish control over another person. This mayor deals in power instead of commodities, money or products.

The Public Entrepreneur Model--The mayor in this group is very active and a bold problem solver, one who takes risks.

The Public Executive and Policy Expert Models--There are two models represented here, both address directly the public interest as the paramount issue. The Public Executive Model assigns the development of public policy to council or another group. The execution of these policies is up to the mayor. The Public Policy Expert Model assigns execution to a city manager while the mayoral council sets the policy.

The Coalition Building Model--The mayor who merits this title is one who provides a program or approach that will involve a variety of groups and community interests.

"Muddling Through" Model--This title is a result of Charles E. Lindbom's A Strategy of Decision that speaks

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to man's lack of intellectual capacities, limited knowledge of analysis and other factors. This type of mayor takes things as they come and does the best he can under the circumstances.

Multi-hat Model—Mayors of this category are usually the Big City types who have control of several facets of the city including the political party and other influential groups.

The Formal Structure Model—This model speaks of the various charters of implementation. The strong mayor charter expects the mayor to do things even he has no control over. He is to be all powerful and possess all of the answers. The city manager charter puts the bureaucracy in the hands of a competent professional. The weak mayor charter evolved over the years and has a delicate system of checks and balances. It incorporates features from both the strong mayor and city manager approaches.

Personality Model—Most difficult of all of these models to explain. Simply put a "good" mayor is one who has a proper personality, is healthy, strong, skilled, etc. A "bad" mayor is one with psychological problems or who exhibits irrational behavior.

Community Power Structure Model—In the mode a mayor takes the dictates of policy and instructions from established and powerful community groups such as the "power structure" of the "ruling families."

It is obvious from the complexities of the models as well as the possibilities of the combinations of some that to use this set would serve no useful purpose to our study. Indeed, the Black mayor may find himself filling all ten models at once. More recent research by Kotter and Lawrence gives us a proper framework to evaluate or categorize our subjects.

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3Kotter and Lawrence, Mayors in Action, p. 29-32.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern of task accomplishment process</th>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
<th>Heavy</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bureaucratic</td>
<td>Little or none</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td>Heavy</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Heavy</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurial</td>
<td>Little or none</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td>Little or none</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td>Heavy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 8: Impact of different task accomplishment patterns

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4 Ibid., p. 100.
The research first describes three processes used in the accomplishment of tasks—Bureaucratic, Entrepreneurial and Individualistic. The mayor who engages in the Bureaucratic process normally does so as he uses the city bureaucracy to work on his agenda. He sometimes uses this process to direct council, party or other network members. The second process (Entrepreneurial) is where the mayor behaves like an entrepreneur or a risk-taking businessman. This process is most appropriate when there is a lack of strong control over the resources needed for task accomplishment. The third process (Individualistic) relates to how the mayor works by himself to accomplish tasks. He does not try to enlist the efforts or consent of others but "acts" himself. Figure 8 shows Kotter and Lawrence's assessment of the impact of the three processes on task accomplishment.  

Five Types of Mayors

Kotter and Lawrence found in their study that five classifications could describe the 20 mayors of their study. The classifications were: Ceremonial, Caretaker, Personality/Individualist, Executive and Program Entrepreneur. These are appropriate for the classification of our subjects as well.

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5Ibid., p. 83.
Ceremonial Mayor (Figure 9)

Preston, Hairston, Smith and Davis fall into this category for the same reason. Their cities are very small with very little city income to provide any exploration of new developments. It even remains difficult to finance existing services. Rendville has no lighted streets, police protection, etc. Urbancrest has very limited services with only part-time protection. Woodmere's area restriction and limited services are very apparent to a visitor initially. East Cleveland has no services of its own. These limited resources and the lack of staff as well as the apparent absence of other interested citizens causes an agenda setting process of "muddling through." Although these mayors have been re-elected to their posts, the agenda setting process year after year has remained the same, addressing issues as they come up and not planning ahead.

Networking with this group has been on a personal basis. Even the elections of these mayors have roots in personality rather than experience. There is either no effort to modify the members of their networks or a perception that the possibilities do not exist. There were common complaints of being left out of the "old boy" network or not being able to "play in the game."

All of the mayors in this group spoke of their own abilities in their task accomplishing. Smith relates how he was able to secure a truck for the "free" trade pick-up for
Ceremonial—This type of mayor adapts the "muddling through" process of agenda setting. He deals with issues and opportunities as they come up rather than having a future planned agenda. He has no office or staff of any consequence and either does not have or try to mold or modify his network members. He tends to ignore the bureaucratic or entrepreneurial process relying on himself.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agenda Setting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muddling through</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Network Building</th>
<th>Goal Accomplishing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uses personal appeal; does not try to modify network members; has no staff</td>
<td>Relies almost exclusively on individualistic process</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9: The Ceremonial Mayor

In our study:
Tony Preston (Rendville), Vaughn Hairston (Urbancrest), Raynor Smith (Woodmere), and Wallace Davis (East Cleveland)

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Ibid., p. 106.
Woodmere. Preston explains how he was able to secure the grants for city improvements, Hairston boasts of acquisition of the million dollar community center and Davis is proud of the plan he initiated that gave the city a better investment yield.

**Caretaker Mayor** (Figure 10)

Mayor White also utilized the agenda building process of "muddling through" or "disjointed incrementalism." He related that the inability of the power structure to accept and work with him (as evidenced by an attempted recall) made it difficult to make long range plans. His efforts to survive became paramount, necessitating his dealing with issues as they came up.

