

EXPLORING SYNERGIC POWER AND NETWORK-BASED LEADERSHIP IN A
COMMUNITY ORGANIZING CONTEXT

By

Theresa Armstead

Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Vanderbilt University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Community Research and Action

December, 2006

Nashville, Tennessee

Approved:

Paul W. Speer

William L. Partridge

Paul R. Dokecki

John R. Newbrough

Maury Nation

C. Melissa Snarr

In loving memory of Janice L. Spiller whose spirit and strength taught me about love, family,
and faith.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work would not have been possible without the financial support of the Raskob Family Foundation as a research assistant on the Skipper Grant, the Department of Human and Organizational Development, and the Graduate School at Vanderbilt University through the Dissertation Enhancement Grant. I would also like to thank Sandy Brown and Ron Marks of Congregations Building Community (CBC) for their willingness to allow me to explore synergic power and for the conversations over the years that taught me about living life according to one's values and heart. Also I'd like to thank the members of CBC who participated in this study and shared with me their passion for working for justice and change in their community.

I am especially grateful to my advisor, dissertation chair, and mentor Dr. Paul Speer, for pushing me and challenging me to clarify the boundaries synergic power. I wanted synergic power to be all that is good about power in the world and my conversations with Paul Speer really helped me to see what synergic power could be and what it is not. I would also like to thank my dissertation co-chair and mentor Dr. William Partridge for his encouragement, support, and guidance in the course of completing this study. I have been especially blessed to be mentored by the entire faculty in the Community Research and Action program and while I am indebted to them all, I am especially indebted to my dissertation committee, including my outside reader, Dr. C. Melissa Snarr for going on this journey with me.

Finally I would like to recognize my family and friends who have supported me over the years and have provided endless encouragement. I would especially like to recognize soon-to-be Dr. Sheneka Williams for being my dissertation study partner, my friend, and a tower of strength on which I could lean.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
LIST OF APPENDICES.....	viii
I. SYNERGY	1
Synergy Paradigm.....	1
The Connected Age.....	3
Theoretical Framework.....	5
Mutual Aid	6
Theories of Social Networks	20
Purpose of Study.....	27
Research Questions.....	27
II. SYNERGIC POWER AND NETWORK-BASED LEADERSHIP	29
Power Definitions	29
The Nature of Power.....	30
Conflict Models.....	31
Relational Models.....	34
Philosophical Foundations of Power and Leadership.....	40
Empowerment Theory	50
Synergic Power	61
Models of Leadership	64
Conclusion	71
III. THE CASE	73
Rationale for Study	73
Inspiration for Study	75
Research Design and Methodology	76
Study Context.....	79
Organizational Context.....	79
Geographical Context.....	86
Issue Context	89
Sources of Data.....	92
Interviews	92
Observations.....	95

Organizational Documents.....	95
Approach to Data Analysis	96
IV. KUBWEZA	97
CBC: A case study	98
Making meaning of power	106
The structure and function of leadership	116
Tying it all together.....	126
V. CHATHA	132
Discussion	132
Study Implications	147
Future Studies	151
APPENDICES	153
REFERENCES	173

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. The Ideal Civic Community	11
2. Four Elements of Synergistic Communities	59
3. Connective Leaders.....	69
4. Characteristics of Naturalistic Inquiry	77
5. Credibility Criteria.....	78
6. Population Statistics.....	87
7. Household Statistics.....	89
8. Hispanic/Latino and Spanish Speaking Population Statistics.....	94
9. Interviewee Characteristics.....	94
10. How do you Define Power?.....	107
11. What is the Source of Your Power?.....	108
12. Who has Power in CBC?	110
13. How is Power Exercised?	111
14. Synergic Power in CBC	113
15. Meeting Observation Notes	118
16. Characteristics of Network-Based Leaders.....	122
17. What does it mean to be a Leader?	124
18. Conceptualizing Leadership.....	125
19. Institutional Support.....	128
20. Empowerment is Fundamental	129

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Coempowerment and Collaboration to Synergy.....	60
2. The Power Triangle.....	62
3. Successful Collaboration Model	74
4. Model of Organization's Organizing Process.....	80
5. Mintzerg's Basic Model of Organizational Structure	83
6. Maps of the Communication Networks of CBC and CFN	144
7. Map of the Communication Network of CBC.....	145

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix	Page
A. Interview Protocol.....	153
B. Letter from CBC.....	155
C. Letter from Researcher	156
D. Observation Checklist.....	157
E. Observation Checklist- Coding.....	160
F. Affordable Housing Issue Work	163
G. CBC and the Immigration Issue.....	164
H. A Leader on Power	169
I. Study Limitations.....	170

CHAPTER I

SYNERGY

This study draws on many fields to propose that power and leadership, as relational aspects of society, should be studied from a paradigm of synergy. The dominating paradigm of scarcity based on individualism and survival-of-the-fittest as the basis for human behavior has limited our ability to explain behaviors that appear as anomalies within the more influential theories of power and leadership. From a paradigm of synergy, the anomalies become clearer with an understanding that human behavior is motivated as much by a need for human solidarity and cooperation as it is by a need to assert our autonomy and compete. Synergic power and network-based leadership are just a few of the concepts waiting to be developed further by science and are appropriate areas for study at the community level of analysis.

The universe not only has a profound inner space, but there is also a penetrating interrelationship among all its dimensions and aspects, a web of relationships, that can be described as organic, holistic, and ecological. (Wessels, 2000, p.18)

Synergy Paradigm

A synergy paradigm illuminates how competition, cooperation, control, and domination are all viable explanations of how power can be exercised (Katz, 1984). This paradigm assumes a pattern of relating between social agents in which surprising and previously unknown wholes are created from seemingly disparate and incongruent parts. Nazarro (2003) defines synergy as the simultaneous action of separate agencies which, together, have greater total effect than the sum of their individual effects and as a combined or cooperative action or force. The definitions

provided by Nazarro were used to outline seven steps for creating synergistic alliances between business and community agencies. With synergy, resources expand and become renewable to the degree that resources are shared (Katz, 1984). As a paradigm, synergy addresses both **interdependence**- recognizing how interacting individual contributions can yield a common good, and **diversity**- maintaining the integrity of the individual participants.

In contrast a paradigm of scarcity obscures the possibility that power can be exercised cooperatively and that leadership does not always mean hierarchical domination and control. A scarcity paradigm assumes resources are lost as they are shared—zero-sum, therefore competition and domination become reasonable and obvious explanations of power and leadership. Leaders in today's organizations have been encouraged to "empower" their followers and this has been translated into allowing follower input on decisions *but* not allowing decision- making power. This is partly due to the perception that to share power is to lose power (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001). There is an Old Russian fable that illustrates how the framing of a resource as finite generates the experience of that resource as finite (Smith & Berg, 1997):

After the revolution, two groups of starving peasants in post-feudal Russia laid claim to the lord's storehouse of grain. There was only enough grain to support one group comfortably through the year. Conflict seemed inevitable, and several skirmishes broke out as the two groups battled over who had the right to the grain. Within a few weeks, the fighting had killed almost half the population of each peasant group. It was at this time that a stranger happened upon the scene. He requested food, but the peasants told him that there was not enough to feed even those who believed they had a right to the grain, let alone anyone from outside. The stranger was saddened by their myopia. He argued that since the fighting had reduced the total population of the two groups to the size each separate group had been originally, there was now enough for all. But the two groups were so entrenched in their struggle that they refuse to see it this way. He suggested that they could ration the grain for the next few months and plant the remainder so that at the end of the year there would be plenty for everyone, strangers included. The peasants listened, and then drove the still hungry stranger away, accusing him of attempting to create a fight between the two groups. (Smith & Berg, 1997, 187-188)

Power as one of the most valued resources in the world has often been portrayed through a paradigm of scarcity (Broom & Klein, 1999; Bruins, 1999; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001; Ng, 1980). However, this study explores the idea that power is relational. A great deal is already known about the coercive expressions of power in organizations while very little is understood about the cooperative expressions of power in organizations. Also, considering that very little research in organizations integrates the study of power and leadership (Hollander & Offermann, 1990), this study seeks to explore power and leadership using the paradigm of synergy.

It has been proposed that a paradigm shift is occurring in leadership “from independence to interdependence, from control to connection, from competition to cooperation, from individual to group, and from tightly linked geopolitical alliances to loosely coupled global networks (Lipman-Blumen, 1996). As with all paradigm shifts, this transition is gradually occurring over several decades or centuries (Kuhn, 1996). The synergy paradigm, which is still developing, has the potential to reveal a much clearer picture of the world than the competition driven paradigm of scarcity from which we are emerging.

But something deeper is at stake, a conviction that is resurfacing in the emerging consciousness of our time, namely, we are our relationships. What we will become in the future is determined by the quality of our interdependence on others—humans and nonhumans alike. (Wood, 2002, p. 56)

The Connected Age

Throughout modern history changes have been measured by shifts in our economic conditions from pre- to post- industrialization. They have been traced by our socio-political conditions from feudal states to communist and democratic states. Human history has also had distinctive eras and ages based on environmental and technological changes that have influenced the way we live, from the physical boundaries of mountains and oceans to the increasingly

connected and bounded Age we find ourselves in today. Lipman- Blumen (1996) calls our present day circumstances “The Connective Era” where the geopolitical alliances of the previous Era are dissolving—which can be seen in the increasing opposition to the role of the United Nations in United States affairs and the Bush Administration’s policy of the “coalition of the willing” stating that NATO- which represents existing alliances, is no longer reliable (Stuart, 2004). It can also be seen in the new alliances being formed because of the growing economic interdependencies that have emerged between countries. For example the economic health of the United States depends on the financial health of countries such as China. The extent to which United States profits are tied to foreign investments is but one example of our increasing economic interdependency (Hale & Hale, 2003).

Watts, in *Six Degrees* (2003), also calls our current epoch the Connective Age and provides in an example of how very connected and dependent the North American continent is to the power transmission grid that supplies the electricity which undergirds the countries of Mexico, the United States, and Canada. The power grid represents a network, and like all networks one weak link, one failure in an individual unit can affect the entire system as was seen in the 1996 blackout on the West Coast and parts of Mexico and the recent 2003 blackout in parts of Canada, New York, and other areas of the Eastern United States (CNN, 2003). The Connected Age as it relates to human survival and progress can best be understood as a series of links in a larger web of life so that we all may be affected by the actions of a few.

When it comes to epidemics of disease, financial crises, political revolutions, social movements, and dangerous ideas, we are all connected by short chains of influence. It doesn’t matter if you know about them, and it doesn’t matter if you care, they will have their effect anyway. To misunderstand this is to misunderstand the first great lesson of the Connected Age: we may all have our own burdens, but like it or not, we must bear each other’s burdens as well. (Watts, 2003, p. 301)

In this era of connectedness synergy is a promising new paradigm that incorporates *interdependence*—as decisions made in one region of the world can affect people across the globe and *diversity*—as people increasingly celebrate their ethnic and racial pride and become fearful of the ethnic and racial pride of others. Interdependence and diversity are challenges facing leaders all over the world (Lipman- Blumen, 1996). “The past few years have seen an explosion in research and interest around the world in search of a new paradigm with which to describe, explain, and ultimately understand the Connected Age” (Watts, 2003). It is in the current social, political, and historical context that a paradigm of synergy may offer us a framework to better navigate our collective actions in the complex structures of organizations.

Theoretical Framework

“This world is a world of process, the process of connecting, where ‘things’ come into temporary existence because of relationships (Wheatley, 1999, p.69).” A paradigm of synergy in its incorporation of interdependence and diversity is a paradigm of relating, a process of interaction in which collaboration, mutual aid, and an appreciation of our connectedness yields creative solutions to common problems. A synergy paradigm offers a window for reframing our understanding of the world. In the next chapter a review of models of power and leadership will demonstrate how theories of power and leadership reflect theories of the nature of human beings and the human capacity toward conflict or cooperation. Therefore support for this study and the exploration of synergy begins with a theory of human nature as old as Darwin’s survival of the fittest—the law of mutual aid. Mutual aid establishes cooperation as the evolutionary basis of human societies and theories of social networks which follow the discussion of mutual aid establishes networks as the basic social structure of human societies and organizations.

Mutual Aid

In some ways struggle, as the most potent force in evolution, catalyzed by limited resources, is potentially an apologist, elitist, and racist view. A view that motivates unrestricted competition in capitalist societies, class differences in wealth, and race differences found in health disparities. What has become commonly known as Social Darwinism is often nothing more than the justification of the status quo for their place in society's hierarchy (Crook, 1996). It is this argument which has supported racist theories in works such as *The Bell Curve* (Hernstein, R. & Murray, C., 1994). While Darwin did believe that natural selection through struggle was the key to evolution, he also conceded, in *The Descent of Man* the importance of cooperation to evolution. "Those communities, he wrote, "which included the greatest number of the most sympathetic members would flourish best and rear the greatest number of offspring" (Kropotkin, 1988, p.2). Kropotkin develops this idea more fully providing the foundation for cooperation as a major factor in evolution. He also provided support for the theory that humans are inherently moved to offer mutual support more often than they are moved to conflict.

Mutual aid and the animal kingdom

Kropotkin demonstrates that in the animal kingdom, at every level of classification, living within societies of mutual aid is the most powerfully important weapon in the struggle for life.

Therefore, while fully admitting that force, swiftness, protective colors, cunningness, and endurance to hunger and cold, which are mentioned by Darwin and Wallace, are so many qualities making the individual, or the species, the fittest under certain circumstances, we maintain that under *any* circumstances sociability is the greatest advantage for the struggle for life. (Kropotkin, 1988, p. 57)

The law of mutual aid was developed after an exhaustive study of animals demonstrated that in all classes of animals those with the greatest sociability and highest degree of intelligence are more likely to survive and evolve—that is, those animals who associate with others for

propagation, migration, hunting, mutual defense, play, dance, and singing are more likely to grow their intelligence which is “the most powerful factor of further evolution” (Kropotkin, 1988, p. 58). Kropotkin was a Darwinist himself but he did not always take such phrases as “struggle for life”, “extermination”, and even “competition”, literally because he says Darwin cautioned that the terms were often used metaphorically in *The Origin of Species*. Kropotkin provided ample proof that the use of these terms could not often be applied in their literal sense to the phenomena that he and other geologists and zoologists observed in nature.

There is no doubt that life is struggle but there are two kinds of struggle—the struggle within and between groups for limited resources and the struggle by groups against adverse circumstances. The first struggle implies a need for competition and the second a need for cooperation; in the life of animals and humans, each struggle represents a natural limit on the other. Adverse circumstances such as diseases, infant mortality, injury, natural disasters, and climate changes often pose a greater threat and are more often responsible for the extinction and evolution of a species (Kropotkin, 1988). Even in cases when limited resources such as lack of food and safety are the problem, animals are more likely to find new sources of food or migrate along side other species than compete for those resources. In both examples cooperation, not competition becomes a more important strategy for survival (Kropotkin, 1988).

De Waal (2005) makes a similar claim in his observation of the difference in the gender ratio between chimpanzees and bonobo apes. Both species begin with the same one to one ratio of males to females at birth. In the chimp community where males dominate and there is constant and persistent warfare and power struggles, the gender ratio becomes two females to one male. In the bonobos community in which the females are dominant, there are high rates of sexual activity, and low aggression levels, the male/female ratio remains one to one (De Waal,

2005). The constant state of war and struggle within the chimp community leads to a higher mortality rate among the males in this example; in the bonobos communities where unity is high the male of the species are better able to survive. However this does not mean there are no examples of solidarity in the chimpanzee community. Female chimpanzees will band together in solidarity and mutual aid to attack male chimpanzees especially if the male is an abusive one (De Waal, 2005).

Mutual aid and human societies

It is important to note that the law of mutual aid was not introduced by Kropotkin, however, through him it was made accessible to the public and he was first to articulate its relevance to the development of human societies. “Sociability and need of mutual aid and support are such inherent parts of human nature that at no time of history can we discover men living in small isolated families, fighting each other for the means of subsistence” (Kropotkin, 1988, p. 153). Instead a brief look at history across the European continent shows people living in tribes or clans and then in village communities before the onset of feudalism and its eventual evolution into democratic or communist states.

Based on a classic anthropological study, Morgan (1985) in 1877 found that the precursor to society as we know it today, the ancient society, was not held together or imposed by an authority such as a state or government. Society, or *societas*, was founded upon persons and the gens (a clan or group of families that shared common name and a belief in common ancestry) were the basic unit. The gens over time gave way to tribes and the confederacy of tribes, which Kropotkin might call village communities. People in village communities as a rule preferred peace to war and were mostly agricultural—feudalism became the natural outgrowth of the authority given to the society’s “protectors” and arbiters of the law. Arbiters of “law and right”

were accepted by different tribes because they were authorities on the laws of old. It was the arbiters who later became the kings and lords in the feudal system.

The means of transition from feudal states to free democratic or communist cities is not well known but progress came from first winning the rights of self- jurisdiction and self-administration and by the devotion of elected protectors to the common cause of the masses (Kropotkin, 1988). Kropotkin suggests the movement from feudal states to free cities was a result of the building of city walls and the formation of guilds. Guilds were brotherhoods or friendships in which the maxim was to be thy brother's keeper. Especially appropriate examples of the functioning of guilds occurred aboard ships.

Thus, there was on board ship the naval authority of the captain; but, for the very success of the common enterprise, all men on board, rich and poor, masters and crew, captain and sailors, agreed to be equals in their mutual relations, to be simply men, bound to aid each other and to settle their possible disputes, before judges elected by all of them. (Kropotkin, 1988, p.171)

Putnam (1993) in his seminal work, *Making Democracy Work*, studying institutional performance in Italy suggests the transition from medieval and feudal times to self-governing cities was influenced by the development of communal republicanism, guilds, and other local organizations. "Communal republicanism gradually came to constitute the major alternative to the manor-based, lord-and-serf feudalism of the rest of medieval Europe (p.124)." Putnam states that it relied less on vertical hierarchy and more on horizontal collaboration. Communal republics were distinguishable by communes—groups of neighbors who swore under oath to provide mutual protection, assistance, and economic cooperation (Putnam, 1993). According to Putnam the success of the communal republic depended on the readiness of its leaders to share power with others as equals.

Guilds, along with neighborhood associations, parish organizations, religious societies, and so on, created a rich network of associational life that authored a new way to organize collective life in the northern regions of Italy. There were innovations in business, improvements in economic life, and governmental performance which were directly influenced by “the norms and networks of civic engagement” (Putnam, 1993, p.129) made possible by the rich civic community fostered through the associational life. Associations are networks of “like minded equals [who] contribute to effective democratic governance (Putnam, 1993, p. 90).” Two centuries after they began communal republics began to recede as famine, epidemics of disease, war, and an intensely hierarchical surrounding society, shattered civic life.

Mutual aid and government

Specifically in *Making Democracy Work* Putnam studied the effectiveness of regional governments in Italy for two decades after the majority of them were created in 1970. Five of the twenty regional governments had been created several years before. He was interested in whether these new governments would be equally successful given their identical government structures and equivalent legal and financial resources. The findings were that some regional governments were consistently more successful than others. These differences were stable over time, known to all, and bore a North-South character in that the regional governments of the North were generally more successful.

In exploring these differences Putnam considered many possible explanations, the two most plausible being socioeconomic modernity and civic community. Socioeconomic modernity defined as the results of the industrial revolution and civic community as patterns of civic involvement and social solidarity. Wealth and economic modernity were found to be highly influential bearing the same pattern as the effectiveness of the regional governments. That is, the

most successful regional governments and the most socio-economically modern were in the North. However socioeconomic modernity did not explain the differences found within this pattern. Some of the wealthiest regions were outperformed by others that were less wealthy yet still socio-economically modern.

Putnam found that a region’s “civic-ness” explained the difference in performance among the regions and within the pattern of governmental effectiveness, giving it greater predictive power than economic development. He found further that the effects of economic development on institutional performance vanished when “civic-ness” was taken into account. A region’s “civic-ness” was a measure of how well they approximated the ideal civic community and the nature of their political behavior. Putnam states (p.87- 91) in an ideal civic community (see Table 1) citizenship is marked by active participation in public affairs. Citizens pursue self-interests within the broader context of public needs, self-interest that is alive to the interests of others. This type of pursuit is not as completely altruistic as civic virtue, civic virtue being the steady recognition and pursuit of the public good at the expense of all purely individual and private ends.

TABLE 1

The “Ideal” Civic Community
Citizens actively participate in public affairs
Citizens pursue self-interests within the broader context of public needs
Citizens have equal rights and obligations
Leaders are responsible to their fellow citizens
Citizens are helpful, respectful, and trustful toward one another
Associations embody and reinforce the norms and values of a civic community

Citizenship in an ideal civic community entails equal rights and obligations for all. “Such a community is bound together by horizontal relations of reciprocity and cooperation, not by vertical relations of authority and dependency (p.88).” He further defines the ideal civic community as one where leaders must be and conceive themselves to be responsible to their fellow citizens. Citizens are helpful, respectful, and trustful toward one another even when they differ on matters of substance. “Even seemingly “self-interested” transactions take on a different character when they are embedded in social networks that foster mutual trust (p.89).” Finally, there are social structures of cooperation, *associations*, which embody and reinforce the norms and values of a civic community.

Putnam measured “civic-ness” by two factors of civic community and two factors of political behavior (explanations for all factors can be found in Putnam pages 91-94). Civic community was measured by: vibrancy of associational life and newspaper readership. Political behavior was measured by: referenda voting as a positive indicator of “civic-ness” and preference voting as a negative indicator. Referenda voting represented participation in politics about collective deliberation or public issues and preference voting represented participation in politics that were hierarchically organized and focused on narrow personal advantage. He found that politics in less civic regions were more elitist with political leaders being drawn from a narrower slice of the social hierarchy. Political leaders in less civic regions also scored low on the Index of Support for Political Equality. That is, they were skeptical about the intelligence of ordinary citizens, doubtful about universal suffrage, and emphasized strong leadership from traditional elites.

Putnam found in the more civic regions support for an account of citizens in a civic community who deal fairly with others and expect fair dealings in return; they expect their

government to follow high standards and are willing to obey the law. In such a community “citizens do not and cannot ride for free, because they understand that their freedom is a consequence of their participation in the making and acting out of common decisions” (p.111). In contrast in less civic communities citizens are warier, life is riskier, and laws, made by those on the top of the hierarchy, are made to be broken (Putnam, 1993). In fact Putnam found in the less civic, more individualistic regions, there was greater demand for government or state control to maintain public order and prevent anarchy.

“Citizens in the less civic regions have no other resort to solve the fundamental Hobbesian dilemma of public order, for they lack the horizontal bonds of collective reciprocity that work more efficiently in the civic regions. In the absence of solidarity and self-discipline, hierarchy and force provide the only alternative to anarchy (p.112).” Putnam goes on to say “it is the amoral individualists of the less civic region who find themselves clamoring for sterner law and enforcement (p.112).” Putnam stated that Machiavelli and others interested in civic community concluded that whether free institutions succeeded or failed depended on the character of the citizens, or their “civic virtue”. He also stated that Hobbes, Locke, and others vanquish this thought by stressing individualism and individual rights over community and the obligations of citizens.

The reign of Individualism

The notion of individualism as the natural state of human kind advanced as a result of the promulgation of what Kropotkin characterizes as ‘every man for himself and the State for all’. The State absorbed all of the social functions previously maintained by the guilds. Individuals were no longer their brother’s keeper, instead the government took care of all the individual needs of the people, providing physicians and priests (at the time there was no separation of

Church and State). The government also took care of the collective needs of the people, providing lawyers and judges to administer to common needs (Kropotkin, 1988). Kropotkin describes best the impact individualism has had on society:

The result is, that the theory which maintains that men can, and must, seek their own happiness in a disregard of other people's wants is now triumphant all round—in law, in science, in religion. It is the religion of the day, and to doubt of its efficacy is to be a dangerous Utopian. Science loudly proclaims that the struggle of each against all is the leading principle of nature and of human societies as well. To that struggle Biology ascribes the progressive evolution of the animal world. History takes the same line of argument; and political economists, in their naïve ignorance, trace all progress of modern industry and machinery to the “wonderful” effects of the same principle. The very religion of the pulpit is a religion of individualism, slightly mitigated by more or less charitable relations to one's neighbors, chiefly on Sundays. “Practical” men and theorists, men of science and religious preachers, lawyers and politicians, all agree upon one thing—that individualism may be more or less softened in its harshest effects by charity, but that it is the only secure basis for the maintenance of society and its ulterior progress. (Kropotkin, 1988, p. 228)

It is possible, and perhaps probable, that individualism as the natural state for humans is a means of rationalization and justification for maintaining the status quo and the rule of the State.

The concepts of ‘individualism’ and ‘competition for scarce resources’ have constrained the scope of theories on power. In fact, most theories of power are concerned with its elements of domination and control—which makes sense from an individualistic perspective—where power is viewed merely as a tool for the purpose of meeting individual interests at the expense of others. Recently it has been suggested that we critically examine how power and control are conceptualized and measured in order to develop a collectivist understanding of both (Van Uchelen, 2001).

Individualism and leadership

The earliest kings and lords received their authority not by their cunning or physical strength, as survival of the fittest would imply, but on the basis of their knowledge of law and rightness as it reflected justice (Kropotkin, 1988). The origin of authority was more about a

desire for peace and justice than military dominance. A founding father of the United States, Alexander Hamilton, wrote, “It is the providence and duty of the Executive to preserve to the Nation the blessings of peace. The Legislature alone can interrupt those blessings, by placing the Nation in a state of War (Faria, 2002).” It is not competition and war but cooperation and peace which are the desired states upon which societies grow and are sustained although much has been done to downplay them.

For example, one of the most influential theories of leadership is found in the philosophy of Thomas Hobbes who believed peace was nothing more than the escape from human’s natural state of war. His theories came after the fall of communal republicanism and Machiavelli’s *The Prince* and during a time of turbulence. Revolution against the Feudalist system was growing and kings fearful of these changes were increasingly dangerous to anyone who challenged their divine right to rule (Cawthon, 2002). Swept up in the religion of individualism, Hobbes proposed in a society of every man for himself, leadership is the product of a contract whereby individuals transfers their rights to others whom they believe are capable of defending them.

In *Leviathan* (Hobbes, 1994), he proposes laws and rights of nature in which every man and woman possess. The first, the right of nature, is the liberty each man has to use his own power—the power of man defined as his present means of achieving some future good (p. 50), for self- preservation. The law of nature is that a person is forbidden to do anything that would harm himself or take away his ability to prevent harm to himself. He argues “the condition of man is a condition of war of everyone against everyone, it followeth that in such a condition every man has a right to everything, even to one another’s body” (Hobbes, 1994, p.80). He goes on to say as long as everyone has these rights there is no security that one will live to old age;

therefore “every man ought to endeavor peace, as far as he has hope of obtaining it, and when he cannot obtain it, that he may seek and use all helps and advantages of war” (Hobbes, 1994, p.80).