His networking was on a personal basis using discrete exchange with persons of power, that had resulted from relationships built as a result of his duties as a community development worker, his political activism, and the influence of his politically minded father. His staff was small with limited resources and he was not able to expand in this area.

Wherever possible Mayor White used the bureaucracy for his task accomplishment. He was able to utilize the state and federal structure to acquire the History of the River Valley Museum and a 7 million dollar manpower grant for job training, public services and youth employment.

---

7Braybrooke and Lindblom, *Strategy.*
Caretaker--In this mode the mayor utilizes a "muddling through" agenda setting process which reacts rather than proacts. He uses a discrete exchange process for network building while executing limited effort to modify his network members. He builds a loyal staff and has few resources. This type of mayor tends to rely less on movement and more on maintaining the status quo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agenda Setting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muddling through</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Network Building</th>
<th>Goal Accomplishing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct exchange, personal appeal, tries to modify network, creates loyalty of staff</td>
<td>Relies both on bureaucratic and individualistic process to a moderate degree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 10: The Caretaker Mayor\(^8\)
In our study:
Albert White (Portsmouth)

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\(^8\)Ibid., p. 110.
Personality/Individualistic Mayor (Figure 11)

The mayors of these cities were able to use a longer agenda building process (monthly or yearly). Their cities' populations have been stable and, as with Marysville and Woodlawn, have experienced an increase in population. This increase was due to the Black flight from Cincinnati caused by lower property costs and inner city problems. Along with increased revenue in this form of property and income taxes, there came an interested and concerned group of people who participated in the city activities. In an environment of financial stability, the ability to set an agenda with even a mid-range future focus is possible. Both mayors were able to develop a multi-year plan to set directions for the cities' futures.

In both cases the networking was a result of both a personal and purposive appeal nature. These mayors have worked somewhat as a manager of the city trust in that they created the resources for their task accomplishment by either bureaucratic or entrepreneurial means.

Executive Mayor (Figure 12)

With the exception of Dayton and Cincinnati these cities have the greatest revenue income of the study. Again, with revenue comes interested people and thus the ability to set long range agendas. In both cases the mayors were able to set agendas longer than five years in particular instances.
Personality/Individualist--This mayor uses the agenda setting process that focuses more on monthly and yearly activities rather than daily. He relies mostly on personal, and to some extent purposive, appeal in network building. He has no staff and does not try to shape his network members. In task accomplishing, he relies heavily on the individualistic approach and only occasionally on bureaucratic and entrepreneurial processes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agenda Setting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less on daily,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more on monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and yearly activities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Network Building</th>
<th>Goal Accomplishing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relies on personal</td>
<td>Relies almost exclusively on the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appeal; purposive</td>
<td>individualistic process;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appeal somewhat;</td>
<td>occasionally will use the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>does not try to</td>
<td>other two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modify network;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>has no staff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11: The Personality/Individualistic Mayor

In our study:
Richard Hunt (Silverton), James Mobley (Lincoln Heights)

---

Executive Mayor—Like the Personality/
Individualistic mayor, this mayor uses the agenda
setting process that is more long range than short
(monthly or yearly rather than daily). His network
building process approach is moderate, discrete
exchange, purposive appeals, personal appeals and
the like. He modifies his network members to a
small degree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agenda Setting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less on daily more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on monthly and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yearly activities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Network Building</th>
<th>Goal Accomplishing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uses discrete exchange; purposive &amp; personal appeal; modifies network members; a little staff with some capabilities as resources</td>
<td>Uses bureaucratic process heavily; individualistic process moderately and entrepreneurial process to a limited degree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 12: The Executive Mayor

In our study:
Clifton Brown (Marysville), Lawyer Lawson (Woodlawn)

---

10Ibid., p. 116.
Brown of Marysville had set into motion plans that would bring in Honda and later another automobile manufacturer. Lawson is still implementing a plan initiated nine years ago, designed to increase the industrial base of the city.

The networking required to carry out the agendas consists of discrete exchanges between the parties with resources and the mayors. Personal and purposive appeals have also been used. These mayors have staff with limited but somewhat important resources.

The bureaucratic process was mainly used by these mayors but a reliance upon their entrepreneurial skills was also utilized. The very nature of their accomplishments which required state, federal and county sanctions and support, such as the Honda plant in Marysville and factories in Woodlawn, dictated a total use of all available structure.

Program Entrepreneur Mayor (Figure 13)

One would expect successful mayors of cities as large as Dayton and Cincinnati to adapt an agenda building process that is far reaching—5, 10, 15 or 20 years. The long agenda is necessary because of the lack of speed of the system which is restricted by its size. Both mayors, when referring to their downtown re-vitalization, used terms like "our ten-year plan" or "twenty-year plan." Of course the agenda processes used by the other classifications of mayors (muddling through
Program Entrepreneur Mayor—To set the agenda this mayor uses the methods of the previous types of mayors—i.e. "muddling through," monthly or yearly planning—but expands to create 5, 10, 15 year plans. He utilizes all network building processes very skillfully, and tends to try to modify some of his network members, while surrounding himself with a staff of useful and important resources. He uses all task accomplishment processes, especially the entrepreneurial one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agenda Setting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Short term process as well as 5, 10, or 15 year agendas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Network Building</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uses all previous forms extensively; modifies network; has important resources and staff</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goal Accomplishing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uses entrepreneurial process a great deal; bureaucratic process considerably and individualistic process somewhat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 13: The Program Entrepreneur Mayor

In our study:
Kenneth Blackwell (Cincinnati), James McGee (Dayton)

11Ibid., p. 117.
and monthly/yearly) are used in addition to the long range plans in order to respond to reflective changes.