According to Hobbes, a person can “lay down” her rights in two ways: renouncing or transferring. When a woman renounces her rights she does not care who benefits from them. When she transfers them she chooses who will benefit from them. The person who has abandoned or transferred her rights is then bound to not prevent the person she transferred her rights to, to benefit from them for fear of the consequences. This choice to give up one’s rights for some good or protection is voluntary and does not mean the person has given up all rights. “Hobbes taught that some rights are beyond negotiation. No man, for example, can be forced to do anything he perceives to be harmful to himself. No man can give away his right to resist arrest or confinement. No man can be asked to wound another (Cawthon, 2002, p.45).” Under Hobbes’ philosophy, leadership is the authority, of those to whom rights have been transferred, to command obedience from those who seek their protection.

Like Machiavelli, and unlike Plato and Aristotle, Hobbes did not believe virtue and goodness were absolutes (Cawthon, 2002). Leadership was not based on a vision of the common good it was based on fear. “Hobbes made no distinction between men and women...Women were just as capable as men in their ability to instill fear (Cawthon, 2002).” Instead all humans were equal and what was good for one in pursuit of her self-interests may appear evil to another. One’s ability to lead rests in one’s ability to protect his followers. Hobbesian leaders today do not care about their employee’s well-being; they are only concerned with maintaining their power through fear, fraud, or deceit if they must (Cawthon, 2002).

Mutual aid renewed

There is no denying that the need of the individual to assert herself/himself through strength or cunning and obtain superiority (economically, politically, and spiritually) has played a major role in the development and progression of human societies. This truth has long been documented by philosophers, historians, artists, and scientists. However mutual aid has also exerted its influence on the development and progression of human societies (Kropotkin, 1988). In addition criticism of individualism and support for human solidarity through bonds of reciprocity and cooperation in ancient or ‘primitive’ societies can be found in the work of Mauss’ (1990), the father of modern French anthropology. Mauss writes,

...We shall return, I think, to the enduring basis of law, to the very principle of normal social life. We must not desire the citizen to be either too good or too individualist nor too insensitive or too realist. He must have a keen sense of awareness of himself, but also of others, and of social reality (in moral matters is there even any other kind of reality?) He must act by taking into account his own interests, and those of society and its subgroups. This morality is eternal; it is common to the most advanced societies, to those of the immediate future, and to the lowest imaginable forms of society. (Mauss, 1990, p.70)

While it might be said at the societal level that individualism (our espoused theory—the way in which we explain, describe, or predict our behavior) governs our behavior, mutual aid (our theory-in-use—the implicit set of rules that specify how we are to behave) (Argyris & Schon, 1974) may provide a better explanation for understanding our constitution, laws, and societal norms.

In short, neither the crushing powers of the centralized State nor the teachings of mutual hatred and pitiless struggle which came, adorned with the attributes of science, from obliging philosophers and sociologists, could weed out the feeling of human solidarity, deeply lodged in men’s understanding and heart, because it has been nurtured by all of our preceding evolution. (Kropotkin, 1988, p. 292)

Despite the dominance of individualism and the insistent attack on mutual aid inclinations, there is hope in the continued existence of mutual aid institutions, works, villages, and the endless array of mutual aid associations on every topic imaginable (Putnam, 1993). “Human society itself could not be maintained for even so much as the lifetime of one single generation” (Kropotkin, 1988, p. 229) if mutual aid actions stopped. Mutual aid can be found in the ethnic enclaves most recognizable in New York City’s diverse neighborhoods. It can be found in the enduring teachers unions which are a good example of people cooperating to achieve a common good. It persists in guilds—associations assembled around occupations, crafts, or arts, such as the Masons or the Actors Guild. Finally it persists in the civic tradition, which seven centuries later was able to predict the success of institutional performance in Italy (Putnam, 1993).

“Modernization need not signal the demise of civic community (Putnam, 1993, p.115).” Contrary to classic and contemporary sociological thought that civility cannot be sustained in the modern world of loose and impersonal ties, Putnam’s study demonstrated the least civic regions were the more traditional, close-knit, small worlds of the past. Alternatively one of the most civic regions is also one of the most technologically advanced in the world. It has a deep “concentration of overlapping networks of social solidarity, peopled by citizens with an unusually well developed public spirit—a web of civic communities” (Putnam, 1993, p.115). In traditional Italian communities, life was not determined by cooperation and trust but by hierarchy and exploitation. It is the deeply rooted civic tradition that distinguishes North Italy, then and now, from South Italy.

In the communal republic of the North: feudal bonds of personal dependence were weakened, people were citizens, legitimate authority was delegated to public officials responsible to the people, the Church was one of many civil institutions, and crucial social,

political, and even religious allegiances and alignments were horizontal. Also in the North, collaboration, mutual assistance, civil obligation, and even trust extended beyond kinship (Putnam, 1993). In the Norman feudal autocracy of the South: feudal bonds of personal dependence were strengthened, people were subjects, legitimate authority was monopolized by the king who answered only to God, the Church was a powerful and wealthy proprietor in feudal order, and crucial social, political, and even religious allegiances and alignments were vertical. Also in the South, the chief virtue was the imposition of hierarchy and order on latent anarchy. “Civic traditions have remarkable staying power (Putnam, 1993, p.157).”

Despite this whirl of change, however, the regions characterized by civic involvement in the late twentieth century are almost precisely the same regions where cooperatives and cultural associations and mutual aid societies were most abundant in the nineteenth century, and where neighborhood associations and religious confraternities and guilds had contributed to the flourishing communal republics of the twelfth century. And although those civic regions were not especially advanced economically a century ago, they have steadily outpaced the less civic regions both in economic performance and (at least since the advent of regional governments) in quality of government. The astonishing tensile strength of civic traditions testifies to the power of the past. (Putnam, 1993, p.162)

The feudal system of the South was vertically arranged and the republic of the North was horizontally arranged. In the South absolute power corrupted. The leaders, kings and barons, became predatory. The later authoritarian political institutions of the unified Italy were reinforced in the South by “the tradition of vertical social networks, embodying power asymmetries, exploitation, and dependence, in contrast to the northern tradition of horizontal associations, joining rough equals in mutual solidarity” (Putnam, 1993, p.136).

Despite the influences of authoritarian political institutions in the North, communal republicanism could still be found “in the form of an ethic of civic involvement, social responsibility, and mutual assistance among social equals” (Putnam, 1993, p.135) which the autocratic leaders of the unified Italy accepted. After unification and spurred on by the industrial

revolution, mutual aid societies—voluntary associations of equals predicated by the need to overcome risks associated with the rapidly changing society—began to flourish. The nineteenth century heralded the golden age of mutual aid societies (Putnam, 1993).

For at least ten centuries, the North and the South have followed contrasting approaches to the dilemmas of collective action that afflict all societies. In the North, norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement have been embodied in tower societies, guilds, mutual aid associations, cooperatives, unions, and even soccer clubs and literary societies. These horizontal civic bonds have undergirded levels of economic and institutional performance generally much higher than in the South, where social and political relations have been vertically structured. (Putnam, 1993, p.181)

Theories of Social Networks

Putnam (1993) clearly stated the South of Italy was not asocial or apolitical. Social connections in the South were as essential to public life as they were in the North. The difference lay in the nature of those relational ties. In the North they were horizontal bonds of mutual solidarity and in the South, vertical bonds of dependency and exploitation. He goes on to state:

Any society—modern or traditional, authoritarian or democratic, feudal or capitalist—is characterized by networks of interpersonal communication and exchange, both formal and informal. Some of these networks are primarily “horizontal”, bringing together agents of equivalent status and power. Others are primarily “vertical”, linking unequal agents in asymmetric relations of hierarchy and dependence. In the real world, of course, almost all networks are mixes of the horizontal and vertical... Nonetheless the basic contrast between horizontal and vertical linkages, between “web-like” and “maypole-like” networks, is reasonably clear. (Putnam, 1993, p.173)

Networks represent an organic whole, a complex system of collective behaviors composed of individual behaviors and characteristics that, when combined in an organization, result in unexpected outcomes. “What makes the problem hard, and what makes complex systems complex, is that the parts making up the whole don’t sum up in any simple fashion. Rather they interact with each other, and in interacting, even quite simple components can

generate bewildering behavior (Watts, 2003, p. 25).” A social network is a collection of social entities—referred in social network analysis as actors—and the relations or a collection of ties (economic, social, political), that define them (Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

Such phrases as webs of relationships, closely knit networks of relations, social role, social position, group, clique, popularity, isolation, prestige, prominence, and so on are given mathematical definitions by social network analysis. (Wasserman & Faust, 1994)

Social network theory is the study of the patterns of interactions between individuals in a large system. The theory helps us predict behavior by learning the principles of complex organizations (Watts, 2003). “Although genes, like people, exist as identifiably individual units, they *function* by interacting, and the corresponding patterns of interactions can display almost unlimited complexity” (Watts, 2003, p.26). Specifically by observing the sets of relational ties that link members in the organization to each other we can gain insight into the patterns or regularities of relations that determine how information, resources, and influence flow within it (Watts, 2003).

Social network analysis is an empirical approach to the study of communication and influence in an organization. For example, statements like, “a vertical network, no matter how dense and no matter how important to its participants, cannot sustain social trust and cooperation” or “vertical flows of information are often less reliable than horizontal flows, in part because the subordinate husbands information as a hedge against exploitation” (Putnam, 1993, p.174) can be empirically tested. Methodologically social network analysis departs from standard theoretical and empirical concerns of individual attributes and individual control. It is also not concerned by the correlation of independent variables. Instead social network analysis assumes variable interdependence and measures the interrelatedness and influence of each

variable (or unit) on the other (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). There are four principles of analysis that govern the study of social networks (Wellman & Berkowitz, 1988):

- Actors and their actions are viewed as interdependent rather than independent autonomous units
- Relational ties (linkages) between actors are channels for the transfer or “flow” of resources (either material or nonmaterial)
- Network models focusing on individuals view the network structural environment as providing opportunities for or constraint on individual behavior
- Network models conceptualize structure (social, economic, political, and so forth) as lasting patterns of relations among actors

A more global theory of social networks is one where the social structure of society —its organizational arrangements of human relations and expressions of power, is made up of networks (Castells, 2004). In Castells’ theory networks constitute the fundamental patterns of all life. They are historically shown to be the backbone of all societies contrary to the vertical-hierarchical organizational view of ancient society and its evolution. This latter view was also dispelled by Morgan’s (1985) study of ancient society which described a structure that appeared more web-like than vertical. Critical features of networks under this theory are:

- Networks are sets of interconnected nodes
- Networks have no center, just nodes
- The network is the unit, not the node
- The network reconfigures itself as nodes become redundant or useless by deleting some nodes and adding new ones

Critical features of nodes are:

- Nodes only exist and function as components of networks
- Nodes have varying relevance for the network;
- Yet all nodes are necessary for the network's performance
- A node's importance is dependent upon its ability to absorb relevant information and process it efficiently
- A node's importance is also dependent on its ability to contribute to the network's goals

Networks cooperate or compete with each other through their ability to communicate with or outperform other networks. The ability to communicate between networks is dependent on common language—or codes, and access to connection points—or switches (Castells, 2004). Networks process flows—“streams of information between nodes circulating through channels of connection between nodes” (Castells, 2004, p.3). They function like small-worlds: “they are able to connect to the entire network and communication networks from any node in the network by sharing protocols of communication” (ibid, p.4). The jargon of the theory is largely influenced by the current advances in communication technology like the personal computer and the internet.

Castells argues it was the limits of our communication technology that skewed our ability to perceive and appreciate the importance of networks in the structure and dynamics of society. These limits led to the belief of one-way flows of information and instruction. Networks appeared to be nothing more than the extension of hierarchical power atop vertical organizations that shaped the history of humankind. However the last several decades of changes and shifts in technology, especially the advent of microelectronics-based communication, has allowed

networks to emerge as the most efficient organizational form (Castells, 2004). Specifically three features of networks have allowed them to benefit from these technological advances (p.6):

- *Flexibility*: networks can reconfigure according to changing environments, keeping their goals while changing their components. They go around blocking points in communication channels to find new connections.
- *Scalability*: they can expand or shrink in size with little disruption.
- *Survivability*: because they have no center, and can operate in a wide range of configurations, networks can resist attacks on their nodes and codes because the codes of the network are contained in multiple nodes that can reproduce the instructions and find new ways to perform. So, only the physical ability to destroy the connecting points can eliminate the network.

A technological paradigm shift is occurring where informationalism is subsuming industrialism (Castells, 2004). According to Castells, industrialism is a paradigm characterized by the systemic organization of technologies based on the capacity to generate and distribute energy by human-made machines without depending on the natural environment.

Informationalism is a paradigm that presupposes the energy and technologies of industrialism. It is based on the augmentation of the human capacity of information processing and communication made possible by the revolutions in microelectronics, software, and genetic engineering. “As information and communication are the most fundamental dimensions of human activity, a revolutionary change in the material conditions of their performance affects the entire realm of human activity (Castells, 2004, p.9)”. The network society is founded on the technology of the informationalism paradigm much like the industrial society was founded on

electricity. It is the unique time and space economically, socially, politically, and culturally that has provided the historical chance for the network society to emerge.

The Network Society

The network society arose from the interaction of the independent developments of (1) the crisis of industrialism, (2) the rise of freedom-oriented social movements, and (3) the revolution in information and communication technologies. According to Castells (2004) a network society is a society whose social structure is made of networks powered by microelectronics-based information and communication technologies. Social structures whose infrastructures are based on digital networks are by definition global. These networks by nature are simultaneously inclusive and exclusive. While everyone is not a part of the network, everyone is affected by the global network of the dominant social structure. The global network is made up of other networks. It is a dynamic structure, “highly malleable to social forces, to culture, to politics, to economic strategies” (ibid, p.23). While malleable it still dominates the activities and people external to the networks that form it. “In this sense, the global overwhelms the local (ibid, p.23).”

The network society bears an ecological and web-like form as it must be analyzed based on its multi-layered structure: first as the network of networks, secondly as the interaction of the dominating networks, and thirdly as the relationship between the dominating networks and other networks inside and outside of the global network. Castells proposes the network society as primarily a vertical network of hierarchical relations—whereby networks inside and outside of the global network are dominated by those actors who determine what has value in the global network. “Thus, value is, in fact, an expression of power: whoever holds power (often different from who is in government) decides what is valuable (Castells, 2004, p.25).”

Castells further suggests that power holders have changed they are no longer individual actors in the traditional sense.

Thus, I suggest that the power-holders are networks themselves...they are not single actors (individuals, groups, classes, religious leaders, political leaders) since the exercise of power in a network society requires a complex set of joint action that goes beyond alliances to become a new form of subject, akin to what Bruno Latour (1993) brilliantly theorized as the action-network actor. (Castells, 2004, 32)

In Castells' theory of the network society the source of power and how it is exercised is redefined but the nature of power remains the same as other traditional theories—based on hierarchically arranged societies. However, there is support in the theory for studying power from a paradigm of synergy as Castells claims the actor-networks have to induce synergy and limit contradictions in the network's program.

It is the change in the nature of organizations and the emerging culture of the network society that provides support for a synergy paradigm to the study of leadership. The change in the production process of organizations increasingly call for a more flexible and autonomous workforce.

The new economy of our time is certainly capitalist, but it is a new brand of capitalism. It depends on innovation as the source of productivity growth, on computer-networked global financial markets, whose criteria for valuation are influenced by information turbulences, on the networking of production and management, internally and externally, locally and globally, and on labor that is flexible and adaptable in all cases. (Castells, 2004, p. 29)

This change is manifested in the network enterprise. The network enterprise is descriptive of how large corporations are becoming more decentralized, resembling networks and how small and medium businesses are forming networks to ensure their relevance and remain flexible. Business practices have changed so that alliances, partnerships, and collaborations, are developed and often reconfigured to meet the needs of a specific project. "The unit of the

production process is not the firm but the business project, enacted by a network, the network enterprise (Castells, 2004, p. 28).”

According to Castells (p.40), the network society’s culture consists of protocols of communication between all cultures in the world. It is developed on the basis of a common belief in the power of networking and of synergy obtained by giving to others and receiving from others. Further, it is the process by which conscious social actors of multiple origins bring to others their resources and beliefs, expecting in return to receive the same, and even more: sharing a diverse world, and thus ending the ancestral fear of the other. This definition of the network society’s culture reflects the values of interdependence and diversity and the importance of mutual aid. This culture and the shifts in business operations suggest a related shift in leadership and leadership behavior. They require, perhaps, a network-based leader.

Purpose of Study

This case study seeks to explore how power and leadership are expressed in a community organization that leverages mutual aid and social networks to achieve a common good. Specifically the study seeks to observe (1) if the organization’s process manifests synergic power—two or more social agents using their power cooperatively to generate something greater than either entity could alone while meeting the needs of themselves and others, and (2) if the concept of leadership and its application in the organization is network- based or hierarchical.

Research Questions

Using semi- structured interviews, observational data, organizational documents, and census data this study asks if through the community organizing process an organization is able

to use synergic power and network-based leadership to successfully meet their goals. When completed, this study will address five important questions: do people in organizations use synergic power and are they aware of it, how do they conceptualize power, how do they conceptualize leadership, what is the structure and function of leadership, and what can we learn about synergic power and network-based leadership from this type of organization.

CHAPTER II

SYNERGIC POWER AND NETWORK-BASED LEADERSHIP

At its center this study recognizes power as energy (Broom & Klein, 1999; Monroe, 1976; Lipman- Blumen, 1996, Wheatley, 1999), never wholly zero-sum (Foucault, 1980; Friere, 1970; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001; Gutierrez, 1990), and possessing no value (Habermas, 1987) until it is exercised in social interactions (Arendt, 1958; Wartenberg, 1990). Leadership emphasized in this study is not predetermined nor “a divine right” as some philosophers have suggested (Cawthon, 2002). Leaders are developed (Keddy, 2001). Leaders are first among equals (Greenleaf, 2002). They share their power and leadership (Wheatley, 1999) to achieve a common good (Lipman-Blumen, 1996). The effectiveness of their leadership is connected to their cognition of the importance of the structure of social ties—that is the importance of networks (Balkundi & Kilduff, 2005).

Power Definitions

In this document the word power will be used to discuss its essence, its source, its process, and the location of it. By the essence of power this study is referring to its fundamental nature. By source of power this study refers to the place within or outside of ourselves from which power comes or is obtained. By the process of power the study is referencing the use or exercise of power—meaning is it used coercively, cooperatively, or passively to achieve individual or collective goals. Power is located where it is exercised. For example, power is said

to be located in the dominant position in a hierarchy, relationships, the public sphere, or any other realm of human interaction.

The Nature of Power

There are two very distinct meanings of power found in ordinary discourse and social theory which explain different aspects of society: “power- over” hailed as the essence of power and “power- to” the ability to do something (Wartenberg, 1990). Hinze (1995, p.4) suggests there are two distinctive root metaphors for these two forms of power: *superordination* found in “power- over”—essentially control over decisions, paths of action, outcomes, and over other people, and *effective capacity* in “power- to”—primarily people’s ability to effect their ends. “Power-to” refers to the reciprocal ability of people to affect each other as a function of their relational ties regardless of position in a hierarchical structure (Foucault, 1980).

According to Hinze (1995), power-to lies at the heart of social power. It is fundamentally different from “power- over” because power-over specifically involves hierarchical relations and usually the unreciprocated ability of one entity to influence other less powerful entities (Dahl, 1961; Bachrach & Baratz, 1962; Lukes, 1974). These two meanings have often been pitted against each other as mutually exclusive, with “power- over” purportedly a better reflection of social reality. Although “power-to” and “power-over” capture different aspects of society, they are related. Embracing the relation can lead to a more complete and complex theory of social power and allow us to better account for social experience.

Human beings also have power in themselves, and by concentrating on the locution “power-over”, I do not mean to deny that many aspects of power-to have an important role to play within social theory. For example, the idea of coactive power, the ability of people working together to achieve things that they could not achieve alone, is an important theme for social theorists to study. (Wartenberg, 1990, p.27)

Accepting the duality of the basic nature of power enhances our explanatory, prescriptive, and practical approaches to social problems (Hinze, 1995). It is the duality of power—its two different meanings, which is rarely reflected in social scientists’ work, and instead of exploring it, scientists’ claim the concept is essentially contested thereby allowing them to stipulate their understanding of power as the essentially important one to study (Wartenberg, 1990). This claim has been made by all of the power theorists discussed in this study (except Foucault) and Wartenberg appropriately points out that each in their claim of presenting the essential nature of power is simply privileging different forms of social power. While not making the claim that “power-to” is the more important aspect of social power to research this study seeks to pursue the grossly understudied “power-to” nature of social power.

Conflict Models of Power

Mills (1956) claimed that there existed in America “the power elite”—those who occupy “the strategic command posts of the social structure, in which are now centered the effective means of the power and the wealth and the celebrity which they now enjoy” (Wartenberg, 1990, p.53). His understanding of power was that to have power meant you got to decide whatever was of major consequence to society. Dahl’s (1961) criticism of Mills’ claim was that it was not based on empirical tests of human behavior. He then developed a definition of power which could be tested using the behaviorist approach. He defined power as person A having power over person B to the extent that she can get person B to do something person B would not otherwise do.

In critiquing Dahl’s theory, while agreeing that one social agent is able to exercise power over another agent by bringing about change in the second agents behavior, Bachrach and Baratz

(1962) argued that this is not the only “face” of power. They proposed a second face of power in which “power can also appear in situations which, from a superficial view, nothing happens” (Wartenberg, 1990, p.57). Non- decisions become just as important as decisions to influence issues of major consequence to society. That is if an issue is never put on the agenda person A is still able to get person B to not do what is in person B’s interests. Lukes (1974) contends that while Bachrach and Baratz broadened the applicability of Dahl’s theory they do not adequately challenge its behaviorist orientation.

Lukes theory of power claims a three dimensional view unified by a single concept of power. The three dimensions are (1) overt political action—when social agent(s), either a person or groups, exerts power over others, (2) control of the political agenda—when a social agent(s) is able to exclude conflicting issues of a less powerful social agent(s), and (3) shaping ideology—when people excluded from political power are made to believe that their interests are the same as those who exercise political power. The single concept of power is Person A exercising power over person B when person A affects person B in a manner that is contrary to person B’s interests.

The Critique

There are two readily observable features of these theories that make them problematic for the study of power from a power-to perspective. If power-to is effective capacity—people’s ability to effect their own ends, then there is an expectation of action toward achieving a goal. There is an expectation of intentionality. By studying only observable behavior as proposed by Dahl and argued by Lukes to also be a feature of Bachrach and Baratz theory, there is a failure to consider intentionality. This is the first feature that invalidates their theories as a basis for the study of power-to. Though not directly observable, intentionality can be inferred from the

triangulation of such data as past behaviors, situational context, and relational ties. Intentionality is important when considering human agency because it addresses the important questions of: achieve what, for whom, and why.

The second feature that makes these models less useful for the study of power-to is shared by all of the theorists reviewed thus far—that is they assume political power is only exercised in the context of conflict. This assumption does not begin to address the presupposition of Mills’ analysis—that is, the condition on which the “power elite” rest, the strategic command post of the social structure, is based on the exercise of political power outside the context of conflict and within the context of a social contract or consensual “agreement of a group of social agents about how to regulate their mutual lives” (on Arendt, Wartenberg, 1990, p.33). Dahl, Bachrach, Baratz, and Luke fail to acknowledge the very social hierarchy that allows person or group A to exercise power over B is an artifact of group life in which the larger motivation is to succeed in the mutual struggle for life by establishing a structure in which decisions can be made efficiently.

Any given conception of power will necessarily incorporate a theory of that to which it is attributed: To identify the power of an individual, or a class, or a social system, one must consciously, or unconsciously, have a theory of the nature... of individuals, classes, or social systems. (Steven Lukes, in Hinze, 1995, p.13)

When it comes to a theory of power, the theories reviewed thus far reflect a theory of the nature of humans that mirror the first struggle discussed in the previous chapter—that of individual struggle or competition within groups, and not the second—that of the struggle by groups to survive adverse circumstances. Wheatley (1999) in her discussion of power in organizations reflects the central metaphor of this study as it relates to understanding a social and collective theory of power. Power is energy; it cannot be bounded or designated to one person or place because it is a function and product of relationships. “What gives power its charge,

positive or negative, is the nature of the relationships” (p.40). For example, in Wheatley’s description of leaders who rely on coercive power strategies she offers:

In other workplaces, leaders attempt to force better results through coercion and competition; sometimes they exhibit a flagrant disregard for people and their abilities. In such organizations, a high level of energy is also created, but it’s entirely negative. Power becomes a problem, not a capacity. People use their creativity to work *against* the leaders, or in spite of them; they refuse to contribute positively to the organization. The learning for all of us seems clear. If power is the capacity generated by our relationships, then we need to be attending to the *quality* of those relationships. (Wheatley, 1999, p.40)

Relational Models of Power

Foucault

Foucault provides an interesting intersect between a theory of power constructed upon a theory of human nature as one of struggle and a theory of power, not as the object of struggle, but as a relation of force (Foucault, 1980). His theory is also in congruence with the metaphor of power as energy.

Power in the substantive sense, ‘*le*’ *pouvoir*, doesn’t exist. What I mean is this. The idea that there is either located at—or emanating from—a given point something which is a ‘power’ seems to me to be based on a misguided analysis, one which at all events fails to account for a considerable number of phenomena. In reality power means relations, a more-or-less organized, hierarchical, co-ordinated cluster of relations. So the problem is not that of constituting a theory of power which would be a remake of Boulainvilliers on the one hand and Rousseau on the other...If one tries to erect a theory of power one will always be obliged to view it as emerging at a given place and time and hence to deduce it, to reconstruct its genesis. But if power is in reality an open, more-or-less coordinated (in the event, no doubt, ill-coordinated) cluster of relations, then the only problem is to provide oneself with a grid of analysis which makes possible an analytic of relations of power. (Foucault, 1980, p.198)

Foucault was asked to clarify why in one text he described power as an object with a clear origin when his position is that power must be studied in the context of relations (Foucault, 1980). In Foucault’s response he claims he was describing how power functioned in that particular case. He goes on to say, “generally speaking I think one needs to look rather at how the great

strategies of power encrust themselves and depend for their conditions of exercise on the level of the micro-relations of power” (ibid, p.199).

Foucault saw the relations of power operating from the top down *and* from the bottom up. “In order for there to be movement from above to below there has to be a capillarity from below to above at the same time (ibid, p.201).” His theories of power were very much influenced by the philosophy of Nietzsche, who in turn was very much influenced by Darwin. Therefore in much of his early work Foucault (p.90) proposed that the basis of the relationship of power lies in the hostile engagement of forces. Also that the relations of power that function in a society such as ours essentially rest upon a definite relation of forces that is established at a determinate, historically specifiable moment, in war and by war. Based on this view the role of political power is perpetually to re-inscribe this relation through a form of unspoken warfare. All political struggles then should be interpreted as the continuation of war. He labeled this understanding of power as a struggle-repression schema for analyzing power (Foucault, 1980).

In his later work Foucault acknowledged he often spoke of power under the schema of struggle-repression and he suggested he must reconsider the schema because it was insufficient and because the notions of repression and war it represented needed to be modified (Foucault, 1980). He later concluded that the concept of repression was a mechanism of power through two vehicles: through the judicial notion of power found in the philosophies of sixteenth through eighteenth century thinkers such as Hobbes and Locke and through the discipline notion—the mechanisms of disciplinary coercion upon which the theory of the sovereign survives and its domination is concealed. Foucault stated:

Power would be a fragile thing if its only function were to repress, if it worked only through the mode of censorship, exclusion, blockage and repression, in the manner of a great Superego, exercising itself only in a negative way. If, on the contrary, power is strong this is because, as we are beginning to realize, it produces effects at the level of

desire—and also at the level of knowledge. Far from preventing knowledge, power produces it (Foucault, 1980, p.59)

Whether it is right or wrong to utilize repression in an analysis of power, much of Foucault's work positions the relations of power as a struggle between those who would use power to repress or control others and those who would use power to resist this repression. Even toward the end of his life he proclaimed himself a Nietzschean, and while his theories did change over time, his earlier work is still relevant in understanding his theories of power. For Foucault "power-to" exists only in opposition to "power-over"—that is power exercised as effective capacity is enabled and in response to power that is exercised as control over others in the constant battle between a struggle for freedom and for control. However, true to his tendency for complexity Foucault believed that this struggle persisted over something that substantively did not exist. It is this understanding of the nature of power, and that which is articulated more completely below, which makes Foucault's theory useful to this study.

Power is not to be taken to be a phenomenon of one individual's consolidated and homogeneous domination over others, or that of one group or class over others. What, by contrast, should always be kept in mind is that power, if we don't take too distant a view of it, is not that which makes the difference between those who exclusively possess and retain it, and those who do not have it and submit to it. Power must be analyzed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localized here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation. In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application. (Foucault, 1980, p. 98)

Although Foucault's theory is important and perhaps unique in that it embraces both the positive and negative natures of power. It is his emphasis on the negative and zero-sum form of power which prevents it from providing full support of the pursuit of a "power-to" model in which to ground this study. Also the underlying understanding of human nature found in his

theory is that of struggle within groups for scarce resources; it is not the nature of humans this study seeks to explore. As previously mentioned, this theory of human nature has already received the attention of power theorists. The aim in this study is to highlight the other—that is the collective struggle for mutual aid and the need for connectedness.

Arendt

Arendt (1970) offers another theory of power which is consistent with Foucault's assertion that individuals are the vehicle of power and is also consistent with the metaphor of power as energy. Her notion of socio-political power is said to depart from that of many social theorists as it is situated in the public realm—which “happens” “when different people, in their distinctiveness, meet, speak, deliberate, and act on matters of common concern to them as members of a shared world” (Hinze, 1995, p. 130). Her view of power can then be situated in an understanding of political power as mutual consent by a group of human actors to create a hierarchy in order to run their common lives—political power being something more than the desire of some social agents to assert their own interests at the expense of others. According to Wartenberg (1990) in Arendt's theory political power is the result of collective decisions to handle communal affairs in an efficient manner.

To understand Arendt's theory of power we must, as she does, ground the discussion in her theory of violence. Arendt situates her views on violence against the backdrop of war which she believes has lost its ability to be the final arbiter of conflict. The technological advancements in the instruments of violence she witnessed during her lifetime led to what she believed was the understanding that the engagement of war using the new advanced instruments will become the destruction of all who participate. Therefore the appeal of having possession of these advance technologies is that they are deterrence to war and the best guarantees of peace

(Arendt, 1970). For Arendt war is not the natural state of humankind. It does not persist because of an “irrepressible instinct of aggression,” it persists because we know of no other alternative; we have “no substitute for this final arbiter in international affairs” (ibid, p.5).

The amount of violence at the disposal of any given country may soon not be an indication of the country’s strength or a reliable guarantee against destruction by a substantially smaller or weaker power. And this bears an ominous similarity to one of political science’s oldest insights, namely that power cannot be measured in terms of wealth, that an abundance of wealth may erode power, that riches are particularly dangerous to the power and well-being of republics—an insight that does not lose in validity because it has been forgotten. (Arendt, 1970, p.11)

Arendt criticizes political theorists from Weber, Voltaire, Bertrand de Jouvenel, to Mao Tse-tung, from Right to Left, for agreeing that the basic nature of power is one of violence or even mitigated violence. Arendt claimed these views of power are grounded in the old notion of absolute power and in the terms of Greek antiquity to explain the rule of man over man (such as Aristotle and Plato’s view that some were born to lead and others born to follow). These views also find support in what she called the bureaucratic rule of system to which no one can be held responsible—rule by *Nobody*. If she were here these three decades later she might add that they find support in Castells network society in which there is also no *Somebody* to give an account of themselves in an even more obfuscated system than that of the bureaucratic state.

Arendt claims an alternative tradition and vocabulary for understanding the basic nature of power exists and is as old as those of Greek antiquity and feudal sovereignty. These traditions are the Athenian city-state in which their constitution was called an isonomy—equal distribution of rights and privileges. Also *civitas*, the Romans’ form of government, provides this alternative. A *civitas* was a political community, sovereign and independent (Smith, 1875). It is these alternate notions upon which eighteenth century philosophers turned to when they constructed the rule of right and the rule of law which rested on the power of the people. Although these

philosophers still spoke of obedience—that is obedience to law rather than man, “what they actually meant was support of the laws to which the citizenry had given its consent” (Arendt, 1970, p.40). Obedience to these laws is unlike obedience to violence which is unquestioning. It is people’s continuous support—the continuation of their consent to the laws in the first place, that gives the power to the political institutions in which laws are made or enforced.

According to Arendt the traditionally formulated question of who has “the power” has led to the synonymic use of the terms power, strength, force, authority, and violence because they all serve the same function—a means for understanding which man rules over man. She then attempted to define these terms separately and removed from this understanding of the basic nature of power (and nature of humankind as well), illuminating their distinctiveness. Of most interest to the discussion in this chapter and the purpose of this study is her definition of power:

Power corresponds to the human ability not just to act but to act in concert. Power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together. When we say of somebody that he is “in power” we actually refer to his being empowered by a certain number of people to act in their name. (Arendt, 1970, p.44)

“Power always stands in need of numbers whereas violence up to a point can manage without them because it relies on implements” (Arendt, 1970, p.42). Arendt claims that the extreme form of power is all against one, the extreme form of violence is one against all. To synthesize the conversation of power grounded in a discussion of violence we are given this:

No government exclusively based on the means of violence has ever existed...Even the most despotic domination we know of, the rule of master over slaves, who always outnumbered him, did not rest on superior means of coercion as such, but on a superior organization of power—that is, on the organized solidarity of the masters. Single men without others to support them never have enough power to use violence successfully. (Arendt, 1970, p.51)

Even in the world of animals coalitions are key. De Waal (2005) wrote that “No male can rule by himself, at least not for long, because the group as a whole can overthrow anybody (p.42).”

De Waal was largely influenced by Hobbes and Machiavelli and utilized their theories as his 'frame of mind' when studying power dynamics in chimpanzee politics (De Waal, 2005). He saw that power in the chimpanzee community is hierarchically structured with sex based differences. The alpha female sometimes used violence to maintain her power but in general she is recognized by the other females as the leader and is not challenged. Her status is conferred by personality and age. Females who rise to power may share their power but do not need their friends to maintain their power. The male chimpanzees are altogether different. De Waal writes that among the males power is always up for grabs. It has to be fought for and defended. Power is shared only when two males need each other to stay on top. However in order to rule the males need physical strength and friends. The male chimpanzees in De Waal's study seemed to display characteristics Hobbes and Machiavelli attribute to humans in their grab for power and yet their violence and strength alone are not enough to keep them in power.

Philosophical Foundations of Power and Leadership

Foucault's work was largely influenced by the philosophy of Nietzsche and in Arendt's theory of power, although not explicit, there is evidence of the philosophical traditions of Locke and Rousseau. Arendt's theory of power also seems to be influenced by the historical and personal events of her time, of her own narrow escape from the concentration camps of a Nazi Germany to Vietnam to the student movements that swept the globe and the campus upon which she taught. According to Cawthon (2002), Rousseau argued that history shapes our understanding of the nature of humankind; it is constantly changing and it "is the conventions of society that influence most heavily what we are and what we will become" (ibid, p.72).

Castells (2004) in his discussion of the space of flows suggest in the network society a new social structure emerges where the structure of society is constantly in a transient state. Instead of what we will become, *becoming*, structuring what we are, *being*, being cancels becoming. He states the space of flows dissolves time by disordering the sequence of events and making them simultaneous. If the state of being for society is no longer hierarchically structured, and history shapes the nature of humankind which is fundamental to our understanding of power and leadership, then the mechanistic logic of ordered and controlled top-down leadership is no longer the most useful in navigating the network society. However, before considering a more useful concept of leadership, a brief consideration is given to the philosophical foundations of power and leadership.

The philosophical foundations of leadership discussed in this chapter are meant to provide an overview of the philosophies and philosophers who have greatly shaped our understanding of leadership and power. Also, more importantly, they are meant to provide grounding to the model and the concept of leadership embraced in this study. Cawthon's (2002) summaries in *Philosophical Foundations of Leadership* of the philosophers and what they taught about leadership and power will be relied on heavily for two reasons. First, for the purposes of this review, only a brief overview of these philosophies is necessary to ground the model and the concept of leadership this study embraces. Second, in many instances the philosophers' own words, in multiple and often long excerpts are used to substantiate Cawthon's interpretations of their views providing enough credibility for the purposes of a brief overview.

The philosophies of Locke, Rousseau, and Nietzsche provide a useful understanding of the Western model of leadership today—today in the sense of the space of places (Castells, 2004) - that is what we experience locally in the United States. The philosophy of Marx—

perhaps the most abused and misunderstood philosophy of all time, is also the most useful in understanding the nature of humankind today—today in the sense of the space of flows (Castells, 2004) - that is the simultaneous and ephemeral space of working in a society whose economic viability is a condition of both local and global structures. The philosophy of Marx also speaks to the potentiality of leadership in our increasingly global and connected society. The philosophies of Aristotle, somewhat, and Plato, especially, are most useful in considering the ideals for leadership and humankind. Nietzsche, however, the last philosopher reviewed by Cawthon, is discussed first because of his understanding of the nature of humankind.

Nietzsche's understanding of humankind is the furthest removed from what Kropotkin, Morgan, Putnam, and others have found in their studies of humans in society—that is humans as social beings moved to cooperation and mutual aid. It is this nature of humans, as social cooperative beings that this study seeks to understand and not the competition driven, survival-of-the fittest nature that Nietzsche embraces. Despite this, and as with all of the philosophers to be reviewed in this section, there remain some gems—useful and enlightening lessons on leadership that can be culled from the theories on the nature of humankind and society.

Nietzsche offers the purist Darwinian interpretation of the nature of humans and the nature of leadership. According to Cawthon he was the first “to isolate men from one another”, “the first to abandon universal principles that unify man's existence”, and “the first to define liberty and justice exclusively in the terms of power and dominance rather than right and responsibility” (p.110). “The strong should survive; the weak should perish. These are the teaching of Nietzsche (Cawthon, 2002, p.111).” In Nietzsche's own words from *Twilight of the Idols*:

For what is freedom? That one has the will to assume responsibility for oneself. That one maintains the distance which separates us. That one becomes more indifferent to

difficulties, hardships, privation, even to life itself. That one is prepared to sacrifice human beings for one's cause, not excluding oneself. Freedom means that the manly instincts which delight in war and victory dominate over other instincts, for example, over those of 'pleasure.' The human being who has *become free*—and how much more the *spirit* who has become free—spits on the contemptible type of well-being dreamed of by shopkeepers, Christians, cows, females, Englishmen, and other democrats. The free man is a *warrior*. (Cawthon, 2002, p.107)

According to Cawthon (p.109), in Nietzsche's world it is the strong, "with a Strong Will to Power", who should lead. Leadership is not a right assigned by others. "The elite should lead, the aristocratic few who possess the genius necessary to exact obedience from others (p.109)." These leaders do not lead because they are chosen but because they are, "they were born to lead, leadership exists within their souls" (p.109). Cawthon states that leaders today "who view the humanistic practices of modern management to be futile attempts to coddle the weak", "leaders who define their superiority in terms of strength of their wills", and leaders who are highly disciplined, self-made men, who "refuse to acknowledge a system in which they are simply a part", all can be said to be influenced by Nietzsche (p.111).

Like Hobbes, who was discussed in the first chapter of this study, for Nietzsche the natural state of man is to seek war and individualism reigns supreme. Unlike Hobbes he did not believe in equality of the sexes or that women were as equally capable of instilling fear as men. Without debating his philosophy what we learned from Kropotkin and others is that man is not alone and has not lived alone or developed the State on the strength of his will, in isolation of others. What we are learning from Watts and others who discuss the Connected Age or the network society is that humankind is becoming increasingly connected and increasingly more interdependent than ever. The gem in Nietzsche's philosophy is that the understanding of leadership he presents from an individualist, survival-of-the-fittest view, while becoming less useful in the network society and more network-structured organizations, helps us to understand

the philosophy of many leaders today—understanding them where they are and not where one thinks they should be.

According to Cawthon (2002, p.52), “Locke taught that in their natural state, humans are relatively peaceful”. It is not fear but reason that “teaches us to seek life, liberty, and the protection of our possessions, not only for ourselves, but for all mankind (p.52)”. Locke believed in our ability to be friends, “to cooperate and collaborate rather than confront and compete (p.53)”. He did acknowledge that we are also inclined to promote our self-interests but he was optimistic, believing that reason informs passion and we would realize it is in our best interest to cooperate (Cawthon, 2002). “Within this natural state”, Locke thought, that “no person has power over another person” (ibid, p.53). However due to deficiencies in nature humans often violated reason therefore a social contract, a covenant, was made between men to eliminate these deficiencies and serve as the foundation of civil society (Cawthon, 2002). The remedies of the deficiencies were: “laws providing a standard for proper behavior enacted only through the consent of the governed”, penalties for violating those laws that were established by the law, and a separation of power among those who made the laws and those who enforced the law (ibid, p.55-56).

Locke believed we all had within us the ability to lead ourselves, to bring peace and unity to our own lives (Cawthon, 2002). The relationship then between leaders and followers was not hierarchical but horizontal in that leaders were trustees, servants who enacted the will of the people. “The rights of leaders are no different from the rights of followers. No more. No less. Leaders have no privilege. All have the right to life, liberty, and personal property. No person is subject to the will of another, and the laws of society guarantee that these rights will be protected (ibid, p.57).” Or in Locke’s own words in *The Second Treatise on Civil Government*:

To understand political power aright, and derive it from its original, we must consider, what state all men are naturally in and that is, a state of perfect freedom to order their actions, and dispose of their possessions and persons, as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of Nature, without asking leave, or depending upon the will of any other man.

A state also of equality, wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another; there being nothing more evident, than that creatures of the same species and rank, promiscuously born to all the same advantages of Nature, and the use of the same faculties, should also be equal one amongst another without subordination or subjection, unless the lord and master of them all should, by any manifest declaration of his will, set one above another, and confer on him, by an evident and clear appointment, and undoubted right to dominion and sovereignty. (Cawthon, 2002, p.53)

While the rights of individuals reign in the philosophy of John Locke, and people can only be ruled by their consent, the vehicle of this consent is the social contract. Through this contract self-interest is tempered by reason and an understanding that cooperation best serves the interests of all involved parties, which “allows for and limits the extent of mutual exploitation among people” (Cawthon, 2002, p.60). For Rousseau reason could not bring understanding of the nature of man, social order was not natural but a convention of man, and the social contract was not based on reason but on the *general will* of the community (Cawthon, 2002). He wrote, “Each of us places in common his person and all his power under the supreme direction of the general will; and as one body we all receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole (Cawthon, 2002, p. 66).”

Rousseau’s general will was not the same as the *will of all*. The will of all is the sum of private wills and the general will is only concerned with the common good (Cawthon, 2002). Rousseau, however, did not believe everyone was capable of knowing the general will, so leaders were those enlightened few who guide the less capable toward justice (ibid, p.69). His philosophy was a mixture of hierarchical leadership with a horizontal, or equality, understanding of the nature of humankind. “Thus in his attempt to elevate man from *natural liberty* to *civil*

liberty to moral liberty, Rousseau managed to relegate him to the manipulation of a privileged few (Cawthon, 2002, p.71).” Or in Rousseau’s own words in *The Social Contract*,

How can an unenlightened multitude, which often does not know what it wants, since it so seldom knows what is good for it, execute, of itself, so great, so difficult an enterprise as a system of legislation? Of themselves people always will the good, but of themselves they do not always see in what it consists. The general will is always right, but the judgment that guides it is not always enlightened. It is therefore necessary to make the people see things as they are, and sometimes as they ought to appear, to point out to them the right path which they are seeking, to guard them from the seducing voice of private wills, and, helping them to see how times and places are connected, to induce them to balance the attraction of immediate and sensible advantage against the apprehension of unknown and distant evil. Individuals see the good they reject; the public wills the good it does not see. All have equally need for guidance. Some must have their wills made conformable to their reason, and others must be taught what it is they will...From thence is born the necessity of a legislator. (Cawthon, 2002, p.68)

According to Cawthon, women would not be included among Rousseau’s legislators because convention, not nature, has not defined that as her proper role. By nature we are all basically good; it is society that is evil. Leaders who advocate totalitarianism and those who advocate egalitarianism can all find support in the philosophy of Rousseau. “While Rousseau taught that leaders serve only at the pleasure of the followers, their right to lead is ultimately based on their ability to maintain a hidden control (Cawthon, 2002, p.71).” It is the shared principle between Rousseau’s and Marx’ philosophy—the role of leaders is to enlighten and guide the masses, which gave Lenin his justification for totalitarianism in Marx’s name (Cawthon, 2002).

Marx philosophy was founded on the dialectical relationship between “mass movements and economic forces as the basic causes of every fundamental change, whether in the world of things or in the life of thought (Cawthon, 2002, p.88).” The evolution of the dialectic relation among mass movements and economics was found expressed in the struggle between the classes. This is similar to Foucault’s theory of power being a dialectical relationship between the struggle

of the haves for control over others and the struggle of others for freedom from that control. Evolution of the class struggle Marx wrote about came with thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. For example, socialism is the synthesis or solution for the struggle between employers (thesis) and employees (antithesis) (Cawthon, 2002). According to Cawthon (p.88), Marx believed evolution of the classes would continue “independent of man’s will” and dependent on “natural and economic forces”.

Three conditions would lead the evolution from capitalism to socialism. First, the value of a product is equal to the work put into making it. Second, capitalist seek to make a profit—“surplus over the value or worth of a product” (ibid, p.89). To maximize their profits, managers would “seek to employ workers at the lowest possible cost” and to not share the bulk of the profits with the workers (ibid, p.89). This process would increase the divide between the worth of the workers on whose backs profits are made and the worth of the managers. Monopolies will emerge, a concentration of capital will occur, products will be seen to have more value than the humans who produce them, the rich will become fewer as their wealth increases, and the numbers of the poor will swell as the value of their labor decreases (Cawthon, p.90). Thirdly, and finally, as the discontent rises “the workers would revolt against the capitalist, and because of their sheer numbers and a strong belief in the justice of their cause, they would be successful” (Cawthon, 2002, p. 90). The final end becomes a classless society where man would finally be free. This summary represents one utilization of Marx and does not address the heart and value that the Marxian analysis provides for socio-economic forces.

Accordingly, Marx believed this shift between capitalism and socialism would not come without a fight. If we look at history and the cold war, the fall of the communist Soviet Union, and the persistence and survival of capitalism in the United States, it seems capitalism has won.

Without being a call to anarchy or revolution: (1) assuming we are indeed in a network society of which the dominant global network makes decisions for and influences all other networks on the basis of economic forces and through transnational corporations (Sassen, 2001), (2) further assuming the transformation of the global society is influencing the relations of employers and employees in the way outlined in Marx's first two conditions in the evolution between capitalism and socialism, and (3) given the determinist position of Marx that this evolution is independent of the will of man, perhaps an early victory declared, of a war prematurely waged, has not yielded the final synthesis of the struggle between the classes. Also, although Marx believed this evolution would not come without struggle, struggle (war) was not to be the cause of the evolution. The cause would be the conditions upon which the capitalist system would lead to discontent among the masses.

Marx did not believe in the destruction of personal liberty, his ethical ideal was a society in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all (Cawthon, 2002). Unlike those who invoked his name in their pursuit of totalitarianism, he believed in freedom, equality, and personal liberty. According to Cawthon Marx believed "that man must transform himself" from an individual, solitary whole, "into a part of something greater" (ibid, p.91). Through this transformation man's nature would be redefined, "for a man's ultimate freedom lies in the *consciousness* of his relationship to the whole" (Cawthon, 2002, p. 92). This freedom will "become manifest in the unity of working men and women throughout the world" (ibid, p.92). Or in Marx' own words from *On the Jewish Question*,

Human emancipation will only be complete when the real, individual man has absorbed into himself the abstract citizen; when as an individual man, in his everyday life, in his work, and in his relationships, he has become a *species-being*; and when he has recognized and organized his own powers (*forces propres*) as *social* powers so that he no longer separates this social power from himself as *political* power. (Cawthon, 2002, p. 91)

In Marx's classless, ideal society no human, including women, would be subservient to another. In this ideal society leadership would be unnecessary. However, until this state of society was reached leadership would be necessary. "Leaders would be needed to guide the people", they would emerge as they are needed, "if not *this* one, then *that* one", as "leadership is determined by chance, by fate, and by destiny" (Cawthon, 2002, p. 95-96). According to Cawthon, when we speak of participative management, empowerment, total quality management, quality circles, and so on we are acknowledging and "sharing Marx' belief that humans are quite capable of leading themselves toward achievement of organizational goals" (ibid, p.97).

The gems we gather from the teachings of Plato and Aristotle are more the behavioral and moral characteristics of leaders. According to Cawthon,

Plato teaches that leaders should provide vision and understanding for their followers. They must not be self-serving; they must not be driven by physical pleasure; they must not be motivated by wealth. They must be men and women of virtue. They must seek wisdom and understanding. They must always act on behalf of those whom providence has placed under their rule. (Cawthon, 2002, p.9)

In Plato's own words in *The Republic of Plato*, "they must look upon the commonwealth as their special concern—the sort of concern that is felt for something so closely bound up with oneself that its interests and fortunes, for good or ill, are held identical with one's own" (Cawthon, 2002, p. 9). For Plato only those whose souls have been coded to become leaders should lead. It is their destiny. According to Cawthon, Aristotle taught that

Leaders were men of courage and temperance. They were learned. They were compassionate. They sought the ultimate good, not only for themselves, but for all who were under their rule. They were undaunted by private interest and the pursuit of trinkets...Their leadership was rooted in justice and virtue. (Cawthon, 2002, p.19)

Like Plato he believed there were those who were born to lead and others who were born to follow. For Aristotle this excluded all but men and a certain class of men—those who were born free and from the class of the citizenry. Cawthon wrote, “Wherever we justify elitism based on accident of birth, whether in our corporate boardrooms or within the hierarchies of our military institutions, or within the sanctuaries of our cathedrals, we are acknowledging our agreement with Aristotle’s contention regarding the natural inequality among humans” (p.21). While standing on the philosophical shoulders of Locke, the founders of the United States also stood on the shoulders of Aristotle (Cawthon, 2002).

Cawthon (2002) concludes that Aristotle has been one of the most influential philosophers of our understanding of leadership. He further states that Aristotle was one of the earliest to wrestle with the difficult issues of the nature of humans, the meaning of equality (or not), and on what authority should one lead—issues which still haunt us today. Aristotle’s resolution of these issues should not and has not persisted without critical reflection. Leaders are increasingly aware that to persevere in this changing social and economic climate, they must change, their organizations must change, and they must become part of a system that is part of the whole—that is they must become part of a network that is part of the global network (or perhaps perish).

Empowerment Theory

As mentioned in the first chapter leaders today are being increasingly asked to share power and/or empower their followers. Empowerment theory was introduced to community psychology by Rappaport (1981) as a way to confront the paradox that humans have both needs and rights. Prevention efforts to ameliorate people’s problems were designed to address people’s

needs while advocacy efforts attended to their rights. These two approaches offered seemingly disparate and incongruent solutions to helping people in need. Rappaport suggested through empowerment theory prevention and advocacy could be combined to better achieve the goals of social justice and social change. He further argued that an empowerment agenda would advance the interests of the silent, isolated “outsiders” in various settings in an effort to enhance their voice and control over their lives. Empowerment is:

an intentional, ongoing process centered in the local community, involving mutual respect, critical reflection, caring, and group participation, through which people lacking an equal share of valued resources gain greater access to and control over those resources. (Rappaport, 1995, p. 796)

While there have been many criticisms of empowerment theory, a major challenge was found in the emphasis placed on the individual and his feelings of empowerment (psychological empowerment) as the focus for empowerment research and praxis (Speer & Hughey, 1995; Van Uchelen, 2000; Labonte, 1994; Riger, 1993; Spreitzer, 1995; Zimmerman, 1995; Zimmerman, 2000; Peterson & Zimmerman, 2004). In a general summary of the definitions of empowerment found in the special issue on empowerment theory of the *American Journal of Community Psychology*, the emphasis was placed on individuals’ gaining control over their lives, participating in the democratic life of their community, or critically understanding their environment (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995). However it is important to note that specific definitions within the issue varied. For example Speer and Hughey (1995) defined empowerment as the manifestation of social power at individual, organizational, and community levels of analysis—social power being a distinctly social phenomenon.

Riger suggested at the heart of psychology’s embrace of individualism is the “unresolved tension within psychology between two views of human nature, one which holds that “reality creates the person” and the opposing view that “the person creates reality” (Riger, 1993, p.281).

It could also be a reflection of the dialectical challenge presented by a dominant philosophy of “every man for himself” which led theorists like Foucault to pose that the relations of power are a struggle between those who would use power to repress or control others and those who would use power to resist this repression. From this perspective empowerment theory becomes the efforts of those who have power to work with those who do not in order to enhance the ability of the have-nots to resist the power of others and/or gain control over their lives (Roberts, 1998; Weis, Schank, Matheus, 2006)—thus social justice and social change. In practice, empowerment and empowering others has often been translated into members of the “powerful” groups granting power to members of the “powerless” groups (Gruber & Trickett, 1987).

A seminal study of empowerment theory by Gruber and Trickett (1987) demonstrates why this translation does not achieve the end empowerment is designed to meet. Gruber and Trickett applied empowerment theory to school teachers, pupils, and parents in an alternate public school with a commitment to the empowerment agenda. The authors measured how much decision-making power people actually wielded in a case study in which those traditionally disempowered in school settings were given a seat at the decision-making table. In this study the teachers chose to share their decision-making power with parents and students. A governing board was created consisting of teachers, parents, and students, and all groups were equally represented and initially given equal influence in the decisions. The board began as the central decision-making body of the school but gradually, over the course of the study, as the teachers began to feel threatened by the board’s power, it became less relevant, and was bypassed on important decisions.