Networking in this large setting requires extreme skill. This is where the political savvy is required. The large size of these cities elevates the political concentration to even a national level because of the need to compete with other large cities for resources such as multi-million dollar grants, conventions, world fair sites and the like. These mayors need staff that are resource centers in and of themselves. A need to modify, replace or upgrade staff is an ever present concern.

In the area of task accomplishing, these mayors use all of the previously discussed methods—bureaucratic, individualistic and especially the entrepreneurial. A method not emphasized by Kotter and Lawrence, yet used extensively by McGee and Blackwell, is the Political Broker method. Unlike the classification that describes handouts for favors done, these men have been in positions to act as middle men for business and industry, community groups and agencies. Their positions as mayors in a council/city manager structure have allowed them the ability to assist in cooperative projects and yet get credit for the final product.
Conclusion

The study shows that most Black mayors have exhibited significant leadership qualities in spite of little or no formal preparation for the position. Those mayors who had extensive involvement in the political arena of their communities were able to coalesce individuals and groups in the achievement of growth and development. As the size of the communities grew the need for this quality increased because the groups became more knowledgeable and exhibited more interest and involvement. Additionally, there became others who were interested in the position of mayor, which introduced competition, a positive catalyst in group interaction.

The mayor's ability to direct task accomplishments directly correlated to the ability to coalesce groups. The treatment of these two variables resulted in almost equal scores of each subject regardless of whether the ranking was high or low. (Refer to figure 4, page 91.) Task involvement, the ability to acquire necessary resources or the fulfillment of goals, was accomplished on varying levels and to varying degrees. This was dependent upon the ability of the mayor, groups of interaction, and the situation.

The importance of the situation cannot be understated. Of the three factors, situation can dominate. Decisions are more critical in instances where funds are less plentiful
than the opposite. Errors are more obvious and produce an immediate effect. Some of the cities of the study did not provide an adequate opportunity for the mayors to be examined on an equal basis.

Kotter and Lawrence's study provided the framework for a situational comparison which enabled each mayor to be placed in a category which described him as Ceremonial, Caretaker, Personality/Individualist, Executive, or Program Entrepreneur. These groupings offered alternatives to the sterility of scientific instruments (whose value cannot be understated) while explaining interactive components such as agenda setting, network building, and goal accomplishing.

The results show that goal setting varied among the mayors. Less than half of the study campaigned on a specific platform and could not remember their specific goals. One half of the mayors used an agenda setting process that addressed issues as they came up with no future oriented plans or structured goals. Four, or nearly 40% of the study, were able to utilize monthly or yearly agenda goal setting processes. Only two, or nearly 20%, used the long term or multi-year processes. As the population, economic and citizen participation became greater, the goal setting process increased from a day by day to a multi-year approach. This trend is suggested by the case studies of the city and mayors and is borne out by our statistical analysis.
Each mayor in the study was responsible for money acquisition that resulted in some improvements for the community. These ranged from a small grant for streets and improvements to multi-million dollar projects for a community center, an automobile plant, and downtown development projects. The source of these acquisitions varied with the individual mayoral ability to form coalitions of several groups as in the two largest cities. As the size, economy and sophisticated network increased, so did the level of grant acquisition. The needs of the communities also dictated a variety of projects that required grants or private/public initiatives. The case study on Mayor McGee of Dayton described the effort of various groups to establish an airport outside of several surrounding communities. This was a classic example of the type of demands placed on mayors of this era.

The study shows that nearly all mayors of the study have turned in an acceptable performance and some have been exemplary in their efforts. Yet one can only wonder what the results would have been had there been more "education" involved in various areas of each mayor's life. Our analysis of the educational variable (figure 8, page 96) clearly indicates that mayors with a high degree of education placed high in all areas, i.e. political, grant acquisition, consideration and initiating.
The importance of preparing for positions like mayor, city managers or agency directors cannot be overstated. There are opportunities to provide this training whether it is before the student leaves college or after the election has taken place. It is not important, at this point, to conjecture what department would assume that responsibility. What is important is the recognition that a task done well without education and training can be significantly improved with it. Leadership is generic and so are problems of administration.

When asked for suggestions of how educational institutions could help, all mayors responded with the same general theme. For those in office workshops on communication, human behavior, organizational interactions, strategic planning and, most of all, cooperative programs that will allow the community to take advantage of the expertise of advanced students and/or professors. For the aspiring student courses in budgeting, planning and communication should head the list. Also suggested were internships that would allow the student to see political interaction that can be taught best in a real life situation. The understanding of how individuals and groups act to attempt to have their own preferences emerge as the final product, would be the best preparation an educational institution can give a prospective mayor or any other student.
Over the years several educational institutions have participated in various seminars and projects to aid the new mayor, as well as some who have been in office for years, in improving their performance. Special projects with associations and organizations of mayoral memberships have been jointly sponsored by colleges and universities. Continuing efforts on the part of these groups will be necessary. Educational institutions can make a significant investment in our mayors and should do so because the rewards will certainly return in a greater amount.
APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRES
QUESTIONNAIRE I
PERSONAL INTERVIEW
Black Mayor (Ohio) for Mayoral Profile

NAME ________________________________

TOWN ________________________________

DATE ________________________________

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Personal

1. What year were you born?

2. Where did you live for the majority of your childhood and teenage years?

3. What was the size of the community where you grew up?

4. How many brothers and/or sisters do you have?

5. What is your marital status?

6. How many children do you have?

7. What is your religious affiliation?

8. a. To what organizations do you belong?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANIZATIONS</th>
<th>OFFICES HELD</th>
<th>DATES OF MEMBERSHIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

b. Prior to your election, how were you involved in community development (other than organizational memberships)?