Gruber and Trickett concluded that two phenomena were responsible for the failure of this empowerment attempt: the tyranny of structurelessness and the paradox of empowerment.

The tyranny of structurelessness occurs when an informal operating structure is put in place of a formal, hierarchical structure as a way to avoid centralized power and dominating control. This informal structure can lack defined roles and subsequently lead to leadership that maintains the status quo found in the former hierarchical structure. It was discovered that effective leadership remained important to the successful functioning of the institution.

The paradox of empowerment was the failure of the empowered group to successfully grant power to the “disempowered” groups. The authors argued the institutional structure that allowed the empowered group to be in power in the first place constrained attempts at empowerment. In this structure teachers had more knowledge and expertise and ultimately remained responsible for implementing policy. Toward the end of the empowerment experiment parents on the governing board often deferred to the teachers and sided with them when an issue divided the teachers and students. This condition resulted in an inequitable distribution of power more favorable toward teachers and contributed to the failure of the empowerment attempt (Gruber & Trickett, 1987).

This study is representative of the problematic nature of empowerment when it focuses on empowering individuals or groups of individuals, who do not have a sense of interdependence or connection to the whole. It also illustrates the problematic nature of exercising power with others when one or more participating group is perceived to not have power. This perception is an artifact of hierarchically structured institutions where only those who have power-over others are perceived to have power in the organization. This can often be seen in the description of those who do not have power-over being said to be powerless (Roberts, 1998).

In a hierarchical social context, when considering a sense of connectedness, those who perceive themselves to have power because they have positional or perceived power over others,

are more likely to believe their empowerment was the product of their own individual actions (Peterson & Hughey, 2004). As it pertained to a study of empowerment and connectedness by Peterson and Hughey (2004) the persons more likely to believe this were men. This condition may be another reason why psychology, a traditionally male dominated discipline, has persisted to look at social phenomena from an individualistic perspective.

However empowerment in practice is not an individual phenomenon as its process usually involves the interaction of more than one social actor (Hajbaghery & Sasali, 2005; Kuokkanen & Leino-Kilpi, 2000; Speer & Hughey, 1995; Shearer & Reed, 2004; Weis, Schank, & Matheus, 2006). In the fields of public health and nursing where the goal of health promotion involves facilitation of community members' engagement in good health behaviors, they have found empowerment to be problematic because it is often understood as persons creating for rather than creating with others (Reybold & Polacek, 2006). Additionally even when empowerment is translated as health professionals using their power with others, it is often applied in a paternalistic and authoritarian manner with professionals helping people change (Minkler, Thompson, Bell, & Rose, 2001) or putting power *into* others (Shearer & Reed, 2004).

Shearer and Reed (2004) present a reformulation of empowerment for nurses that takes into account the historical and current perspectives of empowerment. The authors suggest while empowerment is a desired goal in nursing and is generally associated with psychological concepts of well-being it has often been translated into something less desirable in practice in part due to the nurses' practice paradigm (Kuokkanen & Leino-Kilpi, 2000). Shearer and Reed reviewed critical social theory, feminist theory, and lifespan development, the history of empowerment theory, science of unitary human beings, power enhancement theory, expanding consciousness theory, and a theory of participatory nursing process.

Rogers' science of unitary human beings suggests "human beings desire to participate knowingly in change and in their patterning" and Barnett's power enhancement is a theory of power that assumes "ongoing change and the clients' awareness of and belief in one's ability to fully participate in the changes involved in healthcare" (ibid, p.255). Newman's expanding consciousness theory is "a mutual process between client and nurse by which meaning and understanding of the client's health patterns are recognized and insight is gained" and Reed's participatory nursing process is "a participatory process that transcends the boundary between patient and nurse" (Shearer & Reed, 2004, p.255).

Shearer and Reed also reviewed the current nursing practice paradigm in which (1) empowerment is often confounded with compliance, (2) nurses as authorities share knowledge as power in a way that may not be empowering, and (3) alternatively, "health involves the clients' purposeful participation in developing self-awareness and choosing health patterns" (ibid, p.256). Based on these reviews a reformulation of empowerment becomes one in which nurses are not persons who empowers, instead they are persons who facilitate empowerment "with actions derived from an understanding of the client's relational nature, relevant social context, and developmental potential. There are four assumptions to their framework of empowerment (Shearer & Reed, 2004, p. 256):

1. Empowerment is neither a resource that is external to the person nor bestowed by others, power is inherent and ongoing.
2. Empowerment is a relational process, expressive of the mutuality of person and environment.
3. Empowerment is an ongoing process of change that is continuously innovative.

4. Empowerment is expressive of a human health pattern of well-being and can be assessed and enhanced through nursing knowledge, practice, and science-based inquiry.

The reformulated definition of empowerment is “a health patterning of well-being in which the client optimizes the ability to transform self through the relational process of nursing” (Shearer & Reed, 2004, p. 256). Shearer and Reed’s case study and conceptualization of empowerment offer a promising direction for empowerment praxis. However it is a conceptualization that has not yet been embraced, although there is consistency and overlap with others who find empowerment theory problematic but still useful for nursing practice (Kuokkanen & Leino-Kilpi, 2000).

Kuokkanen and Leino-Kilpi (2000) also promote empowerment in nursing with the caveat that power is not used instrumentally for control or subjugation of others. The authors present a view of power that is generative—enhancing power or total energy. They do not develop what this looks like conceptually but generally seem to suggest that the use of empowerment should be linked to an understanding of social power that goes beyond coercion, control, and domination. It is the effort to link empowerment to an understanding of power as energy that makes Shearer and Reed’s work and Kuokkanen and Leino-Kilpi’s work useful to this study.

Other researchers have also attempted to link empowerment to an understanding of social power (Labonte, 1994; Speer & Hughey, 1995; Roberts, 1998; Speer, 2000; Speer, Jackson, & Peterson, 2001; Peterson, Lowe, Aquilino, Schneider, 2005). For example interactional empowerment, originally introduced by Zimmerman (1995) as one of the three components of psychological empowerment, is defined as variations of people’s understanding of social power

in their environment (Speer, 2000; Speer et al, 2001). Peterson et al (2005) studied the links between social cohesion, gender, intrapersonal empowerment and interactional empowerment and found that individuals with higher sense of community (social cohesion) had greater political efficacy and perceived leadership competence (intrapersonal empowerment) and a lower understanding of social power as political functioning and shaping ideology (interactional empowerment) than individuals with low sense of community. That is persons with high social cohesion and trust had a low understanding social power in their environment.

Similarly, using basically the same scales on a different population, Armstead (2004) found that individuals high in an understanding of social power as negative and coercively exercised in their social environment were low in their trust of leaders and neighbors. The results of the second study led to the question, could an alternate understanding of social power lead to higher levels of trust. In part, the results of the second study led to this study's exploration of power from a paradigm of synergy.

Interactional empowerment measures social power as a negative and controlling force in society. This study proposes from a paradigm of synergy that power can be a collective, positive, and cooperative force in society. While there are a few studies of empowerment and synergy, these studies do not directly link either concept directly to social power. They do however provide a theoretical bridge between empowerment and a form of social power referred to as synergic power in this study.

Empowerment and Synergy

Katz (1984) conducted three case studies in Fiji, the Kalahari Desert, and the United States on empowerment from a notion of shared power through synergy which moves beyond a negative, finite and individualistic understanding of social power. The Gruber and Trickett

(1987) demonstrated that empowerment is less successful when employed in a context where power is understood as zero-sum. In their study sharing power was equivalent to giving up power and empowerment failed. Katz draws on both Friere and Rappaport to illustrate how power can expand when individuals work together for change or healing.

In the Fiji study the most valued resource is community healing. Katz demonstrates how healers in the community share this resource while combining conflicting and competing components of different health paradigms to create very effective treatment packages for themselves and others. Healers must exemplify the ideal Fijian who exemplifies truth, humility, and service, “so that his or her power is used only to heal and not for personal gain (p. 215).” In this study Katz found that the increasing empowerment of the healer is reflected in the mutually increasing empowerment of the community.

In the Juhoansi San of the Kalahari Desert, Katz looks at the transpersonal resource of healing power. The study’s focus on healing power as transpersonal in some ways addresses Sarason’s (1977) critique of community psychology’s disregard of these resources as strictly the purview of religion and religious studies. It also addresses Sarason’s (1993) later call for psychology to study the human need for transcendence and community. While studying the Juhoansi San and observing their healing dance, the most valued resource at the dance and in the community is the healing power, *n/um*. This power “is released by the community, and expands as it is activated, becoming accessible throughout the community (Katz, 1984, p.212).” In this way the power of the healers, who experience *n/um* internally and then use it to heal, is dependent on community members who activate the *n/um* within them.

Additionally Katz (1984) conducted a case study of the community mental health system in the United States. He suggested that given the scarcity paradigm in which health services are

delivered, there is a serious challenge to empowerment within a synergistic paradigm. Providers in the system fail to collaborate with each other and to support a free flow of information. According to Katz, extensive collaboration and information sharing are just two of the five principles important to empowerment within a synergistic paradigm. The others are: an empowering environment, making a valued resource expandable and renewable, and a transformation of consciousness, which reestablishes our sense of interdependence. Based on the three case studies Katz identified four elements of synergic communities (see Table below) that are useful in developing a tentative understanding of features of synergic power manifested at the community or organizational level. The definition of synergic power used in this study is derived in part from these four elements of synergic communities.

Table 2

Four Elements of Synergic Communities
A valued resource is renewable, expandable, and accessible.
Mechanisms and attitudes exist which guarantee that the resource is shared equitably among community members.
What is good for one is good for all.
The whole is greater than the sum of the parts.

Bond and Keys (1993) examined empowerment, diversity, collaboration and the promotion of synergy on a community board. Specifically they asked if it was possible to empower more than one group at the same time while maintaining the integrity of each group. They found both groups could be empowered when there was a culture of meaningful inclusion and the activation of member resources. Collaboration between the empowered groups occurred

when the culture encouraged an appreciation for interdependencies and the development of boundary spanners—persons that held cross memberships in at least two of the empowered groups. Finally, synergy emerged through the collaboration of these empowered groups because the organization was able to accomplish more than it could when only one group held power, see model below.

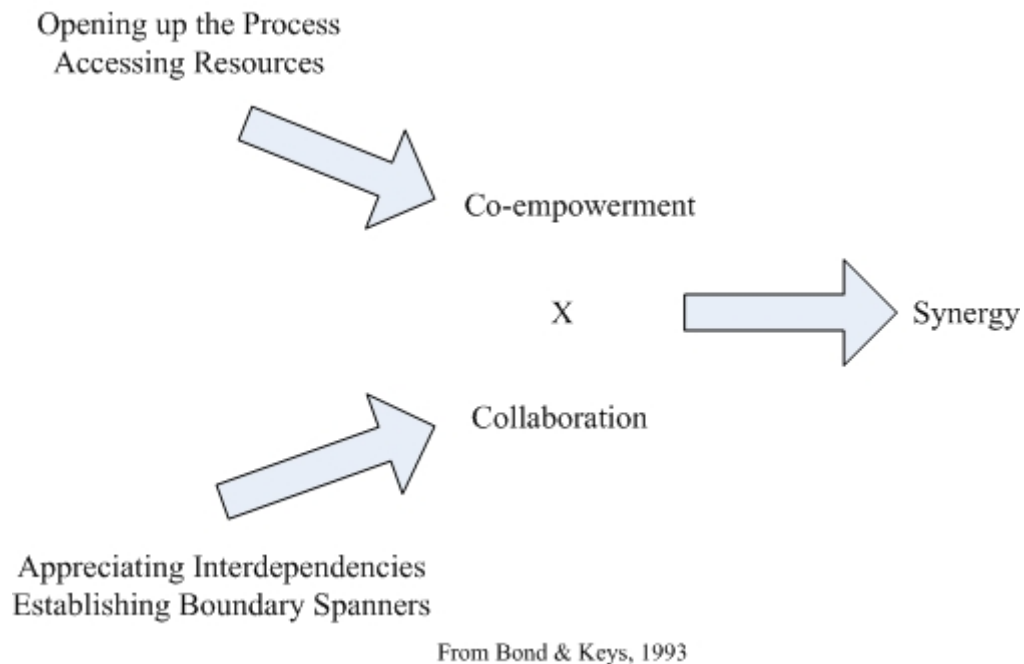


Figure 1 Coempowerment and Collaboration to Synergy

Bond and Keys claim:

If two or more groups can be empowered *and* collaborate, then the organization or community can benefit from the expanded resources pooled to achieve organizational goals. This involves a functioning interdependence that recognizes and maintains the separate integrity and importance of each group, while they join forces to accomplish the work of the organization. Respect for diversity and empowerment are simultaneously realized in effective action toward shared goals. (Bond & Keys, 1993, p.40)

The two studies reviewed are useful for demonstrating the possibility of linking

empowerment and synergy unfortunately they do not do a good job of linking empowerment and

synergy to power. Through the review of empowerment theory, the philosophical understandings of power and leadership, the models of power, as well as the inability of empowerment theory (as it operates at the individual, community, and organizational levels) to clearly articulate and provide a unified conceptualization of power (one that is grounded in a collectivist understanding of social power) this study seeks to explore whether an understanding of synergic power exists in an empowered and empowering organization (Zimmerman, 2000).

Synergic Power

Synergic power was introduced by Craig and Craig (1979) as the capacity of an individual or group to increase the satisfactions of all participants by intentionally generating increased energy and creativity, all of which is used to co-create a more rewarding present and future. This definition was derived from their general definition of power as the capacity of an individual to increase his satisfactions by intentionally affecting the behavior of others. In their model, Figure 2, synergic power is the alternative to directive power—the increasing of one’s satisfactions by intentionally shaping and using the behaviors of others to advance her/his interests. Both of these forms of power are considered ideal models because in real life people use elements of both.

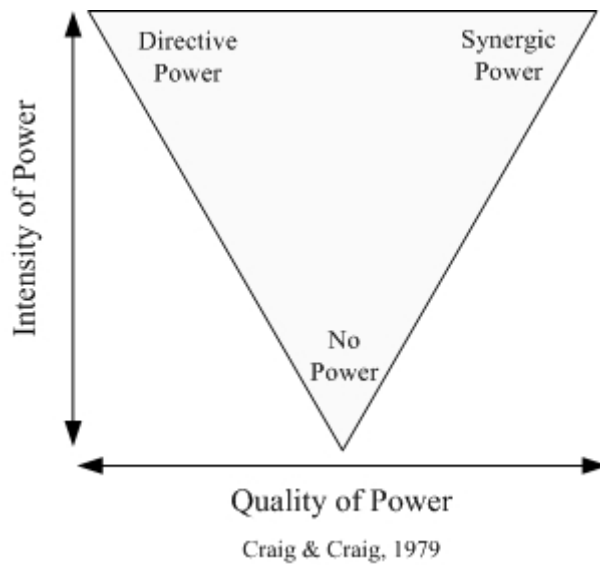


Figure 2 The Power Triangle

As can be seen in the model, Craig and Craig suggest both directive (coercive) power and synergic power reflect an individual’s decision to assertively use power to influence others rather than permissively accepting the influence of others. Also a value of goodness is placed on using power synergically given it is embedded in their discussion of achieving a more caring society. For example, Craig and Craig (1979) state that to use synergic power politically, you or someone else who has your interests at heart will have to begin to build a community of people who will work together for individual and mutual benefit (ibid, p.83).

The challenge presented by their general definition of power is that it only reflects one aspect of social power—the ability of one group to influence others. Subsequently their definition of synergic power reflects only the choice to use the power over others in a more cooperative way. An alternative definition of synergic power emerges from considering (1) the nature of social power, (2) relational models of power, specifically that of Arendt, and (3) empowerment theory from a paradigm of synergy. This slight shift in the definition of synergic

power removes the valence toward goodness so that synergic power politically becomes as neutral as power itself; the value of which is activated when applied in social interactions.

Synergic power is two or more persons using their power cooperatively to generate something greater than either entity could alone while meeting the needs of themselves and others. It occurs when power is expanded by allowing persons to exercise more power together than they could have alone to achieve collective goals. Also, when all persons involved have access to resources and are able to capitalize on the information, skill, knowledge, and experience available allowing them to meet their own needs while serving the common good. In these ways synergic power is power that is expandable, accessible, and renewable to all. It is to recognize that persons are simultaneously interconnected and unique (diversity).

Love, sympathy and self- sacrifice certainly play an immense part in the progressive development of moral feelings. But it is not love and not even sympathy upon which Society is based in mankind. It is the conscience—be it only at the stage of an instinct—of human solidarity. It is the unconscious recognition of the force that is borrowed by each man from the practice of mutual aid; of the close dependency of every one's happiness upon the happiness of all; and of the sense of justice, or equity, which brings the individual to consider the rights of every other individual as equal to his own. (Kropotkin, 1988, p.xli)

While synergic power does suggest a new approach to how we function in organizations and as professionals it is not a call for anarchy. Professionals and leaders that understand demands of interdependence and diversity, inherent in synergic organizations, have a very important and difficult role to play in creating and sustaining these organizational environments (Lipman-Blumen, 1996). “When leaders strive for equilibrium and stability by imposing control, constricting people's freedom and inhibiting local change, they only create the conditions that threaten the organization's survival (Wheatley, 1999, p.89).”

Models of Leadership

Recently Wessels (2000) called for a new paradigm for the Christian Church, one which dismantles the hierarchical structure that places God at the top and positions God in the center of a web of relationships. He insists that respecting interdependence and diversity is critical to the concept of leadership. He further suggests that as long as the conception of leadership continues to express domination, and sometimes oppression, it will be stagnant, restricted by a traditional structure of leadership that is obsolete and counterproductive. The role of the leader, Wessels suggests, is to be first among equals (Greenleaf, 2002) and not the sole decision-maker atop a dominating pyramidal hierarchy (Wessels, 2000). “Collective leadership brings about more informed decisions and provides the opportunity for a more creative organizational structure” (Wessels, 2000, p.168). Critical to “any human self-organizing system is the role of leadership” (Wessels, 2000, p.166).

Wheatley

Wheatley (1999) offers a model of leadership that embraces participation, connectedness, and order as distinctly different from control through her review of quantum physics, self-organizing systems, and chaos theory. Wheatley suggests the Newtonian metaphor of the world as a clock (machine) and all of the assumptions and methods that spring forth—determinism, prediction, reductionism, fragmentation, objectivism, have led to conflict, confusion, and failure when applied to organizational science. Instead advances in quantum physics shows us that what we observe in the world does not become what we observe until we choose to observe it. When scientists set out to observe a “thing” in motion at the subatomic level that “thing” appears as waves; however, if they set out to observe the “thing” as an object then what they see are particles—Heisenberg’s Uncertainty Principle. Objectivity goes out the window when we

realize that what we set out to observe “becomes” as it interacts with the environment *and* the observer. In summary we learn that “relationships are not just interesting; to many physicists, they are *all* there is to reality” (Wheatley, 1999, p.34).

Wheatley (1999) considers field theory of quantum physics in her analysis of organizations. She suggests culture, values, vision, and ethics in organizations are fields with invisible influences. “In all of these [field] theories fields are unseen forces, invisible influences in space that become apparent through their effects” (ibid, p.51). Field theory offers another metaphor for the universe that of an ocean, in contrast to a clock, which is “filled with interpenetrating influences and invisible forces that connect” (ibid, p.52). A field perspective suggests that:

We can never see a field, but we can easily see its influence by looking at behavior. To learn what’s in the field, look at what people are doing. They have picked up the messages, discerned what is truly valued, and then shaped their behavior accordingly. When organizational space is filled with divergent messages, when only contradictions float through the ethers, this invisible incongruity becomes visible as troubling behaviors. Because there is no agreement, there are more arguments, more competition, more power plays. (Wheatley, 1999, p.55)

Finally Wheatley (1999) uses discoveries in quantum physics to suggest that because “things” become as we observe them, it is our participation in the world that creates what we know to be real. She quotes Prigogine and Stengers as saying, “whatever we call reality, it is revealed to us only through an active construction in which we participate” (ibid, p.65). The claim is that an expectation of people, roles, or outcomes creates in those things what we expect. When seriously attempted, participation expands the potential of data, views, and interpretations, enriching our understanding of organizational processes, evaluations, environments, and so on. Participation strengthens the plans that are designed to increase organizational effectiveness

because as they are co-created they become real and “owned” (in the psychological sense) by those involved in the process.

Self-organizing Systems

Wheatley’s (1999) review of self-organizing systems introduces two important paradoxes in living systems: (1) a living system will change to preserve itself and (2) every unit of that system is simultaneously a separate entity and part of the whole. She notes that despite the fact we humans focus on our differences our collective survival depends on our interdependence, our ability to “learn how to participate in a web of relationships” (p.20). The lesson for leaders is that a desire for equilibrium—when the influence of all change or disruptions is zero, does not allow organizations to grow. Freeing organizations from the fear of change allows leaders to discover, “the more freedom in self- organization, the more order” (Wheatley, 1999, p.87). From the application of self-organizing systems Wheatley suggests that having a clear sense of identity—values, traditions, history, culture, and so on, and individual freedom within the boundaries of clear identity, allows organizations to transform themselves and remain viable and true. Organizations will then resemble the open life systems that trade entropy (unusable energy), for usable energy in a positive- feedback loop, whereby death from change is not inevitable.

Chaos Theory

Finally Wheatley’s review of chaos theory teaches us that in the midst of chaos there is order. “The destruction created by chaos is necessary for the creation of anything new (Wheatley, 1999, p. 119).” Chaos, when a system is viewed as a whole and not the individual parts, reveals order previously unknown. Its order emerges from the paradoxes of predictability and freedom. The shape is predictable but it takes form only through individual freedom. This

reinforces the message that in organizations, when the organizational identity is clear and leaders take time to remind people of the meaning of their work (why they chose this job or this company), and then trust that people know their job, the organization will be much more stable *over time* and effective. In other words, the organizational pattern through individual freedom reinvents itself and remains true even as the organizational structure shifts or appears to be in chaos.

Order in Organizations

It is not a call to anarchy to ask leaders to attend to fields, give up efforts of control, encourage freedom, and encourage participation in decision-making but a call to greater order in an organization. When the work of an organization begins with a clear sense of *vision*—what is to be accomplished, *ethics*—how people are to behave together, and *identity*—who the organization is, and individuals in the organization use this knowledge to interpret information, surprises, and experiences in their own way, then the pattern of behavior that emerges is one of order—“order that is identified in processes that manifest themselves only temporarily as structures” (Wheatley, 1999, p.112). The order achieved through shared leadership and control reduces the potential toward oligarchy (Fox, 1992).

At all levels and for all activities in organizations, we need to challenge ourselves to create greater access to information and to reduce control functions that restrict its flow...we need to evoke contribution through freedom, trusting that people can make sense of the information because they know their jobs, and they know the organizational or team purpose. Restricting information and carefully guarding it does not make us good managers. It just stops good people from doing good work. (Wheatley, 1999, p. 107)

Therefore Wheatley’s model of leadership is one where leaders embrace surprise, change, chaos, freedom, order without control, and finally “self” that is not selfish. Several principles of the new science influence her theory. Effective leaders who embody these principles help the

organization to know itself so that how an organization responds to change, surprise, and chaos is not random but intentional.

- Change does not always equal disintegration and death
- Surprise is the only route to discovery
- Chaos has always partnered with order
- Information freely generated, freely communicated, and freely interpreted is our only hope for self-organized order
- All living beings create themselves and then use that “self” to filter information and co-create their worlds
- “Self” is always aware that it is part of a system

Wheatley’s (1999) theory of leadership and the studies of empowerment and synergy offer important lessons for leaders in organizations who seek to empower their employees. Leaders must be willing to share valued resources such as information, framing, agenda setting, and even leadership—as resources broadly defined are just sources of power. Leadership is still needed to help organizations be successful as Gruber and Trickett’s (1987) study demonstrated, but the structure and process of leadership needs to change to meet the challenges of changing social and economic conditions. In the Connected Age leadership may need to structurally and procedurally function as a network.

Lipman-Blumen

Lipman- Blumen suggests the problems connective leaders face demand working instrumentally but ethically with a loosely linked network of leaders and groups, even nations, to shape solutions to mutual problems and key to being a connective leader is to share the burden of leadership and entrust responsibility to others understanding that “their own power actually

expands as they empower others” (p. 240). She introduces connective leadership as an approach in which leaders recognize and embrace the “centrifugal forces” of interdependence and diversity. Connective leaders can use coercive, manipulative, or collaborative strategies but from the perspective of ethical instrumentality—the intuition and exploitation of interconnections among people for the common good.

In the context of this study the common good refers to the mutual good of all members of a community. However the common good could also mean shared good, belonging to two or more members of a group. This is an important distinction. If the common good refers to the common purpose of a group whose intent is to harm or oppress others then connective leaders can become persons who are less than ethical. Synergic power, exercised by these leaders can become something other than good. The values, beliefs, and behaviors of a connective leader can be seen in the table below.

Table 3

Connective Leaders
Joining her/his vision with the dream of others
Striving to overcome mutual problems instead of common enemies
Creating a sense of community where many diverse groups can hold valued membership
Bringing together committed leaders and constituents for common purposes
Encouraging active constituents to assume responsibilities at every level rather than manipulating passive followers
Joining with other leaders, even former adversaries, as colleagues, not as competitors
Nurturing potential leaders, including possible successors
Renewing and building broad-based democratic institutions, instead of creating dynasties and oligarchies
Demonstrating authenticity through consistent dedication to supra-egoistic goals

While Lipman-Blumen has conducted empirical studies to test her theory of connective leaders, others have analyzed empirical data on the structure of people's friendship and communication networks to develop theories on leadership and leadership effectiveness (Burt, 1992; Burt, 2000; Krackhardt, 1999; Krackhardt & Kilduff, 1990; Kilduff, Angelmar, & Mehra, 2000). In the analysis of social networks, concepts such as cohesion, embeddedness, density (of a network), and cliques, can be explored to develop a measure of an individual's social capital within an organization. "Leadership can be understood as *social capital* that collects around certain individuals—whether formally designated as leaders or not—based on acuity of their social perceptions and the structure of their social ties (Balkundi & Kilduff, 2005, p.943)".

In this study a network-based organizational and leadership structure along with horizontal leadership behavior are considered in the exploration of network-based leadership. Network-based leaders in cooperation with others in their relational networks exercise power for a common good. They value interdependence and diversity. They empower their followers by creating an organizational culture that reflects the attitudes and beliefs of connective leaders. Network-based leaders while sharing the values, beliefs, and behaviors of connective leaders are distinct from connective leaders to the degree that an emphasis is placed on the leaders' use of synergic power for collective goals—working cooperatively with others to achieve common interests. While structurally a network-based leader in a traditional organization is at the top of a hierarchical structure what makes them different is their cognitive awareness of the network structure that exists around them, within and outside of the organization, and their awareness of the need to facilitate the connections and relationships necessary to be successful.

While there is a synergistic leadership theory (Irby, Brown, Duffy, & Trautman, 2001), the synergy lies in the structure of the theory and not the practice of leadership. Although Irby et

al (2001) examined and criticized much of the current leadership theory for not being inclusive of feminist leadership, they failed to consider Lipman-Blumen's connective leadership model. They were also unable to see how social network theory would take the study of leadership and leadership effectiveness in new directions that provide credibility to network-based leaders who use relational networks to exercise synergic power.

Conclusion

This literature review has examined models of leadership and power that can provide support for a study of both under a paradigm of synergy. A lot of attention has been given in this review to the importance of cooperation and interdependence because they are a cornerstone of the synergy paradigm. Both synergic power and network-based leadership will be explored in a community organizing organization. Community organizing is a term that captures the work of various community organizers and organizations that trace their roots to, or have been strongly influenced by, Saul Alinsky.

Alinsky was a dynamic community organizer who organized the poor to fight for their rights as citizens from the stockyards of Chicago in the 30's through the labor and civil rights movements in the 60's up until his death in 1972 when he was beginning to mobilize the middle class. In many ways he was the father of modern community organizing. According to Alinsky (1971) "power and organization are one and the same" people must act together if power will be used for change (p.113). He goes on to say, "every organization known to man, from government down, has had only one reason for being—that is, organization for power in order to put into practice or promote its common purpose (p.52)".

Alinsky claimed when truly known power is the dynamo of life creating man's most glorious achievements and most destructive philosophies, ideologies, and products. While Alinsky's strategies for social change employed both forms of power—that of power-over and power-to, the purpose was to use people's effective capacity to challenge those who had power over them. A central goal of organizing is to build power from the ground up and "is in part a matter of building networks of solidarity within society" (Wood, 2002, p. 19). A central question for community organizing is—"how do those excluded from the full benefits of societal life organize themselves to project political power in defense of their interests and as a voice for the common good?" (Wood, 2002, p. 4) It is in this context that this study seeks evidence of synergic power and network-based leadership.

CHAPTER III

THE CASE

Rationale for Study

I first became aware of the concept of “web of relations” through biology. Studying biology led me to reflect how each life system of plant or animal species seemed interdependently linked to other life systems whether environmental or biological. This led me to the intriguing thought that the same was probably true in the social systems created by human beings. After some time I discovered Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) bio-ecological model which in many ways began my own personal journey of exploring the relationships of interacting systems between and within the levels of Bronfenbrenner’s model—it led to my interest in exploring interpersonal and group dynamics in collaborations.

My foray into collaborations has really been an exploration into the relations of factors that have received the most attention as critical elements of successful collaborations (Lewicki, McAllister, & Bies, 1998; Sheppard & Sherman, 1998; Vangen & Huxham, 2003)—power, trust, and risk. For the thesis to obtain a Master’s Degree I proposed to study a model of the interaction of the factors that lead to successful collaborations by first exploring the relationship between power and trust. I argued that successful collaborations were a function of trust between the interacting units (individuals or groups), shared power among them, and a perception of minimal risk to individual identity and self-interests.

$$\text{Collaborations} = \frac{\text{Power} + \text{Trust}}{\text{Risk}}$$

Armstead, 2004

Figure 3 Successful Collaboration Model

I explored in the thesis the relationship between power and trust among neighbors at an individual and aggregate level and trust in leaders in their community organization. The most interesting results of the analysis, based on the items in the power scale, implied both that people in power use their power in coercive and subversive ways and respondents who believed this to be true were less trustful of their leaders and lived in neighborhoods with lower levels of trust in neighbors (Armstead, 2004). The results led me to question if the reverse was also true. Could understanding power as cooperative and more universally held lead to higher levels of trust in general and in leaders specifically?

I realized that I would need a new paradigm for proposing that power could be shared and minimal risk to self-interest and identities could be maintained—key elements to the model of successful collaborations. I needed a new frame through which I could make sense of the world. Synergy—two or more forces whose combined effects are greater than their individual effects, as a relational paradigm, provides this frame. It reflects the possibility of people in relationships choosing to relate coercively, cooperatively, or passively with one another (Craig & Craig, 1979; Dockeyki, 1996; Tjosvold, 1981; Tjosvold & Sun, 2001).

Inspiration for Study

Inspiration for this study comes from both practice and theory. In the summer of 2002 I attended a seven-day intensive community organizing training at a Jesuit retreat center in Los Altos, California. During this week I experienced what Turner (1969) called *communitas*—unstructured or undifferentiated community, a communion of equals who together must submit to a general authority—with my fellow attendees. The experience reminded me that despite differences we needed each other to survive. During the training I heard through a series of video presentations and personal accounts stories of ordinary citizens from diverse backgrounds successfully transforming themselves from helpless individuals to empowered and active citizens.

There were many examples of these newly empowered citizens challenging the social institutions in their cities collectively to address their mutual needs. They came together with others in their community, pooled resources, leveraged their social networks, and exercised their collective power to change the system. As we were learning how to organize we found ourselves in a transitional state where differences of race, status, gender, and other social categorizations were suspended—a state of being which Turner calls *liminality*. I saw how power could be shared and expanded to create the necessary momentum for change. Although unknown to me at the time, I saw what I would come to call in this study, *synergy*, and the exercise of *synergic power*.

I recalled this experience a few years later when I came across an ethnographic study (Katz, 1984) that claimed empowerment could be seen as a generative resource that existed beyond the self, beyond individuals, as a shared power that occurs across individuals and within communities. Katz attempted to demonstrate this with three studies set in Fiji, the Kalahari

Desert, and the United States, respectively. It was the study of the Juhoansi San in the Kalahari Desert which sparked my interest and provided a graphic representation of power being shared and expanded to meet the needs of both the individuals and the community.

The all night healing dance of the Juhoansi San is embarked upon by all members of the community: young, old, men, and women. The women sit around the fire singing and clapping while the healers, men and women, dance around the singers. As the dance intensifies the *n/um* (healing energy) is activated in the healers and expands to all of those present. When the *n/um* reaches boiling point some of the healers enter *!kia* (the transcendent state of consciousness) and in this state they are able to pull out the sickness of those present. *N/um* is the most valued resource of the community and while it is channeled through the healers—placing them in a position of power—it is generated by the community (Katz, 1984). It was the description of the Juhoansi San's healing dance embedded in a discussion of empowerment and synergy that led me to reflect on synergic power—two or more persons using their power cooperatively to generate something greater than either entity could alone while meeting the needs of themselves and others.

Research Design and Methodology

Much is unknown about this synergy phenomenon, specifically as it relates to power. Due to the emergent nature of this study and the need to develop a phenomenological and holistic understanding of synergic power, this study will utilize a qualitative design and methodology. A qualitative approach will provide greater sensitivity to the nuances, cues, and meanings that people make of the phenomenon of interest (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Also, a qualitative approach reflects my own values and philosophy of research in the exploration of a

seriously understudied phenomenon. This study utilizes a naturalistic inquiry design which offers the values expressed below in Table 4 and the credibility criteria found in Table 5 (Rubin & Rubin, 1995; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993).

TABLE 4

Characteristics of Naturalistic Inquiry
While both qualitative and quantitative methods can be used, qualitative methods are generally preferred, primarily because they allow for thick data to be collected that demonstrate the interrelationship with their context.
While both relevance and rigor are important in research, relevance is paramount.
Grounded, emergent theory is preferred to a priori theory. All theory should be grounded at some stage before it is applied.
Tacit knowledge (including intuitions, apprehensions, or feelings) is treated differently but on an equal basis with propositional knowledge (knowledge that is explicated in language).
While the researcher may use a variety of instruments to gather data, the primary research instrument is the researcher.
Research design emanates from the research itself.
A natural setting is always preferred to a laboratory or controlled setting.

Qualitative methods allow for thick data to be collected which can facilitate thick description of the phenomenon of interest. More than simply a triangulation of data, thick data attends more to the subjective human experience which supports naturalistic inquiry's focus on the meanings people attribute to events or processes (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Naturalistic inquiry emphasizes relevance over rigor. At this exploratory stage, it is important that what is learned about synergic power, as well as network-based leadership, informs theory and action. Also, more important than having an a priori theory of synergic power, is to develop a theory that is grounded in and emergent from people's experience and related, relevant theories. In this study both tacit and propositional knowledge are gleaned from the conversational- style

interview format. The remaining three values in the table above are reflected in the very nature of this study which uses a variation of the organization’s one-to-one process (conversational-style interviews) to explore power and leadership while probing how they work on issues in the community.

Naturalistic inquiry reflects my concern for the degree of “truth” my findings may have for understanding synergic power (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Erlandson et al, 1993). Credibility must be established through prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, the referential adequacy of materials, peer debriefing, and member checks (Erlandson et al, 1993; Aksamit, Hall, & Ryan; 1990). Table 5 describes these six strategies for achieving credibility. Most of which have been addressed in the design of this study. The first criterion, prolonged engagement, is met through my involvement over a three-year period, beginning in 2001, with the director, organizers, and staff. Persistent observation is met through the data analysis process discussed in the Approach to Data Analysis section at the end of the chapter.

TABLE 5

Credibility Criteria
Prolonged Engagement. Spending enough time in the context to overcome distortions due to researcher impact, researcher bias, and seasonal events.
Persistent Observation. Pursuit of interpretations of data in different ways in conjunction with a process of constant and tentative analysis.
Triangulation. Collection of information about different events and relationships from different points of view.
Referential Adequacy of Materials. Other materials (ex. Videotapes, documents, photographs) that supports and communicates the researcher’s analysis and interpretations.
Peer Debriefing. The process of reviewing perceptions, insights, and analyses with professionals outside the context who have a general understanding of the nature of the study.
Member Checks. Data and interpretations are verified by persons within the context of the study.

Triangulation occurs through the multiple sources of data (interviews, observations, and organizational documents) and the multiple points of view of the organization's work on the immigration issue. Efforts were made to get photographs to support and communicate the analysis and interpretation of the data. Organizational documents, however, provide some support. Peer debriefing occurs through the process of review this document; member checks of the data and interpretations is pursued through the submission of the results chapter of this document to six of the eight person's interviewed from the organization of study (overall a total of nine persons participated in the interviews).

Study Context

Organizational Context

It is in a community organizing organization that the theories of power and leadership from a synergy paradigm will be explored. Specifically the study will take place in an organization located in Northern Colorado. The organization is part of a national network of faith-based community organizations that has member institutions in over 150 cities in the United States, bringing together over 50 different religious denominations and faith traditions. The particular organizing style that is faith-based or congregation-based organizing has two characteristics that distinguish it from secular models—it is institutionally rooted in religious congregations and in the diverse religious cultures of its member groups (Wood, 2002). These two characteristics create a dynamic interplay between the goals of the organization: to organize collective power and social capital, to address justice issues (Mondros & Wilson, 1994), and to realize the goals of the religious groups.

The organization is named Congregations Building Community (CBC). CBC mobilizes citizens through religious institutions to act on issues that have negatively affected the social, political, or economic well-being of the community. CBC's process of community organizing follows the model developed by the national organization. The typical process begins with *one-to-ones* which are face to face conversations initiated by the organizers and leaders that are designed to develop relationships and assess needs and self-interests of members of the religious institution and the surrounding community.

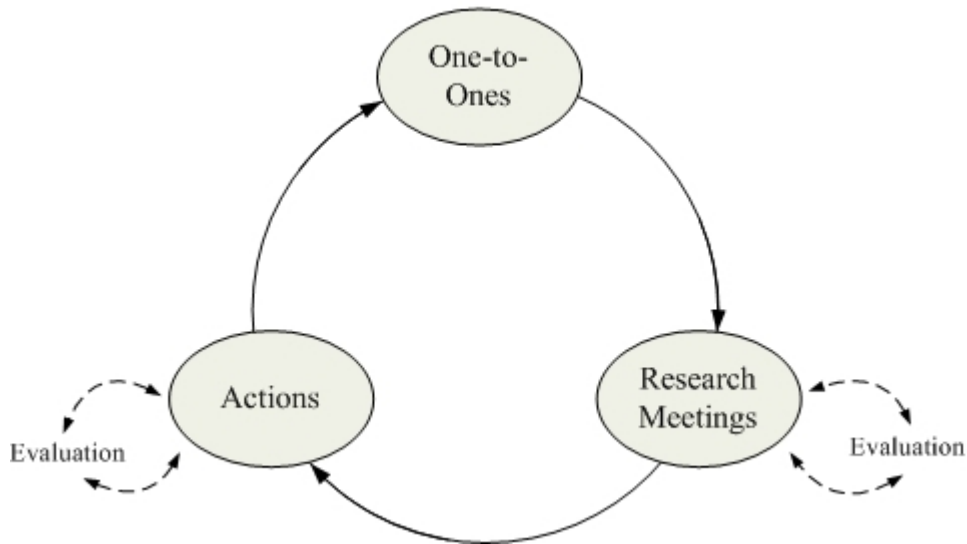


Figure 4 Model of Organization's Organizing Process

As more one-to-ones are conducted concerns emerge from the discussions and the organizers and leaders determine which concerns are issues that: affect many people, identifying a common interest, and can be acted upon. The organizers and leaders then challenge people to do something collectively about the problem. The people—members of the institution, and perhaps community, begin to gather together to do research on the issue. Through the *research*

meetings with locally elected officials and other stakeholders, they are able to clarify the issue and identify a target (the authority under whose jurisdiction the problem can be fixed) for action. After a target has been identified the organizers, leaders, and members mobilize their social networks to bring a large group of citizens, the target, and the media to an action.

An *action* is the pressure point in the process in which the target(s) is asked to commit to specific policies or strategies to alleviate or study the problem. When the action is over the organizers, leaders, and members evaluate the process leading up to the action, the action, and what was accomplished. This *evaluation* and reflection period—which also may occur after research meetings—is critical because leaders and members begin to realize their own strength and assets and are able to see how empowering the whole process can be as their attitudes and behaviors change and they are able to influence an authority through collective action. The process has important implications for leadership development as members or experienced leaders—this excludes organizers and paid staff, take on public leadership roles at actions, are actively engaged in the research meetings—which may mean leading the questioning of public officials, and are encouraged to participate and offer insights in the evaluations which strengthens individual and group learning.

Organizational Analysis

As discussed in chapter one, networks are relational structures with interdependent social actors. Networks exist wherever there are actors relating to other actors. Any organization may be considered a network. The structure of a network reflects the enduring patterns of relations among actors in the network such as the flow of communication, power, resources, or influence in organizations. These network structures can be formal or informal. Organizations, like networks, can be primarily horizontal via the equivalent status of actors and their power, and the

potential ability to communicate with everyone else in the network directly. They can also be primarily vertical via unequal statuses of actors and their power, and the inability by some actors to communicate directly with other actors in the network, thereby leaving some actors dependent on others—intermediaries—in the network. Putnam (1993) states most networks are mixes of horizontal and vertical relations.

Mintzberg's basic model of organizational structure, seen in the figure below (Bolman & Deal, 2003), provides an example of a formal mixed organizational structure of hierarchical and horizontal relations. There are five interacting sectors in the model: the operating core, middle line, strategic apex, technostructure, and support staff. The base of the model is the operating core where the people who do the work of the organization reside, next is the middle line or supervisor sector for people who provide resources and direction to people in the operating core. At the top of this structure is the strategic apex where people who shape the vision, values, and mission of the organization dwell. The remaining two sectors sit on either side of the middle line, the technostructure and support staff sectors; they provide administrative support such as fundraising and accounting (technostructure) or scheduling and faxing (support staff).

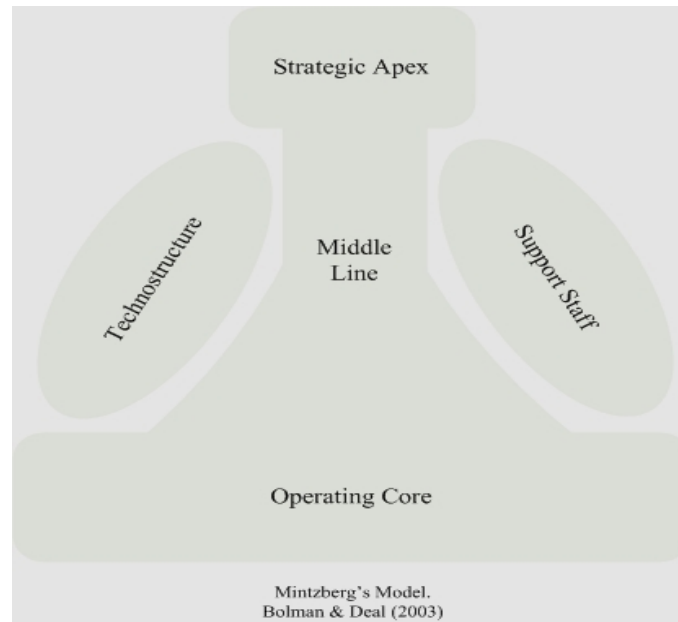


Figure 5 Mintzberg's Basic Model of Organizational Structure

The organizational structure of CBC when looking at its relationship with its Local Organizing Committees (LOCs) resembles Mintzberg's professional bureaucracy model (Bolman & Deal, 2003) with a large operating core and few levels between the operating core and the strategic apex which creates a flatter and decentralized organization. The flatter organizational structure makes it easier for actors in the organization to communicate more directly with each other. In CBC both the director and organizer reside in the strategic apex. They shape the mission and grand design of CBC and guide the work of the organization's key leaders so that they adhere to the organizing process and principles of CBC. The organization's leaders rest in the operating core through their membership in Local Organizing Committees. CBC is a very flat organization because there is no administrative or other layer that separates the director and organizer in the strategic apex from the key leaders in the operating core.

The same structure is also an appropriate model for CBC's relationship with the national organization with which it is affiliated because in the professional bureaucracy model, after

receiving training and being indoctrinated into the principles of organizing, there is a great amount of autonomy and control given to the groups in the operating core. At the national level this group would be the organizers, while the local directors of the organizations would reside in the middle line, and the national directors would rest in the strategic apex. In each site, local directors are able to control and guide the work of their organizers and leaders. Also each LOC has autonomy and control over the issues they pursue.

Unlike Mintzberg's machine bureaucracy in which important decisions are made at the strategic apex, in the professional bureaucracy important decisions are made at the level of the operating core. The director and organizer of CBC, in relationship with the LOCs, function more as guides, teachers, and motivational counselors than bosses and managers. "Though producing many benefits this model leads to problems of coordination and quality control (Bolman & Deal, 2003, p. 77)." Anecdotally members of the national organization are reflecting on how the current operating model limits them from identifying and acting on poorly functioning member institutions. The same challenge could be expected of member institutions like CBC and their LOCs.

The internal operating structure of CBC resembles an adhocracy which is a "loose, flexible, self-renewing organic form tied together through mostly lateral means" (Bolman & Deal, 2003, p.79). There is built in flexibility and adaptability in the organization as it is mostly structured around a process rather than positions. The director of the organization and the organizer perform many of the same tasks and roles therefore there is greater lateral coordination than vertical coordination. Vertical coordination is when people in higher positions coordinate and control the work of people in lower positions and lateral coordination is a less formal and

more flexible way to coordinate people's behavior and roles in organizations (Bolman & Deal, 2003).

Due more to capacity issues than structural ones, CBC's director and organizer are overloaded with their responsibilities. They are doing work usually assigned to a support person. They are doing twice the organizing work of any one organizer. However due to their small number and high degree of communication and coordination, there appears to be less structural tension created by unclear role assignments or overlapping roles. Also because the organization is more process driven there is less structural tension between the director and organizer around role clarity and creativity. The organizing principles and process lets them know what they should be trying to achieve and how to do it. This concept is illustrated below with a conversation with a CBC organizer.

Question: It (the flyer in his office) says, none of us is as smart as all of us, how does that influence how you work?

Organizer: It's a Japanese proverb and I put it up there because part of the way this process comes up with innovative solutions is because, you know I am not a policy expert and every group can work on any issue they want to and I never say no you can't work on that because I don't know what to tell you or how to advise you on that. The work that we do and the solutions we pursue have nothing to do with our expertise on any particular policy. In fact the leaders themselves aren't necessarily experts on any of the issues they pick but the way our process works is that everybody, the whole constituency, the base of the organization, are all intimately affected by the issues in a way that the analyst in a think tank somewhere who has all the numbers and the policy proposals, the so called experts, they don't have that connection. There is something about when you pull that resource together. There is a bubbling up of collective wisdom that gets aggregated or condensed at the top that just wouldn't happen if you just came in and made a blanket recommendation for how to solve something. So there is something about remembering that just because I have some good ideas or good analysis of the issue, it doesn't mean that there isn't better information out there. That other people can see the issue in a way that I could never, as an outsider, could never see.

CBC very much resembles a complex adaptive system. Complex adaptive systems “are assemblies of loosely connected units, or agents, each with its own agenda” (Bolman & Deal, 2003, p.64). Control of the agenda at each of CBC’s Local Organizing Committees rest with its leaders and they pursue issues that relate to their own interests and needs rather than a platform of issues developed by CBC organizers or CBC board members. Specialization is not necessary to achieve either the organization’s goals or its LOC’s goals because organizers and leaders can easily find themselves pursuing an issue in which none have expertise or experience. This does not create a problem since their process contains a research phase which is used even when some members do have expertise on or experience with an issue.

CBC’s explicit goals are leadership development and the exercise of power. Implicit are the goals to amass power through the development of many Local Organizing Committees, to obtain funding to sustain the work, and to garner organizational recognition to attract funders. The personal needs and private goals of the leaders vary widely from confidence building to gaining a public platform. Generally leaders need the support network provided by the organizing staff, their constituents, and fellow leaders in order to successfully exercise power in their communities to address identified issues.

Geographical Context

Based on the 2000 Census data, the city in Northern Colorado from which most interviewed members of CBC live has a population approaching 100,000 people. It is mostly urban in a largely rural region. Majority of the population are Caucasians (66%) while the known Hispanic and Latino population is 31%. However, there are a large number of

undocumented immigrants in the area, mostly Mexican, which probably skews these numbers as undocumented immigrants tend to live under the government radar.

TABLE 6

Population Statistics (2000 Census Data)						
Total Population: 91,403						
Location Type	Urban	Rural	Rural: Farm	Rural: Nonfarm		
	89,746	1,657	204	1,453		
Ethnicity/Race	Caucasian	Hispanic/ Latino	Asian	African American	Other Race	Two or More
	60,095	28,019	1,035	685	466	1,103
Birthplace	U.S./Colorado	U.S./Other State	Outside of the U.S.	Foreign Born/ Citizen	Foreign Born/Non- Citizen	
	46,045	35,412	851	2,326	6,769	
Age	Less than 5 yrs old	5-17 yrs old	18-64 yrs old	65 and older		
	6,962	17,093	58,403	8,945		
Over the age of 25 yrs old (n= 50,774)	Male	Female	Less than HS thru HS diploma	Some College thru Assoc. Degree	Bachelors Degree	Prof. or Graduate Degree
	24,648	26,126	23,027	15,187	7,943	4,617

Continuing with this caveat in mind and according to the Census, 50% of the population are United States citizens born in Colorado. Another 39% are U.S. citizens born in another state, less than 1% (.025) is foreign born U.S. citizens, and less than 1% is foreign born non-U.S. citizens. Majority of the population, 64%, are adults between the ages of 18 and 64 years old. Of the adults over the age of 25 approximately half are male. Twenty-one and a half percent

(n=10,943) do not have a high school diploma, and 23.5% (n=12, 084) have a high school diploma only, totaling 45% (n=23, 027) with a high school diploma or less.

TABLE 7

Household Statistics (2000 Census Data)				
Total Households: 32,666				
Aggregate household income in 1999	Less than \$200,000	Greater than \$200,000	Total	
	1,397,310,500	169,542,800	1,566,853,400	
Housing Units (n=34,120)	Urban/Suburban	Rural	Occupied	Vacant
	33,385	735	32,642	1,478
Occupied Units (n=32,642)	# of persons in home-1person	# of persons in home-2 to 3	# of persons in home- 4 to 5	# of persons in home- 6 or more
	8,089	15,916	7,097	1,540
	# of bedrooms - 0	# of bedrooms - 1-2	# of bedrooms - 3	# of bedrooms - 4 or more
	1,104	14,056	10,417	8,543

The per capita household income in 1999 for the population was \$17,142. Majority (98%) of the housing units in the area are urban and occupied (96%). Most of the residents have one to three persons (73.5%) living in one to three bedroom homes (75%). The known Hispanic and Latino population (31% of the total population) is approximately half female and mostly adults over the age 18 (61%). Of the city's total population over the age of 5 (n= 84,441), 19% (n=16,398) speak Spanish. Of the city's total population over the age of 5 who speak Spanish, approximately 49% speak English very well, approximately 18% speak English well, 18% do not speak English well, and approximately 15% do not speak English at all. Roughly a third of the Spanish speaking population do not speak English well or at all.

TABLE 8

Hispanic/Latino and Spanish Speaking Population Statistics (2000 Census Data)						
Total Hispanic/Latino Population: 28019						
Gender	Male	Female				
	14,693	13,326				
Age	Less than 5 yrs old	5-17 yrs old	18-64 yrs old	65 and older		
	3,507	7,373	16,180	959		
Ability to Speak English (5 yrs and older)	English Only	Spanish Speaking	Spanish Speaking: English very well	Spanish Speaking: English well	Spanish Speaking: English not well	Spanish Speaking: English not at all
	66,009	16,398	7,982	2,919	2,965	2,532

Issue Context

According to newspaper accounts, the immigration issue has been brewing since 2000 when the U.S. Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) considered the city as a possible location for an ICE office (Coberly, 2005). According to the county district attorney, a key player, the federal officials did not believe an office would be welcomed by the local people. Early in October 2005 the district attorney was successful in getting the county commissioners to pass a resolution requesting an ICE office and he attempted to get the city council to pass it as well. CBC mobilized its members, one of whom developed an organization called Latinos Unidos, to stop the resolution from passing. In response to their efforts, the district attorney was pressured into submitting a revised version of the resolution on November 29, 2005 that took out language targeting illegal immigrants for the gang problems in the city (McCombs, 2005). Police statistics revealed illegal immigrants made up approximately 1 to 2 percent of the gang population (Coberly, 2005).

The revised resolution was submitted to the human relations committee who had been charged by the city council to investigate the bill for discriminating content and make a formal recommendation on the issue (McCombs, 2005). The resolution focused on crime in general and suggested the ICE office would be one of many strategies used to combat the problem. The district attorney had already sought and won the support of local, state, and national politicians for the office. One national senator wrote a letter to federal officials in support of the ICE office and was quoted as saying, "If you put an office here it sends the message that if you come into [the city] and [blank] county you need to be a legal immigrant, and it also provides an additional support for law enforcement" (Murphy, 2005). On December 20, 2005 the city council took a neutral position agreeing unanimously "that they had no standing to endorse opening an ICE office" (Garner, 2005). This is what CBC would call a small win because this issue is far from resolved.