9. In what jobs were you employed prior to your election as mayor?

10. What were your parents' occupations?

   Mother:

   Father:
Educational

1. From what high school did you graduate?
   a. Percent of Black students
   b. Public of private institution?

2. What college (junior college, technical school) did you attend?
   a. Major subject area
   b. Minor subject area
   c. Years attended
   d. Degree granted
   e. Postgraduate study

3. Have you received an honorary degree?
   a. If yes, when?
   b. From what institution?

4. Are you currently enrolled in an educational program? If yes, which institution?
   a. Subjects
   b. Degree sought

5. What educational degrees did you parents complete?
   a. Mother:
   b. Father:
Political

1. At what age did you become involved in a political party?
   Which party?

2. What is your current political affiliation?
   a. When did you become a member of your current party?
   b. Have you been affiliated with another party? If yes, when and what party(party)?

3. When were you formally elected to the office of Mayor?
   What was your age?

4. How many terms have you served as mayor?

5. How long have you been a resident of the community where you were elected mayor?
   Dates of residence:

6. Have you been elected to any other public office?
   If yes, what office(s) (include school boards), and when were you elected (give length of terms)?

7. How many times have you run for public office? Office Opposed?
   Primary elections:
   General elections:

8. What is the annual salary for mayor?

9. Are you engaged in another professional (or business) occupation in addition to being mayor?
   a. If yes, which occupation?
   b. What percent of your time is spent on this occupation?
10. What persons or groups have been most instrumental in achieving your political position?
   a. Family
   b. Personal friends
   c. Black political leaders
   d. Black community leaders
   e. White political leaders
   f. White community leaders

11. Has race affected your:
   a. election to public office?

   b. ability to perform political duties?

12. What positions (responsibilities) have you held in your current political party?
Political Platform

1. What level of volunteer support did you receive in your mayoral campaign(s) (total number)?

2. Please state your platform objectives (mayoral campaign only).
   a. Program goals:

   b. Resources needed:

3. Were your platform objectives accomplished?
   Why or why not?

4. Which program was most successful? Why?

5. Was volunteer support needed to accomplish your programs?
Status of the Community

1. What is the financial condition of your community?

2. Approximately how many persons live in your community?
   Voting age ____________ %
   Non-voting age ____________ %

3. What percent of your community is Black?

4. How many city employees do you currently have?
   a. Full-time:
   b. Part-time:
   c. Please attach a list of positions.

5. What municipal services were added under your administration?

6. What are the major service needs of your city?

7. What types of technical assistance have you sought and received for the administration of city government? (Include seminars through the National Conference of Black Mayors, etc.)
Grants Procurement

1. What federal funds had been received by your city government prior to your election?

2. What federal grants have been applied for under your administration?

Private resources?

3. What federal grants were obtained under your administration?

Private resources?

4. a. Has a financial development plan been implemented by your administration?

b. What level of revenue is sought?

5. a. What public/private initiatives have been developed under your administration?

b. Which sectors of the community were involved?

c. What was the impact of these efforts? How were activities evaluated?
Personal Opinions

1. How effective have you been in providing leadership in acquiring resources for your community?

2. What are the reasons for your successful/unsuccesful development activities?

3. Which programs under your administration can be considered outstanding and/or prototypes?

4. Have other Black officials been elected in your community? Why or why not?

5. What social conditions have affected the development of your community? How?

6. What training do you recommend for Black college students aspiring to political office?

7. How can universities and communities work together to achieve both educational and community objectives?
QUESTIONNAIRE II
CITIZENS INTERVIEW
For Mayoral Profile

1. How long have you been a resident of this city?

2. What activities have you been involved in within the community?

3. What is your party affiliation?

4. Are you or were you a political supporter of the Mayor?

5. What is your opinion of the Mayor's performance in office?
   a. Strengths:

   b. Weaknesses:

6. Do you feel the Mayor has been successful in securing needed resources?

7. Do you feel the Mayor has developed successful public/private initiatives?

8. What leadership qualities has the mayor exhibited in the acquisition of funds?

9. Has the Mayor been receptive to citizen recommendations?
10. What community needs has the Mayor not addressed? 

Why? 

11. What are the priority needs of the city? 

12. How does the Mayor's administration compare with previous administrations in terms of procurement of financial resources? 

13. How efficient is the city in delivering municipal resources? 

14. Do you feel the Mayor has adhered to his campaign platform? 

Why or why not? 

15. How would you describe the future of your city under the current administration? 

a. Financial stability: 

b. Municipal development:
QUESTIONNAIRE
LEADER BEHAVIOR

Below are questions which are purported to describe leader behavior. These questions are designed to provide an objective description of the actions of the Mayor and not the quality of the individual's performance in securing grants to fund municipal services.