According to the director of CBC the immigration issue is nothing more than a political wedge issue designed to support the Republican representative's re-election campaign and maintain her seat in the U.S. Congress. The county district attorney is a major Republican player. He was a Vice President Cheney personal appointee on the Iran Contra Investigation. His wife is a Colorado Republican committee fundraising chair. While the director goes on to say that the attorney is a straightforward prosecutor who wants to do a good job, he views the attorney as deeply rooted in the Republican Party. Both the U.S. senator and congresswoman whose support the district attorney received are conservative Republicans. The director implied that during a one-to-one with the district attorney, the attorney admitted he was under enormous pressure from vocal anti-immigrant conservatives in the Republican Party to push the immigration issue.

Another political concern, according to the director of CBC, is Colorado is a swing state and Latinos are notoriously known for not voting. For example in a district almost entirely Latino, with an Anglo and Latino running for a seat on the city council, the Anglo candidate won. He says that voter turnout in the last election for the Latinos who did or could register to vote was 1 percent. He believes his state and this city is a test case for the national agenda around immigration reform. The director also believes the goal is to divide the community and make Anglos afraid and upset. Support for the director's interpretation is evidenced in the statement of one Republican ICE supporter attending a hearing on illegal immigration at the state capitol by telling "[the] Republican lawmakers that Mexican illegal immigrants are gearing up to seize control of [the city]" (Murphy, 2005).

However this issue is not cut and dry and the Republican Party is not unified on the problem or the strategies to resolve the problem of illegal immigration. CBC has had some success with local community members and the Republican congresswoman by framing the immigration issue as a moral issue. The director offered the story of one illegal immigrant working with CBC who says the situation is like the front and back of his hand—the front of his hand is life and the back, if he has to go back to Mexico, is death. The Republican congresswoman who grew up poor and working in the fields with immigrants resonated with CBC's positioning of this issue as a moral one. Even the district attorney was more approachable and willing to work together with CBC in order to have support of the Latino community in his crime prevention efforts.

For CBC the fight is far from over as they prepare to mount a statewide campaign against a series of new anti-immigrant legislation floating in the state capital. The director says it is going to be rough because as the issue is heating up false information is circulating. Information

insinuates immigrants are bringing disease, causing crime, taking jobs, and ruining the economy. He says most Coloradoans believe these statements even though an enormous amount of research has been done which debunks much of it. CBC is trying to change the way people think about the issue and counter the negative and false statements people are being told to scare them. The director believes CBC leaders in the city where this issue has been tested have the capacity to address the immigration issue in a significant way.

Sources of Data

There are five sources of data for this study: interviews, observations, organizational documents, census data, and internet data. How this data was used is discussed below. The approach to data analysis is also described below. In general interviews were analyzed first for broad themes and then re-analyzed as a pattern emerged that best fit the data. Observations were analyzed for evidence of shared leadership roles and the structure and process of the organization. Organizational documents were also analyzed for the structure and process of the organization by identifying which roles were key roles, who served in those roles, and whether those roles were rotated over time. Census data was analyzed by downloading city level population data into a spreadsheet, summing the information into broad categories, and providing the percentages of the population that fall within some categories.

Interviews

Interviews were used to provide data about the issue work, how members conceptualized power, if synergic power was used, how they conceptualized leadership, and what the leadership structure looked like. The interviews were conducted in convenient locations chosen by the

interviewees and at times that worked for them. All interviews were tape recorded for accuracy. Interviews lasted up to an hour although conversations often continued after the interviews were over. The locations of the interviews included member homes, coffee houses, a restaurant, and a truck stop.

The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format with a mix of open-ended and descriptive questions developed a priori. The questions were then adjusted for clarity and flow given the conversational style of the interviews. This style allowed the interviewees to be more comfortable because it resembled a conversation and provided room for follow-up questions that were not previously developed but helped issues and themes to emerge more freely. Questions asked remained within the scope of members' organizing experience and the training process. There were no questions related to work or family issues, financial status, lifestyle choice, or any other personal issue. Sample interview questions are attached in Appendix A. Prior to the interviews participants received two letters, one from the director and one from myself. A sample of the letters can be found in Appendix B and C.

Interviews were conducted with current, adult leaders who are members of CBC and have been through its organizing process. Any adult leader, regardless of primary language, gender, or ethnicity was eligible to participate in the study. The director of CBC created a contact list of 13 available members with whom I could call and arrange interviews. The first interview was pre-arranged by the director. Characteristics of the interviewees can be viewed in Table 9 below.

TABLE 9

Interviewee Characteristics	
Total number of Interviewees	9
Male	5
Female	4
Primary Language- Spanish	5
Board Members	4

Interviews were conducted in two waves. The first wave was in December 2005 and the second wave in February 2006. The first wave lasted for two weeks and the second wave lasted for five days. Seven CBC members were interviewed during the first wave and six interviews (three CBC members, one partner, the director, and the organizer) were conducted in the second wave. Two members of CBC were interviewed in both waves of data collection due to the inaudibility of their taped interviews in the first wave. Two interviewees' data were lost due to the same tape malfunctions. The total number of interviews included in the data analysis is nine.

Interviewees, with the exception of one, were chosen because of their central and peripheral involvement with the immigration issue. This decision was made because the issue developed a few days before my first visit and a small "win" occurred a few days after I departed. This allowed me to focus interview questions and obtain multiple perspectives around the same events for the purpose of data triangulation. Also interviews with the director and organizer were added to provide background information about the issue, the process used to respond to the issue, and the structure of the organization. In addition they both responded to similar interview questions asked of the other members.

All interviews were conducted in a conversational style, and with the exception of the director, all interviews were conducted face-to-face. The study employs semi-structured and in-

depth interviewing methods. The semi-structured interview method is designed with a fairly open framework to allow for focused, conversational, two-way communication. The in-depth interview method, unlike quantitative survey interview questions that are close-ended, asks open-ended and broad-based questions. The purpose of in-depth interviews is to get rich, in-depth information about the topics or themes of interest. Both in-depth and semi-structured interview methodology have flexible designs that allow new issues and themes to emerge and facilitate deep probing by the interviewer into the topics or themes of interest.

Observations

Observations were used to provide data about the organizational process and structure and the issue work of the organization. An observation checklist was developed a priori (see Appendix D) to assess the behaviors of organizers and leaders and whether a culture of inclusion as well as opportunities of active participation for the members existed. Items included on the checklist asked who called the meeting to order, who initiated topics, and who served in what roles. One of the two meetings was conducted completely in Spanish and the other meeting was conducted partly in Spanish and partly in English. When any part of a meeting was conducted in Spanish I had an interpreter and was able to somewhat follow along given my experience with the language.

Organizational Documents

Organizational documents provided data on the leadership structure and process, specifically the extent of membership inclusion in the sharing of leadership roles. Through the provision of a password, organizational documents were accessed from password protected

computers located in CBC's office. Document collection was limited to meeting minutes and agendas that would suggest how organizational roles were distributed and rotated in the organization. No documents related to specific issue work or of a personal nature were collected from the computers. The documents were transferred to my password protected computer from a portable memory stick. Finally, census and internet data was collected to provide community background information and population statistics.

Approach to Data Analysis

Interviews, observation data, and study notes were transcribed into electronic documents and entered into NVIVO- qualitative analysis software, in a password protected computer. Tentative hypotheses about the nature of synergic power and horizontal, network-based leadership were developed to inform data collection and the interview protocol. The data were analyzed for emergent themes relevant to organizational context, issue work, understanding power, synergic power, understanding leadership, and leadership structure. Initial categories reflected these general themes. The data was then reanalyzed to better integrate and interpret the data based on emergent models. This process was repeated until the final analysis to assess whether the organization's community organizing process uses synergic power and horizontal, network-based leadership to successfully meet its goals.

CHAPTER IV

KUBWEZA

(koo-BWEH-zah; meaning give it back)

Data from the interviews, observational data, and organizational documents are reported in this chapter entitled Kubweza. The chapter has been given this name because in addition to addressing the five research questions the analysis will be given back to the interviewees and CBC staff to inform their work and better tell the world what they do. Or as one respondent put it in answer to an open-ended question asking what final thought she would like to share about their work: “Yeah, we need to do a better job at telling our story and hopefully this'll come out of what you're doing. We need to learn how to show more clearly the impact were having on communities, not for ourselves but for the world at large.” To tell their story this study asks:

- (1) How do people in the organization conceptualize power?
- (2) Do they use synergic power and are they aware of it?
- (3) How do they conceptualize leadership?
- (4) What is the structure and function of leadership in the organization?
- (5) What can we learn about synergic power and network-based leadership from this type of organization?

In the first section of the chapter—titled CBC: A Case Study, I will present an organizational analysis of CBC based on behavioral observation and data from the observational checklist. Also included in the first section is population statistics of the city in Colorado from which most interviewees live and interview data that will help tell CBC’s story. The second section, titled Making Meaning of Power, will provide interview data addressing the first two

research questions: how do people in the organization conceptualize power and do they use synergic power. The third section titled, The Structure and Function of Leadership, will address the next two research questions of how leadership is conceptualized and whether the organization uses network-based leadership through data from interviews, the observational checklist, and organizational documents. The fourth section is called Tying it All Together; it will address the final research question of what we can learn from CBC about synergic power and network-based leadership. In each section there will be some overlap due in part to the natural overlap of the concepts in the practice of community organizing.

CBC: A Case Study

There is a sense of community in the organization in which members of diverse groups are valued in the organization. This sense of community possesses two values: interdependence and diversity which can be seen in the leaders' values of connectedness, cooperation, common interests, common good, and communion. Connectedness reflects an appreciation by interviewees that they hold cross membership in at least two groups. CBC members express the value of the common good by seeking resolution of issues which may not affect them directly. Communion is valued by CBC and its members because they recognize through the strength of their relationships they can be successful in achieving organizational goals. Common interests are valuable to CBC because it motivates members and their targets to seek a mutually beneficial resolution of issues. Cooperation is expressed in the belief that they have to work with others to accomplish collective goals. These five values are consistent with the theories of power and leadership this study seeks to explore. Briefly we can see each value expressed in the following examples below.

Connectedness

Leader: We decided this is a big issue and we, CBC, needed to work with other people. So we decided if we were going to work on this issue it had to be together. It could not just be CBC only.

Question: Right so the immigration issue is not just a CBC issue it is a community issue?

Leader: Yes it's a community issue.

Follow-up: Does CBC work for the community or is CBC the community?

Leader: CBC works for the community. It isn't the community. [Pause] It's both because I am a member of CBC, OLP, and I am in the community too. The issue will affect my community, my family, and myself. So I am in the community, in the church, and in CBC.

Leader: Yeah. You are the instrument too because these people, not that they don't have the guts of doing it but through you, because you are a part of an organization, it is through you that they are depending on you to bring it to the... That is the reason we went to Washington DC.

Question: Cause you are connected to the organization and also to the community?

Leader: Yes.

Question: You are members of both.

Leader: Exactly. That is the big power as I understand.

Common Good

Question: So the bank agreed to help, who could benefit? Who could apply for the loan? Could anyone in [the city] apply?

Leader: Yes only in [the city]. I have a friend in [X city] and family in [Y city] who are in the church and they say they want to buy a house through [the bank] but the bank says only [our city] people can apply.

Follow-up: Is there interest in expanding who gets to apply?

Leader: Yes. It would be a wonderful thing. It is something I wanted to speak to you (referring to W) about when we were in [X city], they need it.

Connectedness is expressed in the leaders' view of themselves as members of both the organization they are in, CBC, and the community whose interests they work for. Valuing the common good can be seen in the leader's discussion of CBC's issue work on affordable housing and their successful efforts to get banks to provide loans to immigrants who were not citizens,

unlike herself, and therefore unable to establish credit in the traditional ways. Addressing issues in a way that achieves a common good can also be found in the lengthy example located in appendix F which describes how leader *P*'s LOC—also working on affordable housing—were able to address the concerns of builders, elected officials, and the community in a way that met everyone's needs.

Communion

Leader: I like one of the things that I find out not right away, but later on that we can be involved with all the churches around with all kinds of different people. Usually in the experience I've had before whenever you get with another church they always want to get you in their church. There is always some kind of, you know, one church wants you to think their way and another their way; but we always meet and we never had a discussion, a main discussion, we always talk about things but we are never against each other. I really like that. Like one of the organizers went to the training we have here, she was coming to our church and we got along real great. She went to the meeting, I went to her church, and she went to Mass with me... I can go to different churches and never feel uncomfortable or anything.

The importance of communion which is mostly identified as having, building, and maintaining relationships can be seen in a leader's description above of getting to know other leaders at other churches. Identifying common interests is instrumental to the success of issues CBC works on. For example in the excerpt below a leader discusses how CBC identified common interests shared by the community, elected officials, and private businesspersons to work on affordable housing. Often you will find that CBC's most sustainable community change efforts have been accomplished through the cooperation of a multitude of people.

Common Interests

Leader: We did a survey of the community needs and the first ones that came up was affordable housing, ESL, and education. They are all interrelated. We addressed the first one, affordable housing and we had a lot of meetings with the city government and we since convinced them and city counselors and some developers like [name withheld] to build affordable housing here in [the city] and we got some condominiums for some folks already built, actually we have about 36 units finished and it suppose to be like 192...But as far as the city and developers we already started building those things so now we got to let the people know so we can start moving people into those homes.

Cooperation

Leader: Well it also has to do with Representative [A] he was the one who put this bill (a bill addressing the “right of first refusal” of mobile home owners before their property is sold) together.

Question: Right. So you had some politicians helping you, the staff, members of [the mobile home park], and other members of the CBC organization helped too?

Leader: Yeah they did.

Question: So a lot of people helping. So no one person or group could have done this alone do you think?

Leader: No.

Question: It took everybody?

Leader: Yes because it’s a community as a whole. It does not only concern one place. It generally concerns the whole state.

Throughout the rest of the reporting one or more of these five values will be evident as members’ understanding of power and leadership are explored. Apparent in the data already presented is that CBC works on multiple issues through its Local Organizing Committees (LOCs) which addresses needs identified by the community. However saying they surveyed the community can be misleading in that they do not conduct paper and pencil surveys in the

academic sense but what they call one-to-ones. The process is described below in an account by a leader of how his LOC and CBC worked on the immigration issue.

Organizing in CBC: One-to-Ones

Question: So can you tell me about working on the immigration issue with CBC?

Leader: I heard the immigration office was coming to [the city] from my friend and not CBC. Then I read the newspapers, called *W*, asked him if he heard what was going on in [the city] and he said yes. So we got together and started thinking about how to get people informed about the ICE office. Part of the problem was that [the district attorney] didn't talk to any Hispanics. The only thing he did was put it in the newspaper. So that became a really big issue in our church.

Question: What did he put in the paper?

Leader: That we needed an ICE office to control the immigration issue. That is when we decided to go for, see we were working on the affordable housing issue, and we switched to the immigration thing and we worked hard. We got a meeting.

Follow-up: I'm sorry to interrupt but when you say we worked hard what did you all do?

Leader: We started talking to people, the Father, and everybody to decide what we could do, what kinds of things we could do for the community. We decided to work together in the committee and we decided what kinds of things we could do and what kinds of issues to get a big meeting to see what is needed or not needed. Also to see what is going to happen in this city.

Question: So you started asking people what was needed and what people can do and then what?

Leader: We started doing the one to one meetings in the CBC process. Many people were scared and saying, oh my God the immigration office is going to affect the community in [the city]. It's going to affect the economics and the restaurants and stuff. So we started talking to the radio and to people in one to one meetings, to everybody.

Question: So how did you move from talking to action?

Leader: After we talked to everyone we decided to have a big meeting.

Follow-up: Who decided?

Leader: Our people in CBC and [the LOC]. We decided we needed an action to get people together to understand what is going on.

Question: How many people were involved in the decision?

Leader: In [our LOC]?

Follow-up: Yeah. **Leader:** Eleven or twelve people.

Question: How did you make the meeting happen?

Leader: We started working with everyone. We decided we would have to do an announcement on the radio. We would do one to ones and announcements in the church after mass. Everybody, like in my family, told friends. The Latino Unidos started working with us. We ended up with 600 people at the meeting.

Question: I heard it wasn't expected to be that large.

Leader: No. It was a lot of people. We announced it on the radio and immigration is a big issue in [the city] right now.

Organizing in CBC: One-to-Ones—Continued

Question: What happened at the meeting?

Leader: [The district attorney] said sorry at the meeting. Before he decided to do this in the newspaper he didn't talk to Hispanics and tell them what was going to happen. Everybody was scared about it. They (the authors of the resolution) were racist and discriminating. They were saying this people are really bad and had to go back home. These people they need to do this... So everybody was trying to discriminate and it was more about discrimination than an ICE office.

Question: So [the district attorney] apologized at the meeting. What else came out of it?

Leader: Well they decided that in the future they would talk to Hispanics before making decisions. You could see in the church that there were a lot of Hispanic people and like 8 white persons. They were scared because they could see all of these people in the church. They said they never saw so many Latinos organized. They were like oh my God what is this?

Question: So you had the meeting and they promised to talk to more people in the community before making a decision?

Leader: Yes before they make an issue or go to the newspaper.

Question: Ok so you have this win but there was and is still an effort to push the ICE office. What did you do?

Leader: We had the same process. We went to the city council meetings and whatever we were supposed to do. We went to each meeting they had and reported what happened. We are still working on the issue.

Below is a brief explanation of how CBC came to work on the issue discussed above. A more detailed explanation is provided by the director in Appendix G.

Organizer: We were working on housing with that church for a couple of years. Basically the issue hit the papers and they had to react to it. So it wasn't the ordinary process of taking your time with something, things that are already going on, picking something, researching it and going to action on it. They were already doing something else but when it hit their constituencies were totally affected by it and upset by it. It was a speeding up of the process basically. They (leaders) went back and touched base with their constituents quickly, you know a mini- version of the one to one process, phone calls or face to face. They came back and said yeah everyone is upset and wants to do something about this. The first time when it got to the press it was the op-ed page making a comment about it. Then there was another group of mostly activists that got together and made the front page news by pretty much giving the police a hard time. They (the other group) interrupted a meeting at the police station and told them how upset they were. The headline on the front page that day was "Latinos lash out at police". The article then went on to talk about the reason for it. The headline highlighted for this group that if they didn't do something then the only reaction to it would be this reactionary, uncoordinated, and probably ineffective type of activity.

The membership decided they had to do something and [the director] and I counseled them about probably the best ways to go about it. The idea that had the most currency for them is on the one hand the people pushing this issue are anti-immigrant. On the other side are reactionary old time activists. You end up with a very polarized debate so they decided in order to win over the public opinion, which is what they need, the people who ordinarily don't get involved in those debates [because] they see themselves above it. They decided to go for messages around the faith, unity, and coming together around community problems. You can't pick on one part of the population for a problem that is relevant to everybody. The given rationale for the ICE office at the time was gang violence. So it seemed like they were picking on immigrants for the gang problem when the stats didn't back that up. They (immigrants) were a very, very small percentage of that gang population in [the city].

What CBC is and does is hard to sum up in a few words. For example, the organization still struggles with how to present itself to funding agencies.

Leader: Now I am going to step into my Board shoes because as I have served on the Board I have become familiar with the whole fund-raising process, which as you know, we're struggling with terribly right now. We just can't seem to keep ourselves afloat. I have watched us try to fit ourselves into other boxes that the foundations want to support; something that is maybe direct service and we don't fit. That isn't what we do, we don't do direct service, we do development, we empower people to figure out what's wrong in their communities and change it. I don't think the foundations and other organizations understand it that well.

While CBC's organizer and director do not consistently describe what they do in the same way, they are clear that CBC emphasizes a process and it is this process that allows them to be successful in achieving their explicit and implicit goals.

Organizer: Most of what I do is helping our volunteer leaders think through the issues, next steps, strategies, and things like that. We do that through the process when we teach them the model that we do. Like how to go about research and action, things like that.

Question: That would be the training part, where you are developing leaders and teaching them about the process right?

Organizer: Yes. That is the context. You teach them the process and then they go out and do the steps of it. That is pretty easy to grasp. Most of our work is just helping them think critically about next steps and strategy.

It is their process that makes them successful even when an issue comes up quickly and the process has to be rushed which is illustrated by their ability to prevent the passing of a resolution that would have called for an Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) office in the city.

Organizing in CBC: Outcome

Question: Tell me more about the decision to not pass the city council resolution. Did you meet with people on the city council?

Leader: Like I told you before, I talked to the mayor of [the city] and people on the city council. Then we decided that this is what is going to go down. Businesses will be worried about it. Families, friends, everybody will worry.

Question: So you presented that to them?

Leader: Yes. We make the relationship with them. We went to their office and said we need to talk and you need to think about this.

Question: Were you able to meet with everybody in city council.

Leader: No we didn't meet with everybody. We met with the mayor and the most important people.

Question: How many members in the city council? How many were you able to meet with?

Leader: Seven and four.

Question: So when you got back to their meeting they decided?

Leader: One thing they decided because this is a big issue and they have to follow the law. They say this has to be because people who support us want us to follow the law. They said we cannot give prize (reward) people who break the law. So they were saying this big issue is something they have to think more about because they have to...like I told you leaders come with support, so they have a lot of people who support them. They said I cannot do things to break the law I have to follow the law.

Organizing in CBC: Outcome—Continued

Question: So they decided not to pass the resolution because they didn't have a chance to talk to their constituents?

Leader: Yes because they say it's going to be a big issue and they don't have enough money or people to follow.

Question: How was their decision good for you all?

Leader: Just a little bit. Because, I don't know if you know, at the state level they are going to pass 5 bills about immigration. So this was like them doing a small thing to see what will happen in [the city]. The next step will be to go to the state and see what will happen.

Question: So in some ways they found resistance in [the city], right?

Leader: Yes because we came together and they never saw so many Hispanics decide to get up from the chair and their households to do something. Working together we can make a difference. That is when they decided we are becoming more, I don't know if you listen to the radio or tv, but now this problem isn't just for the Hispanics it's for the Chinese and everybody.

Question: Oh really that is coming out in the papers.

Leader: Yeah so now they will decide. In Arizona, Chicago, and New Mexico, people are coming together because they are saying this has to stop. We are already here, we are making things, we are paying taxes, and we have kids so what are we suppose to do. We cannot go back.

Question: So in some ways [the city council] not passing the resolution helped at least in buying time? Is that the only way it helped?

Leader: Yes. They saw us coming together and they are scared. They are saying look at these people coming together, before they weren't but now they are.

Making Meaning of Power

To explore how people in the organization conceptualize power, the first research question, I asked interviewees to give me their definition of power in their own words. I asked them “what is the source of their power”, and “who has power in CBC”, and so on. The answers to these inquiries are presented in the tables below. Overall interviewees' definitions of power are consistent with the “power-to” nature of social power discussed in the literature review—power as effective capacity or one's ability to act. There are also elements of Arendt's definition of political power.

TABLE 10

How do you define power?

Leader: Communal I would say. I don't like one person to be the center of attention because the status quo relates to that. They think they can buy that power and sometimes they do. So when everybody has power they cannot single one person out.

Organize: Organized people? I think that is the textbook answer.

Follow-up: So how would you define it in your own words?

Organizer: The ability to get what you want, the ability to act, the ability to be successful whether the relationship is conflict or cooperation. The ability to get what you want for your side.

CBC partner: When I look at what we are doing now and I look at the word power, I look at numbers. I look at people coming together for a common goal, a common interest; that is power.

Leader: I should say when it comes to power. The way I understand about power is how you are able to impart the problem of the people to the main concern to be able to solve the problem. The power is you have the strong will to, you are the, as a leader of the park or organization the power is that you are the person who has the, I should say, you are the person to speak for the people of what is going on.

Follow-up: You are the voice?

Leader: Yeah the voice of the people. That is the power.

Leader: Well, what is power? Power is when you can change something. Power is like when you work on something and can change it that is power. If you make relationships with people and you work together and make a difference that is power. I don't feel like power is that you have money and can do this or that. In this country you don't need to have so much money to make power, working together that is power.

Arendt defined political power as the ability of a group to realize its own ends through cooperation—the ability to act in concert. Every definition presented in Table 10 reflects a cooperative understanding of the nature of power. Although the results present a mixed picture, when asking about one's source of power, Table 11, interviewees, with one exception, did not say their power came from their positions as leaders. The leader who described his power as coming from his position stated that he could not lead without the support of his community.

TABLE 11

What is the source of your power?

Leader: My power is that I don't compromise the needs of my community. That's what I like about Malcolm X he didn't either.

Question: What was your source of power when you worked on this issue?

Leader: There are so many people who follow me, believe in me, and think I can do a lot of stuff.

Follow-up: They follow you?

Leader: Yes. I have been working for CBC for 2 ½ years already so I feel like I have the issue and I have the power. I can make relationships with these people and do this thing. I can work together with people cause working together we can make a difference. I can call somebody and say call this person and then they'll call the person who will call a person so the power that we have is us coming together. I think coming together is the best thing. We have relationships with the mayor and city council but if we pull people together then the power will come together.

Follow-up: So you have power when you aren't afraid you can just act?

Leader: Yes you act. When you get to a point when you are not embarrassed you have time somewhere else, you get a chance to relax, you sit down and think did I get it right and start really thinking about it...and you see everything and then you realize you know these things and you don't even have to think about them because you already know... You asked if there is more than one person (who has power in CBC) and yes, most of us you do it because you want to do it, you just react, you are preprogrammed already, I guess I can say that, you just think about the problem and it is really about not being afraid, that's the best way I can describe it.

Follow-up: So you are saying your power is being able to see things clearly and take it back to the people or is your power the group of people?

Leader: It is more important for me to be able to see things clearly.

Question: What would you say the source of your power is?

Leader: My source of power is to be able to tell the people about the organization. To tell them that through CBC, anything can happen! It is always our faith in the organization that things can happen.

One leader states that her power is to be able to clearly see what is happening in a situation, as both the organizer and the director are training her to do. Another leader describes her power and its source through a story demonstrating how, as part of a CBC collective, an elected official responded to her exercise of power.

Question: Do you have power and what is the source of it?

Leader: I think the latest example of that personally for me would be in the example of our Washington trip last spring. We divided up into groups, and we had meetings all day with one of our senators and our representative which was [name withheld]. Not everyone in our group went to all three meetings and I was part of a group that went to [the representative's] office. We had perfectly prepared and timed what our agenda was going to be, which one of us was going to lead the meeting, how to make sure it didn't get out of control, in terms of the staffer we were meeting with taking the reins and directing the conversation. Also how to keep it focused on the issues we were interested in. We met with the staffer for about 20 minutes and in the middle of this meeting he said, excuse me, I'll be right back and he got up and left. We all thought that was kind strange. So we are sitting there in the office, and we started to caucus and decided we were going to push for certain things. He came back and we said we'd really like to meet with [the representative] personally at some point in the future. He said I think that would work out, and she like walked right out of her office and into our meeting. So we talked to her personally in her office for like seven or eight minutes it wasn't very long.

So we all left and the first thing one of my friends said as we were walking down the hall was "Oh My Gosh we have power, look at what we did." We planned a meeting really well, we went in there, and we did what we said we were going to do, we made a really good impression on the staffer who decided that we were worth [the representatives] time. It goes back to leadership development. It goes back to the fact we were all trained to do that, that each of us, even though we were from different LOCs we had done that before, in terms of running a meeting like that; that we could come together and you know...