NAME: ____________________________________________

POSITION (relationship to Mayor): _______________________

NAME OF PERSON BEING DESCRIBED: _______________________

Directions:

1. Read each item carefully and think about how frequently the Mayor engaged in the behavior described by the item.

2. Determine which response most accurately describes the frequency of the Mayor's behavior.

3. Circle the answer you select.
1. He does personal favors for staff/committee members.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
                     D. Seldom          E. Never

2. He makes it pleasant to be a member of his staff/committee.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
                     D. Seldom          E. Never

3. He is easy to understand.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
                     D. Seldom          E. Never

4. He finds time to listen to staff/committee members.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
                     D. Seldom          E. Never

5. He engages in friendly jokes and comments during group meetings.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
                     D. Seldom          E. Never

6. He protects the welfare of individual staff/committee members.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
                     D. Seldom          E. Never

7. He establishes cordial relations with staff/committee members.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
                     D. Seldom          E. Never

8. He explains why a particular action is important.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
                     D. Seldom          E. Never

9. He consults his staff/committee before he acts.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
                     D. Seldom          E. Never

10. He treats all staff/committee members as equals.
    A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
       D. Seldom          E. Never
11. He makes changes willingly.
   A. Always    B. Often    C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom    E. Never

12. He is personable, friendly, and approachable.
   A. Always    B. Often    C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom    E. Never

13. He makes staff/committee members feel comfortable or at ease during conversations.
   A. Always    B. Often    C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom    E. Never

14. He utilizes suggestions made by staff/committee members.
   A. Always    B. Often    C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom    E. Never

15. He solicits and obtains staff/committee approval on matters of importance before proceeding.
   A. Always    B. Often    C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom    E. Never

16. He clearly communicates his attitudes to staff/committee members.
   A. Always    B. Often    C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom    E. Never

17. He tests new ideas with the staff/committee.
   A. Always    B. Often    C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom    E. Never

18. He controls group processes in an authoritarian manner.
   A. Always    B. Often    C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom    E. Never

19. He is critical of poor performance.
   A. Always    B. Often    C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom    E. Never

20. He speaks in a manner not to be questioned.
   A. Always    B. Often    C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom    E. Never
21. He assigns specific tasks to individual staff/committee members.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom           E. Never

22. He works with a plan of action.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom           E. Never

23. He adheres to specific standards of performance.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom           E. Never

24. He emphasizes meeting deadlines.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom           E. Never

25. He clarifies his responsibilities with the staff/committee members.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom           E. Never

26. He specifies his expectations of staff/committee members.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom           E. Never

27. He monitors the staff/committee so that all are working to capacity.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom           E. Never

28. He encourages the use of uniform procedures.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom           E. Never

29. He encourages members to work as a team.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom           E. Never

30. He establishes procedures so that staff/committee members coordinate their work.
   A. Always           B. Often           C. Occasionally
   D. Seldom           E. Never
SCORING

Each item is scored the same using the following key:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSE</th>
<th>SCORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Always</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasionally</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seldom</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ranges: Same for consideration and initiating items.

High = 120
APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>DATE OF BIRTH</th>
<th>CITY</th>
<th>SIZE</th>
<th>SIBLINGS</th>
<th>MARITAL STATUS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CHILDREN</th>
<th>RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Kenneth Blackwell</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>2 brothers</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifton Brown</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>6 brothers</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>AME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace Davis</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Youngstown</td>
<td>170,000</td>
<td>1 sister</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Protestant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vaughn Hairston</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Urbancrest</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>3 brothers</td>
<td>M</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard Hunt</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td>450,000</td>
<td>1 sister</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>1941</td>
<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
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<td>James H. McGee</td>
<td>1918</td>
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<td>30,000</td>
<td>5 brothers</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>1930</td>
<td>Lincoln Hts.</td>
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<td>500</td>
<td>1 brother</td>
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<td>Rayner J. Smith</td>
<td>1911</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>2 sisters</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>Episcopal</td>
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<td>1939</td>
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<td>40,000</td>
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<td>1975</td>
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<td>1973</td>
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<td>J. Kenneth Blackwell</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>Xavier University, 1966-1971</td>
<td>Educational Psychology</td>
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<td>Vaughn Hairston</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>Richard Hunt</td>
<td>Withron, Cincinnati</td>
<td>15-20</td>
<td>Xavier University, 1970-1972</td>
<td>Broadcast</td>
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<td>Lawyer Lawson</td>
<td>Hughes High, Cincinnati</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Xavier University, Univ. of Cincinnati 1960-1967</td>
<td>Pre-Dental/Electrical Engineering</td>
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<tr>
<td>James H. Mcgee</td>
<td>Steubenville, Steubenville</td>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>Wilberforce College, Ohio State Univ., 1937-1941</td>
<td>Business Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>James Mobley</td>
<td>Locklan Wayne</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Junior College, Morristown, Tenn.</td>
<td>Psychiatry &amp; Sociology/Science</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eugene A. Preston</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Central State College 1964-1970</td>
<td>Political Science</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rayner J. Smith</td>
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<td>8-9</td>
<td>Cleveland College, 1968</td>
<td>General</td>
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<td>Albert White</td>
<td>Portsmouth High</td>
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<td>Pre-Medical</td>
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\[^1\text{All are public schools.}]]
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<th>MOTHER</th>
<th>FATHER</th>
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<td>no</td>
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<td>BS 1941</td>
<td>Law, OSU,</td>
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<td>no</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>1970; Central State, 1971</td>
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### TABLE 4

**PARTY AFFILIATION**

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<th>NAME</th>
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<td>Clifton Brown</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>1945</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wallace Davis</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
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<td>Vaughn Hairston</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
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<td>Richard Hunt</td>
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<td>1967</td>
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<td>James H. McGee</td>
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<td>Eugene A. Preston</td>
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<td>Rayner Smith</td>
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<td>Albert White</td>
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TABLE 5
ELECTION HISTORY

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<th>NAME</th>
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<th>TERMS</th>
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<th>OTHER Elected OFFICES</th>
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<tr>
<td>J. Kenneth Blackwell</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33 yrs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clifton Brown</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2¹</td>
<td>35 yrs.</td>
<td>Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wallace Davis</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td>14 yrs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vaughn Hairston</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Life (1930)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard Hunt</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Since 1962</td>
<td>Council</td>
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<td>1980</td>
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<tr>
<td>James H. McGee</td>
<td>1970²</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>35 yrs.</td>
<td>City Commission</td>
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<td>James Mobley</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>Life (1930)</td>
<td>School Board</td>
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<td>Eugene A. Preston</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>Life</td>
<td>Council²</td>
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<td>Rayner Smith</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>39 yrs.</td>
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<td>Albert White</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>38</td>
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<td>Life</td>
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¹ Died in office.
² Appointment.
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<td>4</td>
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<td>Librarian/Minister</td>
<td>50 hr/wk</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>Funeral Director</td>
<td>35 hr/wk</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>500</td>
<td>Antiques Dealer</td>
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<td>7,400</td>
<td>Service Mechanic, Dover Elevator</td>
<td>40 hr/wk</td>
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<td>Parts Sales Manager</td>
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<td>Richard Hunt</td>
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<td>Lawyer Lawson</td>
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<tr>
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<td>IMPACT ON ABILITY TO PERFORM POLITICAL DUTIES</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>J. Kenneth Blackwell</td>
<td>Receive support from 82% of Blacks</td>
<td>None</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clifton Brown</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wallace Davis</td>
<td>Blacks are a minority, but all pulled together; whites helped</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vaughn Hairston</td>
<td>None--city is predominantly Black</td>
<td>None</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard Hunt</td>
<td>Positive population</td>
<td>Has not hampered</td>
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<td>Lawyer Lawson</td>
<td>Positive--city is 80% Black</td>
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<td>James H. McGee</td>
<td>Receive support from 90% of Blacks, 25% of whites</td>
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<td>James Mobley</td>
<td>Positive--Black in a Black community</td>
<td>None--able to get support from neighboring towns</td>
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<td>Rayner Smith</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
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<tr>
<td>Albert White</td>
<td>Grant support from Blacks: 295 of 300 in home precinct positive Black support</td>
<td>Suffered great resentment from whites who resented a Black mayor; survived two recalls</td>
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<tr>
<td>J. Kenneth Blackwell</td>
<td>Hard to determine</td>
<td>Economic growth, tax credits; Neighborhood safety; Fiscal responsibility &amp; private financing of city services</td>
<td>Public/private money for police; Technical</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clifton Brown</td>
<td>The whole city was volunteers</td>
<td>Betterment of the city; Community development; Economic development</td>
<td>Grants; Federal loans; Tax abatements</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace Davis</td>
<td>Part of a coalition of two candidates, broad appeal--unable to determine the number of volunteers</td>
<td>To help the city gain independence (to a greater degree) from the big city of Cleveland</td>
<td>Grants, Public/Private; Own water system</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaughn Hairston</td>
<td>Very little</td>
<td>Recreational center for youth &amp; elderly; Water &amp; sewer; New streets; Housing</td>
<td>Grants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Hunt</td>
<td>Volunteer 80% of effort; Budget less than $1500; Complete ticket officers</td>
<td>Neighborhood revitalization; Recreation outlets; Management of employees</td>
<td>Shift of available funds; Management of employees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer Lawson</td>
<td>25-30 people</td>
<td>Establish better bond between residents and industrial communities; Attract more residents and industries</td>
<td>Cooperative efforts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James H. McGee</td>
<td>97% of people; Not more than $4000 spent per campaign</td>
<td>Downtown redevelopment--Arcade, Medical Headquarters, Courthouse Square; Establish citizen review; Develop block grant program; Close-out Model Cities</td>
<td>Grants; Public/Private money; City tax</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Mobley</td>
<td>Core was 5-20 people per campaign</td>
<td>Growth &amp; betterment of people; New streets/sidewalks; Improve public services; Raise quality of life</td>
<td>Grants: UDAG, EDA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene A. Preston</td>
<td>5 people</td>
<td>Secure federal money for housing and streets improvements</td>
<td>Financial and technical expertise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rayner Smith</td>
<td>Excellent support: 100%</td>
<td>Good government; Paved streets; Expanded police force; Reduced lot sizes</td>
<td>Tax dollar grants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert White</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Higher employment; Community improvement</td>
<td>Community Action, Man-Power grants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOALS ACCOMPLISHED, REASONS</td>
<td>MOST SUCCESSFUL PROGRAM, REASONS</td>