We have never had phone calls from her office returned prior to that point, any time we called, to try to get a meeting with them, a staffer, or anyone from our representative's office. Now we have people that we know, they return our phone calls; our people have since attended another event where they've had their picture taken with her. I am in conversations with them about how that office can plug in to the [the city immigration] issue, although I'm not a part of [that] LOC.

When asked "who has the power in CBC" or "who can have power in CBC", every interviewee was clear that power is accessible to every member. Examples can be seen in Table 12 below.

TABLE 12

Who has power in CBC?

Leader: Good question.

Follow-up: You can choose to reframe that in any way you want.

Leader: Well, I think it is I think it's us, although...

Follow-up: Us being the board or?

Leader: No, like the people, the people who are on LOC's.

Leader: Everybody has the power. Our people, our leaders have the most power. If we don't do the one to ones visits then we don't have power. We need people to follow us so we can have power. They have to follow people who they think can be a leader.

Question: Can more than one person in an organization have power?

Leader: Yes. Because we all feel when we get to that point that we feel we aren't afraid. When it gets to a point when you feel that you can do anything, you aren't afraid.

The data shows that CBC's leaders conceptualize the nature of power as something that is communal and cooperative and their source of power as something inherent within themselves: the ability to act in the world without fear, the ability to understand or see clearly what is happening in the world, and faith in the organization and its process. They conceive the exercise of power (see Table 13 below) as using cooperative and strategic approaches to achieve collective goals. The leaders understanding of the location of power, defined in this study as the place where power is exercised, is that it is located in the public sphere. The findings support Arendt's theory of political power as consensual and located in the public realm.

TABLE 13

How is power exercised?

Leader: If you want to see what's happening in our organization, you need to go out in [the city]. They just had a public meeting with over 500 people at it. They organized it in less than a week's time.

Follow-up: It was about the immigration issue right?

Leader: It was a very local manifestation of how the big immigration question affects their community. If that's not power, I don't know what is to be able to, that's an LOC with eight or 10 people on it that are really active, to do a 500 person meeting in a week is incredible I think. They have press coverage with three different newspapers and two different TV stations. They've managed to meet with the district attorney in the aftermath of that.

Question: Switching to CBC more specifically, what sources of power did CBC use to address this issue?

Leader: I would say that the fact we know a lot of people. All of us know 10, 15, 20 people. You know word of mouth and we were on the radio.

One interviewee, while remaining consistent with the others' conceptualization of power, offers a unique dimension to his understanding of power, one that addresses love, faith, oppression, and racism. His understanding of power and empowerment seems to be grounded in his understanding of faith.

Leader: Here is the thing about power, if we are talking about the same power the person oppressing us is talking about, I don't want anything to do with that concept of power. That concept of power is very racist, especially in the United States. It is not inclusive which goes with the racism. It also, it's dead, it doesn't go anywhere. It's a type of power that creates self-hate. You don't really love yourself and you are trying to promote that with that concept of power. If you really loved yourself you wouldn't do the things you do. A person that loves themselves won't hate someone else for any reason. I think that is tough. I think that is what Jesus meant when he said love your enemy. You cannot love your enemy if you cannot love yourself. This concept of power teaches us to hate ourselves.

Leader: Empower means the ability to love yourself so you can love others and others can learn that too. It's a spiritual concept of it. If you don't have a spiritual base to work from then anything is game. I think that what happens to power. It becomes abusive. The concept of power we have is pagan, it doesn't promote self-love. It doesn't bring us to the point that we say wow we could move mountains.

The data also shows the organizer sees the leaders' source of power, and CBC's, as access to the church as an institution, the priest as a recognized leader, and access to the people as a source of followers. His conceptualization of how power is exercised is similar to the "power-over" nature of social power and the conflict models of power described in the literature review. His definition of power presented in Table 10 shows elements of both forms of power—"power-over" and "power-to". When asked if the leaders' faith tradition influenced their understanding of power and leadership he stated there was no benefit to learning about how power operates in organizations through a church versus any other institution. Based on the organizer's interview and the discussion with leader S, (see appendix H) this study also finds some support for the conflict and relational models of power discussed in the literature review.

The second research question asks if the organization uses synergic power and if it is aware of it. Synergic power in this study is defined as two or more persons using their power cooperatively to generate something greater than either entity could alone while meeting the needs of themselves and others. It occurs when power is expanded by allowing persons to exercise more power together than they could have alone to achieve collective goals. Also when all persons involved have access to resources and are able to capitalize on the information, skill, knowledge, and experience available allowing them to meet their own needs while serving the common good. In these ways synergic power is power that is expandable, accessible, and renewable to all. Through much of the data already presented, the data found in Table 14 below, and the experience described afterward by a leader, the answer is yes, CBC and its leaders use synergic power.

TABLE 14

Synergic Power in CBC	
Illustrating the definition of synergic power	Leader: In CBC we are all powerful. We are powerful because we know how to reach out. That makes us leaders too. We know who to contact, etc.
	Leader: The power is more communal, we all share and nobody tries to take over.
	Question: So you are saying there are leaders from other organizations who worked on this issue too? Leader: Yeah. We decided this is a big issue and we, CBC, needed to work with other people. So we decided if we were going to work on this issue it had to be together. It could not just be CBC only.
	Question: I think you've already answered this but I am going to ask it anyway- Has anyone outside of your organization benefited from what you guys did at the school? Leader: Did anybody else benefit? Well we had a 12% increase in the graduation rate.
Expandable	CBC partner: When you look at an organization like CBC, when you look at the Church, you know, [what it stands for], all of these congregations, I look at it as a very powerful organization, a very powerful tool. When you have them on your side, you can show it's not just our concern, it's theirs too.
	Question: What sources of power did [your LOC] use to get the city and bank to agree to help? Leader: Part of the power is that we always go in groups. I could go alone but I never do it's always a group effort.
Accessible	Question: I guess you kind of answered my question when you talked about whether more than one person can have power in the organization? Leader: Oh yeah.
	Leader: O yeah, there are so many things you learn. It is great, like I was involved in CBC before here and normally what they teach us here, I think...you learn how to go and set up...and your back [from national training] like yeah I know what they are talking about because...I was involved before so I knew the more I learned the better it made sense whatever they teach you up there. They

	<p>give you a lot of examples and you meet a lot of people from the whole United States. You know different people go to different training like I flew to California three times. I went to loc meetings out there. I went to Washington a couple of times too.</p> <p>Question: One last question on power, if I asked who has power in CBC you would say...</p> <p>Organizer: It depends on what arena. It depends on the situation.</p> <p>Follow-up: Could you explain that?</p> <p>Organizer: Well if you mean, making a decision about a particular aspect of an action that will be planned in a certain city then the people who have the power are probably the leaders themselves.</p>
Renewable	(see leader <i>T</i> 's example below)

As can be seen in the table, leaders believe that they all have power, that they need to work collectively with others within and outside of the organization to achieve common goals, and that the work they do benefits the members of their LOCs and others in the community. Through working collaboratively as a united group they are better able to achieve their goals. Also visible is that power, training, knowledge, and decision-making are all accessible to the members (referred to as leaders) of the organization. How power is made renewable using synergic power is illustrated in Leader *T*'s discussion below. In the interview leader *T* discusses how over and over again he was able to capitalize on information, knowledge, experience, and so on, of himself and others in order to exercise power to meet his needs and the needs of others. Through this process power is renewable—it has been used synergically.

Leader: It helps you in many situations, and everything, it's in your daily life. The power you get, it gets you to do things, you start thinking right away, what started this problem, how can we help, how can somebody else help, how can we look at the problem even if it's not my problem effecting me personally. It's not anything it involves here.

Back home in Mexico, there was, not too far away from where I [use to] live, a small town, and some people started to get, well people were born with different things, [which] started getting people from twenty years [ago], like a woman who couldn't have any family. Some people were getting sick, some people born with a defect and stuff like that. Being involved in CBC, I was here [in the U.S.], but I started thinking there were a few women who couldn't have any children. So I started getting information, I was here, from people back in Mexico and started looking at all the problems people were having there, all the information, so I had some people up there...

So I knew right away what the problem was, there was a dump, a city dump, right by the town, and they were burning the trash right there. Plus the water, it ran by the dump to the town. I thought it's the water. So when I did that, it's been about five years, and they found out that is what caused it. They find out because of what I said five years ago. They started looking into it and they find out. There is something you learn to do right away; you ask what the problem is. We have been looking at something here in [my city], in [my town]. They...I started telling [the director] a long time ago that in [my city] in [my town] there is more cancer than normal and we find out there was one house in the community [where] there has been more people with cancer. There have been six or twelve people who have lived in that house and left with cancer. The last one was moving out of that house, lived there for a year only, and she has cancer. I don't know if she had it prior to that, I am not sure of that, but she was in that house. There was in the same community there were two people to die from the same family. The woman and her son-in-law, he died but she survived. Well I started looking into that because we hear about...problems but we do research and I started talking to some people and other people from town and find out more than 80 people have died of cancer.

The power you get by being involved you look at things (like this situation) a lot differently, like the way I use to be, and most everybody feels the same, everybody feels the power.

Whether the members of CBC or its staff are aware they use synergic power is more difficult to answer. Deducting from the available data the answer seems to be no. While the organizer and director train the members of CBC to use power collectively and synergically they teach that power needs to be understood through competitive uses and coercive strategies. I asked the director, "what are some of the things you are teaching the leaders about power"; his

response can be viewed below. Earlier excerpts from the interview with the organizer are also consistent with this representation of power.

Director: That has been interesting. I think the most interesting thing is again, in [one city] leaders who did not understand power was overwhelmed by it. It basically didn't work. They fell apart. It was too overwhelming for them. The disempowerment was too high.

In [another city] we had a chance for people to experience some slow growth in power and then begin to see how, part of the thing we had to teach, the biggest thing we had to teach in regards to the most explicit, specific, thing with regard to the power issue was to look beneath the surface about why here and why now. What is the goal (of the people who want to bring an ICE office to the city)?

The Structure and Function of Leadership

To better understand leadership in CBC this study asks whether the structure and function of leadership in the organization is more horizontal than vertical and how leadership is conceptualized by CBC members. In a network-based leadership structure communication, decision-making, and visible leadership—through traditional leadership roles such as calling a meeting to order, would be laterally coordinated versus vertically coordinated. If the organization is vertically coordinated, or hierarchically structured, then one or a few core members would become the clearinghouse for information, final arbiters of decisions, and the visible leaders of the organization. If laterally coordinated then information may flow freely across members—albeit more slowly if the organization is large, more members would actively participate in decision-making and traditionally visible leadership roles would rotate.

In the two meetings I was able to use the observation checklist and observe, communication flowed freely and every member seemed to participate in decision-making. The first meeting was an LOC meeting with 12 people, including myself and one guest. The meeting

was called to order by a key leader. Everyone present spoke and contributed to the meeting. The tables in the room were arranged so that we all sat facing each other around the table. No agenda was distributed though it did appear that one leader had one prepared and in front of herself. I observed leaders taking on the roles of: initiator, information giver, opinion seeker, and orienter (see Appendix D).

In the second meeting, an LOC's planning meeting, there were more than 30 people present with approximately half being guests: including myself, members from other LOCs, members from the city's Mexican Consulate, and a teacher at a local bilingual school. The meeting was called to order by a key leader. The tables in the room were used up front by the LOC's key leaders and the chairs were arranged around the room to face the front. Again, there was no agenda distributed. Participants at this meeting, including guests, initiated a variety of topics for discussion. Guests and members left the meeting before it was adjourned indicating this was an open and public meeting (see Appendix E for observation checklist coding). Leader roles observed at this meeting were initiator, information giver, opinion giver, elaborator, coordinator, orienter, evaluator, procedural technician, gatekeeper and expediter, and recognition seeker. See Table 15 below for observational notes taken after each meeting.

TABLE 15

Meeting Observation Notes	
First Meeting	<p>Last night I attended a [LOC] meeting at the church's school building. [Leader 1] began the meeting with an opening prayer, often introduced agenda items (in fact she seemed the only one to have an agenda), and selected who would give the closing prayer. [Leader 2], [Leader 1's] daughter, took meeting minutes or notes and lead much of the discussion around how to raise money to pay for the business classes the group wants to take. [Leader 3] often prodded [Leader 1] to introduce new agenda items, watched the time, reviewed the progress they were making, and interpreted for me because the meeting was conducted in Spanish. [Leader 4], whose last name I missed, gave a report on organizing the business classes and often provided an opinion on ideas being discussed.</p> <p>In the meeting they covered setting the date for the next meeting, choosing the business classes dates, deciding who would go to Minneapolis, MN to do research on a Latino co-op market, and how the information would be captured and brought back. They also discussed a raffle to raise money, where they would buy tickets, what the prize would be, the cost of the tickets, how and where to get the prize, the deadline for the drawing, how the winner would be picked, and so on. [Leader 5] who works at Wal-Mart and gets a 10% discount will buy the prize. [Leader 3] introduced a new contact given to her by CBC's director and asked who would step up to interview him and report back. It was not clear to me that anyone did (although I was later told that [Leader 2] volunteered). I observed everyone at the meeting participating including the English teacher who was a guest at the meeting but usually teaches English classes before it begins. I counted 13 people in attendance including myself and someone's ([Leader 6] and his wife) 7 or 8 year old son.</p> <p>I would evaluate the meeting as effective because information was shared, resources pooled, tasks identified, assignments made to carry them out, deadlines were set, meetings were set into the next month, and so on. The meeting ended with [Leader 4] giving the final prayer. Both the final and opening prayer carried a special prayer for [the organizer] and his family. Oh toward the end of the meeting a Christmas gift for [the organizer] was chosen and money was collected. The meeting lasted from about 7pm until 8:30pm.</p>

TABLE 15—Continued

Meeting Observation Notes	
Second Meeting	<p>[The] LOC meeting had about 30 plus people in attendance with about half being guests. Members of the Mexican Consulate spoke after the meeting was called and introduced. A representative spoke from a local school about a decision to switch to English only at a currently bilingual school. After these presentations the LOC members began talking about an economic strategy they had discussed at a previous meeting of choosing to shop from one store in the city on the same day to demonstrate their buying power. The church's priest was no longer supportive of this strategy. Many other issues were discussed at a quick pace and mostly in Spanish before [CBC's director] arrived.</p> <p>[The director] led an education session around the issue of the ICE office and why it's a problem. He then sat down and took himself out of the meeting. He left the room at the point where the members were brainstorming about ideas to address the issue. Ideas began to flow and opinions were given about developing a strategy that would meet the four criteria necessary for preventing an ICE office:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Latinos cannot be the only ones to get angry.2. The community cannot be divided.3. Latinos who can vote must vote.4. Anglos must be educated. <p>After [the director] left they began to assign people to tasks.</p>

Through these observations and other less formal observations communication in the organization is open and decision-making is shared. Organizational documents, specifically board meeting agendas, collected throughout 2005 reveals that visible leadership roles of calling a meeting to order, adjourning a meeting, and reviewing next steps, shifted and was shared by all members. The only role which seemed to be consistently held by the director or the organizer was the role of evaluator. Based on the organizational analysis in the first section of this

chapter, data from the observation checklist, the observational notes above, as well as the interview excerpt below, the structure of CBC is more horizontal than hierarchical.

Question: Would you say that there are a few core leaders that lead everything at CBC?

Leader: No. Well, we definitely have a core group of people and we've talked about how we maybe need to depart from the [national] model once in awhile and figure out how to plug in people like me, who are totally taken with this work but right now are LOC-less. There are a couple of other people in the organization like me, from other churches, who may have done good work in the past, but right now there's not a good fit, for whatever the reason is. Most of those people are on the board or have been involved with the board in the past. We are kind of at the highest level; well we are very flat organization, when I say high level I mean broad view of the whole organization. Like I don't have anything to do with the success of what happened in [the city]. I mean, I don't have anything with...at that meeting. So that's a whole other group of leaders who, yeah they may have a core on their LOC, but I think other people get pulled in and become leaders when they need to and then maybe they step back or they kind of come up again. I would say it's a little bit nebulous it's not like there is a core group and nobody else is a leader. Anybody who is involved in CBC, in my opinion, on any kind of LOC work, basically anything up from attending a meeting; if the only thing you have ever done is attend a meeting that you got invited to maybe that wouldn't fall under the category of leadership but if you've ever been trained on anything, volunteered for anything, and followed through then you have been a leader in some sense.

In addition to the organization's structure, this study also asks if leadership in the organization functions as a network-based organization. If the leaders in the organization function like network-based leaders then they will use relational networks to exercise power for mutual good, be more like servant leaders—first among equals, and like Lipman-Blumen's (1996) connective leaders they will share the burden of leadership and entrust responsibility to others. This would be unlike leaders who function in a traditionally hierarchical fashion where the position is the source of power, power is exercised purely in the interest of self, the leader is first among subordinates not equals, leadership is not shared, and the leader is ultimately responsible for all decisions.

As this study's concept of network-based leadership is drawn from the concept of connective leaders, network-based leaders share many of the same values found in Table 3 of the literature review. That is, they would believe in:

1. Joining her/his vision with the dream of others
2. Striving to overcome mutual problems instead of common enemies
3. Creating a sense of community where many diverse groups can hold valued membership
4. Bringing together committed leaders and constituents for common purposes
5. Encouraging active constituents to assume responsibilities at every level rather than manipulating passive followers
6. Joining with other leaders, even former adversaries, as colleagues, not as competitors
7. Nurturing potential leaders, including possible successors
8. Renewing and building broad-based democratic institutions, instead of creating dynasties and oligarchies
9. Demonstrating authenticity through consistent dedication to supra-egoistic goals

Some of these values (two through four above) have already been illustrated in this chapter through accounts like: the leader's description of what it was like to attend another leader's church and have a different worship experience without his own beliefs being challenged or another leader's description of the organizing process used to work on the immigration issue which demonstrates well the fourth value. Others can be seen in the examples in Table 16 below. Overall there seems to be support for stating that leaders in CBC function like network-based leaders.

TABLE 16

Characteristics of a Network-based leader	
Vision with Hopes of Others	<p>Organizer: It's not just an activity or about feeling good, that I as a leader [would] really believe that we are going to be able to do something. So there is a sense of optimism that they have that most people who agree with the work don't have that lends them to get engaged in this sort of activity, to give up free time to do it, to work toward something that maybe the odds are against accomplishing. Also the sense of, if not me then who else will it be. It's just a feeling like, even though they may come off as humble they do feel like, I got to be the person to do this.</p>
Active Constituents not Passive Followers	<p>Leader: I thought we were going to meet [our representative]. It was good it was the representative who met us. We tell him about our issue, health care, affordable housing, and education. Those are the three things we brought to Washington, DC. We talked to him about what was going on in this area. Then they said we have to study the whole thing and we let you know.</p> <p>Question: Was that a good experience?</p> <p>Leader: It was really a good feeling. It was raining so hard in Washington, DC (laughter) but it was really an excellent kind of thing because even afterward everybody was like... you couldn't believe yourself, we are Americans, everyone was born American but what you are doing, you've never done it.</p>
Adversaries to Colleagues	<p>Director: We have been positioning ourselves with [our Congresswoman]. Now some people hate us for the fact, well you are working with this ultra right-wing Republican, and my response and our leaders are beginning to get it because some of our leaders hate working with them too, is if you had a different congressperson you could work with that person. But right now who is your congressperson? You only have one. You don't get to say well I am only going to work with the Democrats. There is no Democrat. There is only a Republican. She is still your representative so either work with her or give up on the system.</p>
Nurturing Potential Leaders	<p>Question: So do you see yourself...with new leaders coming in, do you see yourself encouraging them?</p> <p>Leader: Yes. I tell them don't be afraid. I tell them I use to be afraid. I use to be afraid of a lot of things. Like now I can go to a meeting and I wasn't quite sure of what I was suppose to do and stuff like that but I am not afraid. I tell them we don't have to be afraid anymore. There are some people who get that right away and there are some people who don't. Some people it takes a little longer and that's why we try to, you know, I never consider like I said before, myself a leader but sometimes you have to jump out front because nobody else is going to do it. You got to get up there to get the rest of the people up there.</p>

Building Broad-based Democratic Institutions	<p>Question: What is your role with CBC?</p> <p>Leader: I am just a member of CBC.</p> <p>Follow-up: What does it mean to be a member? What do you do?</p> <p>Leader: We go to meetings with the city attorney and the city council. We call people to come together.</p>
Dedication to Supra-egoistic Goals	<p>Leader: I don't want to do it, I don't want to get in front of people but I have to because if nobody else is going to do it then I get up there, I get somebody else, and it is more help. The more we have the better. I don't want to go in front and I don't want people to think I always want to get in front but if I don't do it nobody else is going to do it. So even though sometimes, sometimes I make people mad.</p> <p>Follow-up: How?</p> <p>Leader: Because I get up there and I tell them, I start bugging them and some people don't like it but that doesn't bother me at all. Sometimes when I see them they come and say I shouldn't have done it but when I get up there I feel like it's my job and I have to do it. Even though they get mad I am not doing it for my own sake, I am doing it for their own good. That's why I try to encourage people all the time. I try to get them to get involved in something. Because it doesn't matter what it is you can always improve, it doesn't matter how good you are, you can be the best person there is always room for more improvement. You can always take something else, you can always learn something else, you don't have to...the same things.</p>

Consistent with the theory of network-based leaders, leaders in CBC also understand the importance of relational networks and use their networks to exercise power for mutual good. For example, one leader discusses the importance of having the church, as an institution which is part of the status quo, support the work the LOC is doing on the immigration issue. Also another leader explained how members from different LOCs will support each others work and offer assistance wherever they can. Of those who were asked what it means to be a leader majority offered a model of servant leadership; examples can be viewed in the Table 17 below.

TABLE 17

What does it mean to be a leader?

Leader: A leader listens to what the community is saying. [The organizer] is a leader but it is hard to have a white person as a leader of an oppressed group. [The organizer] is not in an oppressed group of people... for the most part leaders are like us. They work in the community. They listen to what the needs are and fight like hell for them.

Question: So what does it mean to be a leader?

Leader: Well, I think it means having a couple of things, a lot of listening so you know what other people are, and I don't mean just listening once but listening you know again and again to stay connected with the folks in your community that you might be a leader of. That's one thing our LOC didn't do well so looking back I would say that might be one of the reasons we didn't survive. There were other things obviously but we didn't do enough of the follow-up listening probably as we should of. The initial listening was great and we did the meeting but we should have gone back and done one-to-ones again. You got to do the one-to-ones. So, that's part of leadership that attitude of listening I think and the empowerment piece is big that people have self-confidence to go out and do things that they have the self-confidence because they've been trained, they know how to do it, they've seen themselves do something that they didn't know they could do. That gives people confidence to further develop their leadership, and listen, and believe that they can make a difference on behalf of other people. Those are the two main things listening and empowerment.

Question: What does it mean to be a leader? What is a leader?

Interpreter: She feels like a leader behind. She doesn't like to be up front. It's hard because she has never really confessed it to the Father. She gets the impression that [he] thinks sometimes she does things without a motivation. It's not that, she is just one of the people who doesn't like it, she admires people like that, but she cannot be that.

The interviewees, like Greenleaf's discussion of *Servant Leadership*, view the role of the leaders as being the first among equals demonstrated in one leader's description of his followers as people who are equally capable of taking on leadership roles around the immigration issue but don't have the time. They are people who believe in him, understand him and the issues, and believe that he understands them and what is important to them. Overall, the data shows that interviewees emphasize the importance of experience and training in their conceptualization of leadership. For example when asked how leaders are developed in CBC, if it is training, experience, or both, all respondents including those whose data was lost, claimed it was both.

The training could have come locally through the organizer and director or away during the training the national organization provides. The experience could have come while working on an issue as described by a leader or through the role playing the national organizers have them do, as described by another leader. Also, central to their conceptualization of leadership are relationships.

TABLE 18

Conceptualizing Leadership

Leader: The thing about leaders, I'll tell you what a leader is, a leader is someone who creates more leadership. If the person is not creating more leadership then he is out there dancing with the status quo.

Leader: I didn't really know how to be a leader but doing this through the organization gave me an idea of how to be a leader. Talking to all of these politicians and telling them about the ongoing things in the organization, how I became a leader, how I became involved with them and all this stuff that is how I become to be a leader.

Leader: Well I don't consider myself a leader.

Question: You don't consider yourself a leader?

Leader: No.

Follow-up: Why not? What's a leader?

Leader: Well, now that I see it, because I never consider myself a leader, I think sometimes I feel that ...I don't want to be out front. I think a leader needs to be behind people, I want to push them to get out front to not be afraid.

Question: Can you work on it (an issue) by yourself?

Leader: No because it's really hard. You have to have people who will support you. Like if you are going to become a leader you need support from everybody.

Follow-up: It almost sounds like you are saying you can't be a leader unless there are people to support you.

Leader: Yes that is what I think. I cannot become a leader without somebody following me. If I want to make rules I don't have the power to make rules for everybody. But if I have people who follow me, people who I have relationships with, and then I can say this will be the right thing for you to do. Then they say yeah this is the guy I want to represent me. So for me to be a leader I need people to follow me, people who understand me and decide yeah this is a big issue for us to work on.

The organizer was also asked how leaders were developed in CBC. He suggested leaders are not so much developed as provided an opportunity to lead. They are given skills that allow them to “better act in public and better understand issues”. The organizer stated that leaders are self-selected and dedicate several hours a week to maintaining relationships that will allow them to respond to real needs and not just guesses of what people want done. While everyone who participates is given the honorary title of leader, the organizer also says that there are leaders of leaders. “In every LOC there are certain people who automatically have influence, insight that people defer to, and take on bigger roles, having more prominent positions”— the organizer. When asked “what does it means to be a leader” the organizer offered a representational and relational model of leadership; some of this model is also visible in the leaders’ own words.

Organizer: I think a leader is somebody who, well the way we define it when we teach them what a leader is, is that a leader has followers. That is the most basic part of, you aren’t leading anything unless there are people behind you. So that’s why the one to one process and the development of a constituency for every individual is key. They can’t be leaders if they don’t have that and the process doesn’t work, they have no power if they don’t have that. Some of the qualities that somebody has who is able to do that, in order to develop the constituency they, (their followers), have to feel more than being visited by someone who is taking a survey and is relaying information up. They have to be in the type of relationship with people where they are instilling in them some sense of hope about the future.

Tying it All Together

There are several things we can learn about organizing as well as synergic power and network-based leadership from CBC in this study. For organizing we learn that the work is not easy. It takes leaders away from doing other things, it is sometimes overwhelming, and things do not always work out the way one hopes, as can be seen below in the excerpts from a leader’s

interview. Also, as in many other organizations, there is the challenge of the committed few which can also be seen in an example below.

Leader: After returning from the leadership training in PA she came back with an extra feeling about the importance of doing one to ones and listening to every individual person about their particular problems. The hard thing about it is these problems are real and people want the problems solved and sometimes you don't feel like you can do it.