<td>VOLUNTEER SUPPORT NEEDED FOR PROGRAMS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Success with all goals, because of great effort</td>
<td>Economic growth, because it was the first program started</td>
<td>Yes, to give ownership</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honda plants; City infrastructure development</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Federal, State &amp; County grants, banks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home mortgage discharge; More favorable investment procedure for city money; Because of good cooperation</td>
<td>Investment procedures</td>
<td>City banks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$6 million for various things, because of personal effort</td>
<td>Community center, because of personal effort</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major curbs, streets; Moderate success with recreation; Defined employee responsibility</td>
<td>Neighborhood revitalization</td>
<td>City government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ongoing success, because of personal effort</td>
<td>Attracting industry, because of more interest</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Success with all goals</td>
<td>Downtown project</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>UDA--$1 million loan over 20 years</td>
<td>Consultants; Office staff</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial success, because of lack of ability to secure funding</td>
<td>Street improvement and water</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paved streets; Expanded police force; because of efforts and cooperation</td>
<td>Free trash pickup</td>
<td>Contributions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$7 million manpower grants</td>
<td>Manpower grants; All American City</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 9
**STATUS OF THE COMMUNITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>FINANCIAL CONDITION</th>
<th>NUMBER RESIDENTS</th>
<th>% VOTING AGE</th>
<th>% NON-VOTING AGE</th>
<th>% BLACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J. Kenneth Blackwell</td>
<td>Relatively good</td>
<td>387,000</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifton Brown</td>
<td>Very good</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace Davis</td>
<td>Terrible</td>
<td>36,957</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaughn Hairston</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Hunt</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>6,300</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer Lawson</td>
<td>Stable &amp; good</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James H. McGee</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>295,000</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Mobley</td>
<td>In the black</td>
<td>5,000+</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eugene A. Preston</td>
<td>Extremely poor</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rayner Smith</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>760</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert White</td>
<td>Very depressed</td>
<td>25,960</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FULL TIME</td>
<td>PART TIME</td>
<td>MUNICIPAL SERVICES ADDED</td>
<td>MAJOR SERVICE NEEDS</td>
<td>TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE SOUGHT, RECEIVED</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,400</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Service consolidation; Dept. of Housing &amp; Conservation</td>
<td>Infrastructure maintenance</td>
<td>Public Technology, Inc.; National League of Cities; Conference of Mayors; International City Managers Association; Special Committee (Phillips)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Enhanced</td>
<td>Sewer infrastructure</td>
<td>State, Federal grants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Sewer infrastructure</td>
<td>State, Federal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 CETA Empl.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Housing; Industrial development</td>
<td>National Conference of Black Mayors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 30</td>
<td>Youth employment program</td>
<td>Curbs &amp; streets</td>
<td>Ohio Municipal League; Management for Mayors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 40</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Seminars of all types</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Airport</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>U.S. Conference of Mayors; League of Cities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Only Mayor</td>
<td>Earnings tax program; Storm sewers, sidewalks; Extended street service</td>
<td>Police &amp; Fire Departments</td>
<td>Black Mayor's Association; State/Federal Fiscal Management Assistance Representatives; HUD; City of Cincinnati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--- 6</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Sewer; Water expansion; Lighting; Fire; Housing</td>
<td>Private consultants; Regional (government); National Conference of Black Mayors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 19</td>
<td>Expanded, not added</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>State, County, Regional Planning Commissions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 ---</td>
<td>Department of Community Development</td>
<td>Lack of money for garbage collection fees</td>
<td>State of Ohio Private Contractors; National Conference of Black Mayors; National League of Cities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>FED. FUNDS R'CD BEFORE MAYOR'S ADMINISTRATION</td>
<td>FED. GRANTS APPLIED FOR SINCE ELECTION</td>
<td>P'VT RESOURCES APPLIED FOR SINCE ELECTION</td>
<td>FINANCIAL DEVELOPMENT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Kenneth Blackwell</td>
<td>Anti-Recession, Community Block Grants, UDAG, EDA</td>
<td>Same except for Anti-Recession</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifton Brown</td>
<td>Very little</td>
<td>State land tax abatement</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace Davis</td>
<td>Not determined</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaughn Hairston</td>
<td>Very little--$5,000 for housing improvement</td>
<td>HUD, EDA, UDAG for sewer system housing, recreation</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>$6 mil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Hunt</td>
<td>Crime prevention from LEAA Youth Program</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer Lawson</td>
<td>Community Block Grant</td>
<td>Community Block Grant</td>
<td>Chamber of Commerce</td>
<td>Economic Development</td>
<td>$5 mil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James H. McGee</td>
<td>On-going but limited</td>
<td>All possible grants</td>
<td>Numerous</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>$50 mil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Mobley</td>
<td>Urban Renewal, $5 mil., 1972</td>
<td>EDA Earnings Tax, $100,000 Storm sewer &amp; sidewalks, $80,000 UDAG-Factory loan, $240,000/800,000</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Commercial Dist. Improvement Plan</td>
<td>--EDA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene A. Preston</td>
<td>$45,000 EDA for water project</td>
<td>$1 million for streets</td>
<td>$250,000 for streets</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rayner Smith</td>
<td>Some Revenue Sharing</td>
<td>Community Block Grants</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert White</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>3 $1 mil. grants for several HUD projects</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>INITIATIVES</td>
<td>SECTORS INVOLVED</td>
<td>FUNDING NEEDED</td>
<td>IMPACT</td>
<td>EVALUATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Kenneth Blackwell</td>
<td>Hyatt Regency $5 private for every $1 public= $60 mil. Convention Center</td>
<td>Public/Private</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>27,000 new jobs</td>
<td>Tax revenue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifton Brown</td>
<td>Honda plant</td>
<td>State, County</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Thousands of jobs</td>
<td>State prestige &amp; local satisfaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace Davis</td>
<td>City funds investment</td>
<td>Public/private</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Greater revenue gain</td>
<td>More efficient use of dollars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaughn Hairston</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>City, State, Federal</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Community greatly improved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Hunt</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>CD funds through County</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer Lawson</td>
<td>Community Beautification</td>
<td>Chamber of Commerce &amp;</td>
<td>State, Federal</td>
<td>Received funds</td>
<td>Community satisfaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James H. McGee</td>
<td>Downtown drive: Courthouse Square, The Arcade, and other projects</td>
<td>City, County, State,</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Good development</td>
<td>Public service City attractiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Mobley</td>
<td>4 factories from $1 mil. EDA</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>State &amp; Federal bonds</td>
<td>Community support</td>
<td>Employment/taxes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene A. Preston</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rayner Smith</td>
<td>Street paving, sidewalk improvements</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>CDBG</td>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td>Same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert White</td>
<td>Housing project</td>
<td>Banks/HUD, UDAG, State,</td>
<td>State, Federal</td>
<td>Increased housing</td>
<td>Community satisfaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>LEADERSHIP EFFECTIVENESS IN ACQUICKING RESOURCES</td>
<td>REASONS FOR SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT</td>
<td>REASONS FOR UNSUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT</td>
<td>OUTSTANDING/PROTO-TYPICAL PROGRAMS</td>
<td>OTHER BLACKS ELECTED, REASONS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Kenneth Blackwell</td>
<td>On a 1-10, 8</td>
<td>Maintaining open communication lines; looking for issues that cut across lines</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Crowd control plan</td>
<td>No, very few</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifton Brown</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Know the people and the system</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Economic dev. (Honda plant)</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace Davis</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Have gotten the confidence of the people</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaughn Hairston</td>
<td>Very effective</td>
<td>Self</td>
<td>Envious citizens</td>
<td>Recreational center</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Hunt</td>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>Resources have been ongoing and have not required extra effort</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Youth employment, income for youth services to community, county funded</td>
<td>City clerk, treas.; 2 Council members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer Lawson</td>
<td>Very effective</td>
<td>Coalition of groups and organizations to achieve and facilitate dev.</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James H. McGee</td>
<td>Very effective</td>
<td>Able to get all the people to move together</td>
<td>Not enough time in office</td>
<td>Downtown development; Convention Center</td>
<td>Very few</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Mobley</td>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Hasn't continued momentum—too idealistic, against values of the establishment</td>
<td>Earnings tax program</td>
<td>All, town is all black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene A. Preston</td>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>Lack of tax base, residents &amp; income</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>All, mostly black town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rayner Smith</td>
<td>Very good</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Not &quot;Black&quot; enough</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert White</td>
<td>Very effective, Best mayor</td>
<td>Knowledge of the system</td>
<td>Lack of cooperation from some whites</td>
<td>All American City, 1980; $7 mil. man-power grant for job training</td>
<td>Some were appointed to replace but did not run</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4Development here refers to the acquisition of funds.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>SOCIAL CONDITIONS AFFECTING COMMUNITY</th>
<th>TRAINING RECOMMENDED FOR BLACK STUDENTS RE. POLITICS</th>
<th>SUGGESTIONS FOR UNIVERSITY/ COMMUNITY COOPERATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J. Kenneth Blackwell</td>
<td>White &amp; Black flight Highways out Population becomes older</td>
<td>Liberal arts with concentration in English &amp; math</td>
<td>Manpower/Labor force planning Joint strategic planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifton Brown</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace Davis</td>
<td>Large number of welfare citizens</td>
<td>Business, communication</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaughn Hairston</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Early involvement in politics, esp. college</td>
<td>Community workshops, seminars, coops, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Hunt</td>
<td>Race</td>
<td>Psychology; Financial management skills; Public relations</td>
<td>Provide training to students; Studies of the city's structure &amp; functions; Give suggestions; Help in management with hands-on experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer Lawson</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Communication skills; Innovative ways to raise money; Accounting management; General education courses; Liberal arts</td>
<td>Coop programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James H. McGee</td>
<td>Integration; Open housing</td>
<td>Political Science; Public administration</td>
<td>Coop programs; Special projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Mobley</td>
<td>Loss of a high school through merger because of integration; Loss of control over senior citizens' program; Victimized by welfare and regression of family structure</td>
<td>Students should attend Black institutions for for &quot;real picture&quot;</td>
<td>Help Blacks to redefine objectives and roles in society; Blacks should play a larger part in &quot;educating ourselves&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene A. Preston</td>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>Political Science; Business; Finance</td>
<td>Coop programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rayner Smith</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Apprenticeship in some form</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert White</td>
<td>Lack of educational opportunities; Lack of cultural experience</td>
<td>Business; Communication; Inter-relationships</td>
<td>Coop programs; Specialized training</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY


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