Question: Can you tell me how you moved from listening to getting houses built?

Leader: There was a big process. [Leader Q] and the rest of us were talking to banks and it wasn't easy because for example in her case she thought her bank Well Fargo would help and it was the one that most failed the group, the one she least expected. It was Union Colony bank that gave us the answers that opened the doors. The satisfaction was in the meeting at the end with the bank with the president signing the commitment in front of everybody.

Leader: Sometimes one would like to learn and give more to the community and have these groups. I can tell you it's hard.

Interpreter: She is saying it is difficult because they are a big community of Latinos in [the city]. In every mass there are almost 700 people at the 9:30, at 12:45, and 6pm. There are 500 on Saturday, 3 masses on Sunday with 700 each mass and in CBC there are only 5 people.

Leader: It isn't easy being a member of CBC. We are very mediocre sometimes. People sometimes think if we are there we are receiving a salary. People are very confused about this part. So when I go on a one to one I explain to them I am a volunteer, solely a volunteer.

Interpreter: Right now her daughters, she hasn't even fed them yet, but here she is.

Yet there are a prevailing hope and sense of purpose that keeps her, if temporarily, committed to CBC.

Leader: No I don't train leaders I am in the group of leaders. I am a leader of my husband and daughters only. [Laughter]

Follow-up: Aren't you also a leader in CBC?

Leader: Yes but in different things because my children are special to me and so are my people. That is why I like CBC now, I don't know about later on. Well this is true...

Follow-up: So you are saying you are a leader in CBC because of what you believe?

Leader: Yes.

Also for organizing we learn that it is important to have institutional support. In this case support comes from the priest, as the LOCs are church-based organizing groups. Without institutional support work on any issue can and does fail. Without institutional support an LOC may not survive.

TABLE 19

Institutional Support

Leader: I would like to say, like with the Black churches, they were responsible for a lot of the organization of African American community.

CBC partner: Yeah but their preachers backed them up. Their preachers were behind them all the way.

Leader: Yes I know but what happens is the Church is a very strong vehicle for organizing. However the leadership often wants to maintain the status quo and because of that they are afraid to do anything. [The Father] did support this but he didn't expect 600 people. He was going to have us meet in a classroom. When people started coming in he realized we would have to meet in the church to accommodate 600 people.

Leader: You have to remember that our LOC fell apart. It was really tough to follow up on this. The committee worked for a while but there was some confusion on the LOC about how we should try to look at the ten recommendations of the affordable housing commission, which actually looked at the problem instead of the separate taskforce that we asked for; it was the city's affordable housing commission, and how we should put pressure on the city to implement these. Then we were pretty close to that point when we actually lost one of our organizers, the organizer who had been working with us [closely]. We also had a pastor change at our church and the new pastor doesn't support community organizing. That was a big learning. So there were a number of reasons for why that LOC didn't continue. It didn't really have anything to do with what we were working on.

We learn that empowerment as facilitation (see discussion in chapter two) is fundamental to organizing, synergic power, and network-based leadership. In Table 20 below the leaders express how through training and taking on new leadership roles they built their confidence and were empowered. The organizer's response expresses how empowerment in CBC is more than just feeling capable; it is participation in leadership roles and exercising power through the ability to act.

TABLE 20

Empowerment is Fundamental

Question: OK, let me ask you, what does empowerment mean to you?

Leader: Well, I think it means looking at people who don't have a huge amount of education or do have a huge amount of education but not a lot of self-confidence, and watching them individually be trained, try out their skills, then receive further training and try out their skills in situations when the stakes are bigger the meeting is bigger and watching their confidence build. I've seen it happen in myself as a result of some of the training and I've watched other people in the organization say I can't do this and they do. It's not like it happens overnight but over a course of time. I'm thinking of a couple people in particular who weren't that confident they didn't have the English skills or whatever and they go when they meet with senators and... So that is what I would say, it's the transformation in these individual people. Then the question is, collectively watch that all come together and see what happens.

Leader: The first time [an organizer] gave me a prayer to lead and everything. It's hard if you didn't have very much confidence when you were growing up. It's hard to develop it. Then you see people giving you the chance to do it. I guess that is the best thing to do. Is to take it. In fact, with this leadership thing that was given to me I was able to go to a public meeting here in [the city] about affordable housing...within [the mobile home park].

Follow-up: You said with the training you learned to speak to people and you got...

Leader: That's one thing I really, I am not afraid, I can talk to...in California...I can talk to the President, anybody. I am not afraid I am not intimidated anymore like I use to be. I use to be...I wanted to say something and I use to pass on and let somebody else ask the question but it wouldn't be my question it would be their question. You know that was a choice.

Question: What about empowerment? What does it mean to you?

Organizer: I don't know. There are feelings of empowerment where people just feel like they are capable. Then there is the activity that people actually can act whereas before people just weren't engaged. They weren't part of anything to be able to do anything.

Also, training is central to organizing and the ability to use network-based leadership and synergic power. The training is how the leaders learn to be leaders, how they are empowered, and how they learn to organize. It is as good, according to one leader, as any other leadership training given in the corporate world.

Leader: Well this was my first engagement really with leadership training and I once upon a time was working in the corporate world. I had leadership at a Fortune 500 company in Chicago and what I got here was as good as or better than what I got working in a Fortune 500 company. I kid you not! Because this was like the nuts and bolts of how you contact people of influence. You spend a lot of time trying to figuring out who that is, is that the mayor, the city manager, is it some city council person, who is it that we need to talk to. We figured out that the city manager held a lot of power of [the city] at the time and a lot of influence over the mayor as well.

We were trained on how to do the credential, how to make the phone call, how to call like you are somebody important which you are even if you may not think that you are. Just even running our LOC meeting, just how important it is to put together an agenda, time frame, and stick to that so you can get something done. The [national organization] and our CBC culture around that, I mean, you learn a ton with being involved. Our organizers they learn and learn more stuff in order to teach us to pick up the skills and gained a lot of confidence doing that kind of stuff. And putting together a meeting, I mean, I never organized a meeting like that. There were only four or five of us organizing this meeting for like 280 people. Even press coverage and stuff like that; you learn how to contact the press. I was actually interviewed for TV afterwards, I mean, I was on TV and again, my organizer thinking through, okay this is sound bite time and you've got to get you a message through in like 30 seconds or less sound bite, because that's all they will put on TV. If we want our message to get out there, how do we think about how we talk about it?

Leadership development is really at the core of what CBC is all about. Anyway that we can figure out how to play that up more is really important I think. Actually doing leadership development that CBC's thing.

We learn from the organizer throughout and in the excerpt below, that a clear vision and purpose of CBC—to be a vehicle for leaders to exercise power and develop, is why the leaders remain engaged.

Question: I can hear some of the interviews I've had already as I listen to you. It gives the impression that a clear message is being sent to your leaders. Would you agree with that?

Organizer: Yeah I think it's pretty clear. For the leaders it's clear because of their involvement, because they know what they are engaged for, and what CBC does for them. So for them what the mission is is that CBC is a vehicle to help them be effective in changing their communities. The leadership development, the development of skills for them, is like a happy bonus. Most people don't get involved just for the learning. They come to appreciate that later.

Finally what we learn about the exercise of synergic power and network-based leadership, the fifth research question, is that appreciating interdependence (teaching how to participate in a web of relationships), and diversity (teaching an appreciation of our uniqueness and encouraging autonomy), is valuable and valued by this organization and its leaders. Throughout this chapter leaders have expressed an appreciation of their connectedness to others who are members of their churches and communities even when their experiences, status in society, or religious beliefs are different. Also expressed is an appreciation for diversity and the unique talents, skills, and power each possesses which allows them to lead. Consistently articulated in the leaders' own words has been a desire to meet the needs of the common good—all of which can be viewed in the excerpt below.

Leader: You know I mentioned that my dad he'd say you need to know a lot of people. Like, for me the connection, just being involved with the different kind of people, you know. We are so different but in a way we are the same, we work the same, we live the same. We live far away, you know long distance but when we get together, you know, from heart to heart, most people who got involved with this are a leader, because I think most people, there are thousands of exceptions, but most of us are doing it from our hearts and that's what really makes a difference. I'm not trying to do something for me or get something for me. I am trying to do this for somebody else and that's what makes the difference. I think that so many people they really want to help and they want to do it from their heart and not from anything else.

CHAPTER V

CHATHA

(Chat-ha; meaning completion)

Discussion

On Synergy

This study provides support for the exploration of power and leadership from a paradigm of synergy. In the case study the organization embraces interdependence through its understanding of the importance of relationships to achieve a common good. The organization also embraces diversity through its maintenance of the integrity of individual participants. The leaders in the study exercise their power collectively to generate change in their community in ways they could not have done alone. The leaders and organizers are empowering in that they facilitate the learning and expression of power in others. Also leadership is not individualistically divined through a person's character or position as much as it is through their relationships and network-based organizational structure.

On Leadership

To be clear it is not my intention as author of this study to create another leadership construct by referring to leaders in this study as network-based. The intention in the use of the term is to describe leadership behaviors, attitudes, and values that reflect a more relational, network, and horizontal understanding of leadership versus a hierarchical and vertical view. The term network-based leaders also acknowledges Putnam's findings which are discussed in detail in chapter one. Putnam found Southern Italy's economic performance—built upon an authoritarian leadership structure of vertical social networks, power asymmetries, exploitation,

and dependence, was far outpaced by Northern Italy's economic performance where the structure of leadership was horizontally arranged in associations which joined rough equals in mutual solidarity.

In chapter two several philosophers were discussed to provide some philosophical foundations to understanding leadership, power, and society. Like Nietzsche's philosophy, many leaders today see themselves as self-made and superior because of the strength of their wills. A review of Locke's philosophy supports a concept of leadership that is cooperative and horizontal. Leaders in this view are merely trustees; they are servants who enact the will of the people—people who are capable of leading themselves. In this way the relationship between leaders and followers is more horizontal than vertical. Locke believed the natural state of humans to be equality where power is reciprocal and no one person possesses more power than another. From the interview data presented in this study the philosophy of CBC and its leaders has more in common with the philosophy of Locke than Nietzsche.

There are similarities in Marx' consciousness of one's relation to the whole and CBC's pursuit of multiple issues. While each issue that CBC addresses may not affect each and every member, from the perspective of community well-being the issue affects the whole. This consciousness of the whole is one way in which Marx predicted that human emancipation would occur—as human beings begin to see themselves as species-beings they would be free. This shared philosophy is best demonstrated in the words of one leader who stated, “We are so different but in a way we are the same.” CBC also shares Marx' view that leaders are like guides, they emerge as needed, and that all humans are capable of leading themselves toward achievement of organizational goals. This is reflected in a CBC principle that everyone can be a leader.

The review of Aristotle and Plato provides models of behavioral and moral characteristics of leaders. Through Plato we can see some values that are shared by CBC's leaders. For example, leaders in the study stated that they sought wisdom and understanding—to be able to see clearly what was happening in the social and political environment. Also it was stated in the interview data that leaders act on behalf of their followers and constituents; a statement which is similar to Plato's leaders who act on behalf of those who providence has placed under their rule. Employing a 'take what is beneficial and leave the rest' strategy, Aristotle's teachings that leaders seek the ultimate good for themselves and others is useful for understanding leadership in this study.

It must be said that Aristotle has had an incomparable influence on modern societies throughout the ages. It is the spirit and soul of his leaders which should continue to influence our understanding of the capacity of leaders to be more. For example, the leaders and members of CBC approach Putnam's citizens in the ideal civic community (see Table 1). Like Putnam's citizens, leaders actively participate in public affairs, pursue self-interests within the context of public needs, have equal rights and obligations, are helpful, respectful, and trustful toward one another, and are members of an *association* (CBC) which embodies and reinforces the norms and values of their civic community. To the degree CBC's leaders exhibit the behaviors of Putnam's citizens they could also be considered servant leaders.

On Servant Leadership

Greenleaf (2002) like Aristotle and Plato seems to suggest that the vast majority of people are born to be followers and others leaders. Also like Plato and Aristotle he believed that these leaders needed training to enhance their natural ability. However, Greenleaf offers a unique twist on what Aristotle saw as the distinct classes of servants and freemen, in which you

were born to be eternally and generationally one or the other and what Plato saw as the potential of people, regardless of their class, to have the rational soul of a leader. For Aristotle and Plato those born to lead were virtuous and selfless, serving the common good. For Greenleaf the natural servant, born with the potential to lead, and who does lead, is a servant leader. “The servant leader *is* servant first (Greenleaf, 2002, p.27).”

In 1969 Greenleaf (2002) wrote that a shift in our understanding of power and authority were occurring. Though this shift had and has yet to become a major force in shaping society, people are beginning to relate to each other less coercively and more cooperatively. Allegiance to authority granted freely and knowingly is increasingly “in response to, and in proportion to, the clearly evident servant stature of the leader” (Greenleaf, 2002, p.24). This principle was expressed by one leader in the study who claimed his leadership was sustained by the willingness of his followers to follow him. They knew him, understood what he was trying to do for them and himself, and they trusted him. This leader and others expressed the importance of doing one-to-ones when they listen to the concerns, fears, and needs of their followers. The ability to listen is a key component of Greenleaf’s servant leader. “True listening,” he says, “builds strength in other people (Greenleaf, 2002, p.31).”

On the Connected Age and Network Society

Castells’ Network Society has received some attention (seen in edited volumes: Castells, 2004; Schuler & Day, 2004) and offers a theory which provides an interesting opportunity to further explore macro level network phenomena using social network analysis. How far Castells’ Network Society can take us empirically is unknown as societies are still defined by nation-states and culturally historical boundaries (Castells, 2004). If we are indeed in a Connected Age, and Castells’ theory of a Network Society has truth, then Aristotle’s view of

some born to subjugation and others to rule, unchecked, can lead to what Skinner (1976) warned was a real threat to countries with powerful weaponry and war industries—the threat that comes from countries who have next to nothing. In other words, the more connected countries become through financial markets or other networks the more vulnerable and reachable by other countries or networks, regardless of the strength of their war technology.

Also, if as Castells concludes our society is a network society, then we must place at the center of our analyses the question of the network capacity of institutions, organizations, and social actors, both locally and globally. In this study the question is whether the organization of interest is a network-based organization, structurally and functionally. The data suggests the organization is structurally and functionally a network-based organization. The organization of study and its members share what Juris (2004) calls the cultural logic of networking.

This logic specifically involves an embedded and embodied set of social and cultural dispositions that orient actors toward: (1) building horizontal ties and connections among diverse, autonomous elements; (2) the free and open circulation of information; (3) collaboration through decentralized coordination and directly democratic decision-making; and (4) self-directed or self-managed networking. (Juris, 2004, p. 342)

Juris (2004) in his exploration of the dynamics of networking within global social movements suggests that networks are becoming “increasingly associated with values related to grassroots participatory democracy, self-management, horizontal connectedness, and decentralized coordination based on autonomy and diversity (ibid, p.342). He believes the cultural logic of networking provides “a model for emerging forms of directly democratic politics on local, regional, and global scales” (ibid, p.342). Both the values expressed in the logic of networking, and the model of organizational forms that are emerging from that logic, reflect the logic and organization of CBC, albeit at a local level.

Juris suggests that beyond the model of democratic participation exemplified by organizations like CBC, a new model is emerging of grassroots democracy coordinated at the local, regional, and global levels. They are grassroots network-based movements that can generate new political norms that transcend the market and the state in the emerging global civil society (Juris, 2004). The organization of study, CBC, does not identify as a social movement and its members do not, in general, identify as activists. However, CBC reflects a type of social movement, as defined by Juris, in that it renders power visible, exposes conflicts, and represents a flexibly coordinated and direct participation organizational form while “applying grassroots pressure to institutional actors, who ultimately process and implement political proposals” (Juris, 2004, p.356).

On Power

The organization of study is both an empowered and empowering organization because it successfully influences policy decisions and provides opportunities for people to gain control over their lives (Zimmerman, 2000). Control in this context involves the exercise of power to affect one’s own ends. It does not refer to control that means influence over others in a way that preferences one’s own interests at the expense of others. In the local and public arena where this organization is empowered, social power is usually being exercised in the context of conflict. The organization’s style of organizing evolved from Alinsky’s understanding of social power—that is power exercised in the context of conflictual relations.

While cooperation and mutual aid are cognitively important to our understanding of human nature, power, and leadership, conflict still retains its hegemony. Even in CBC where it has been demonstrated that synergic power is present there are still leaders who view their work as a struggle between groups (struggle between themselves and those “in power”) for limited

resources. Some of these leaders do view themselves as activists. Organizing people to exercise collective power—struggle by groups against adverse circumstances—is a process and as the director stated in chapter four he still has to work to convince some leaders that it is in their best interest to collaborate with others who in the traditional conflict model of organizing would be seen as enemies. The presence of activist-type members and those who do not see themselves as activists in CBC in some ways poses a contradiction.

The contradiction is that leaders who view themselves as activists are prone to understand power as individually possessed and exercised in contention with others; leaders who do not see themselves as activists are likely to understand power as a collective phenomenon and exercised in relation and cooperation with others. While potentially problematic for CBC, this contradiction does not have to be problematic for the interpretation of the results if it is acknowledged that power in ordinary discourse and practice operates as power-over and power-to. As stated in the second chapter of this study it is not my intention to claim that the power-to nature of social power is the most relevant for study or the most relevant to social reality. My intention throughout has been to explore the power-to nature of social power while acknowledging the dual nature of social power as also power-over.

Many of the theories of power reviewed for this study in some ways also acknowledge that social power exists in both forms, albeit exercised in the context of conflictual relations. For example, the Hobbesian social contract that allows persons to obtain peace by avoiding war has characteristics of both forms of power. In this example an individual who gives up his right to benefit from his own power does not forfeit all of his rights or lose his ability to exercise power. Although it can be said that the person who receives the rights of an individual now has power over that individual, the individual still retains his power to resist the power exercised over him.

This resistance would not be met without consequences but Hobbes taught there are some rights which an individual cannot be forced to give up (Cawthon, 2002). It is the option of resistance in which the individual can be considered to retain some of his power.

While CBC does exercise power in the context of conflict, it also exercises social power in the context of relationships. For example in chapter four an excerpt by the director of CBC expressed the organization's willingness to work with opponents in a relational and non-confrontational context in order to achieve the goal of a common good. It is this orientation that is evolved from the Alinskian conflictual approach to exercising power. This orientation also makes CBC suitable for the exploration of social power in a relational context.

The relational models of power more than the conflictual models discussed in chapter two provide a helpful frame in which to understand social power that is more cooperative than competitive. Specifically, Arendt's theory of social power was relied on heavily in the study. To summarize her theory, which is discussed more fully in chapter two, social power is the human ability to act in concert with others. It is power that is not the property of an individual but a "property" of a group situated in the public realm where people meet, relate, and act on issues of common interests for the common good (Hinze, 1995). This description of social power could easily be used as a general description of how the organizing process works in CBC.

The other relational model of power discussed was that of Foucault where power again is situated in a conflictual context and evidence of both forms of social power are present. It is distinguishable from the behaviorist and conflictual models of power reviewed before it because Foucault believes power should be seen as relations of force. It is like energy in that it does not exist in a substantive sense. He claims individuals are the vehicles of power, even as power is

exercised relationally as domination and resistance of domination. It is this dynamic and changing expression of power, “never localized here or there, never in anybody’s hands... employed and exercised through a net-like organization (Foucault, 1980, p.98)” which also makes his theory of value to this study. In CBC the individuals and their relational ties to persons and organizations—that is their networks, are the vehicle in which they access and exercise power.

Castells presents power in which the “processes of power-making must be seen from two perspectives: on the one hand, seizing and/or enforcing power and on the other hand, resisting power, on behalf of interests, values, and projects that are excluded or under-represented in the programs of the networks. Analytically, both processes ultimately configure power structures through their interaction (ibid, p.34).” In this sense power possesses the dynamic and changing characteristic present in Foucault’s theory of power even as it also possesses the struggle-repression schema of Foucault’s theory. Again, while CBC does exercise power in resistance and on behalf of interests that are often not reflected in public policy, it also exercises power relationally and creatively to help generate new policies that address the concerns and interests of its leaders and their constituents.

On Power in the Network Society

According to Castells “in the network society, power is redefined, but it does not vanish. Nor do social struggles. Domination and resistance to domination change in character according to the specific social structure from which they originate and which they modify their action (ibid, p.36).” The network, its formation, and the strategies of offense and defense characteristic of its design are for example how the vertically organized industrial corporation provided the material basis for the industrial bourgeoisie (dominating group) *and* the labor movement

(resistance) (Castells, 2004). Based on the discussion of Castells' theory in chapter one, power is exercised in the network when the program that defines the network is altered. Castells proposes this is very difficult to do and almost impossible for those who are outside of the global network society.

Castells (2004) further suggests it is only the actors and networks of actors called programmers and switchers who exercise power in the network society (see Castells, 2004, pages 32-34 for a discussion). He claims the majority of people in the world and in advanced societies are members of the "generic labor" pool. They are disposable and he sees them eventually replaced by machines or low cost production sites unless through collective action "they assert their right to exist as humans and citizens" (Castells, 2004, p.26). Whether this collective action is in the form of a social movement or community organizing at the local, regional, or global level it involves a commitment to help people establish democratic control over their daily lives (Juris, 2004).

On Empowerment

When introduced to community psychology by Rappaport (1981) the empowerment agenda was expected to enhance the voices and interests of "outsiders" so they could gain control over their lives. In empowerment research and praxis the emphasis became the individual gaining control over his daily life. In general this individual participates in local democratic processes and gains a critical understanding of his social environment. This emphasis on the individual has been criticized and efforts have been made to view and link empowerment to social phenomena (Speer & Hughey, 1995; Speer et al, 2001; Peterson et al, 2005). Interactional empowerment, as it is defined and discussed in chapter two, was an attempt

to link empowerment to social power. In some ways it measures what Greenleaf (2002) describes as the covert and subtly manipulative form of coercive power.

Greenleaf states that “most of us are more coerced than we know. We need to be more alert in order to know, and we also need to acknowledge that, in an imperfect world, authority backed up by power is still necessary because we just don’t know a better way” (ibid, p.55). He further states, hopefully, “We may one day find one. It is worth searching for (ibid, p.55).” In some ways, interactional empowerment measures people’s alertness and sensitivity to the subtle ways in which coercive power operates in our imperfect world. This study is an attempt to make visible an alternate understanding of the ways in which power operates in our social world. Further it is an attempt to show how through a paradigm of synergy, citizens, organizers, activists, and formal, legitimized leaders, can exercise power that is generative and, like energy, expands as it is shared.

On CBC

The organization in its organizing process offers an alternative to a conflict-driven model of social power. The organization offers a relational model of power in which social power is exercised collectively. Given its emphasis on training and empowerment it could be said that this is a learning organization; it has the infrastructure and culture to support organizational learning (Perkins, Bess, Cooper, Jones, Armstead, & Speer, in press). This organization, like other small community organizations, has persisted through dire financial circumstances as it has been operating in a high need, low resource environment, with a limited budget and unstable funding streams (Perkins, et al, in press). In fact, shortly after the conclusion of data collection for this study the director of the organization left due to funding issues. There is only one organizer left at CBC. It is unfortunate that because of capacity (one organizer and few active

LOC's) and funding issues and not because of the quality of their work or their ability to impact the community the organization may not survive.

On CBC compared to CFN

CFN is the pseudonym of another faith-based community organization and is located in Nashville, Tennessee (Perkins et al, in press). Like CBC it is a community organizing organization that is a member of a national community organizing network which traces its roots to the organizing legacy of Alinsky. On the surface CFN and CBC are very similar: they address community issues that affect their members, provide opportunities for their members to participate in a wide range of organizational roles, and are vehicles for the exercise of political power by persons "otherwise excluded from more traditional power-based decision-making arenas" (Perkins et al, in press, p.17). Individuals in both organizations can learn the organizing process and deepen their understanding of issues in their respective communities. In this way CBC and CFN provide opportunities for organizational learning at the individual and community levels (see Perkins et al, in press).

CBC has leaders who are members of LOCs (each faith-based organization/ congregation in CBC has its own LOC), organizers, a board, and a director; CFN has a regional director, a director, a board, a leadership team, and volunteers who are members of research teams (there is a research team for every issue; they are not directly matched to each member church/congregation). In CBC issues are identified through a process of ongoing one-to-ones by the organizer, director, and key leaders (see chapter four). In CFN issues are identified once every four years through a process of house meetings for each member congregation and one-to-ones conducted by the director, organizers, and key leaders. This is the espoused description of how issues are identified; in practice issues in CFN are also identified unilaterally by the regional

director. Compared to CFN, CBC leaders (read volunteers for comparison purposes) through LOCs have greater autonomy and control over the issues they pursue; in CFN the regional director and director have control over the issues pursued.

A map of the communication network structure of CFN (see Figures 6) illustrates that in CFN the most prominent actors or group of actors—actors with the most visibility to other actors because of relational ties (Wasserman & Faust, 1994), are the director (4 bidirectional ties) and regional director (3 bidirectional ties). Communication to and from the research teams is mediated by the director. The organization is more hierarchical in its structure and the flow of communication to and from its volunteers.

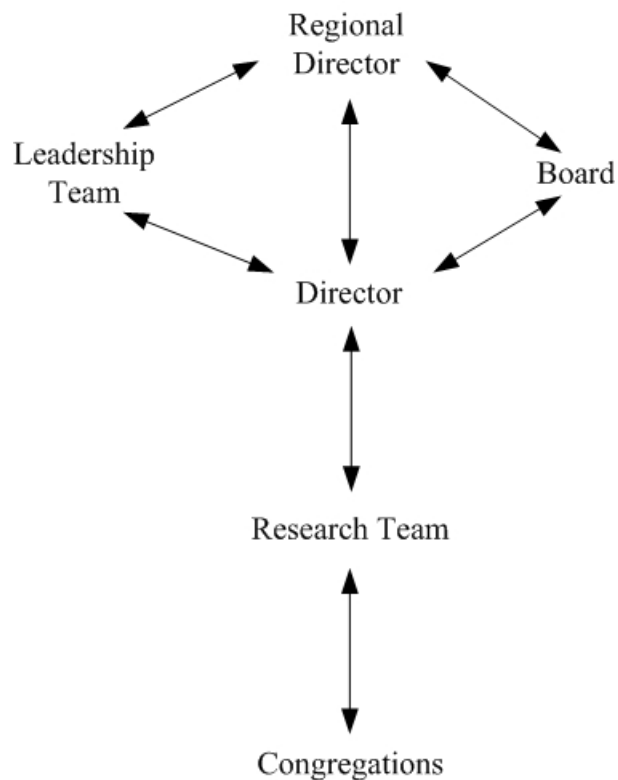


Figure 6 Map of the Communication Network of CFN

A map of the communication network structure of CBC shows the most prominent actors or group of actors are the director and organizer with three bidirectional ties. They are followed closely however by the board and LOCs with two bidirectional ties. Given the description of the role of the board provided by a leader in chapter four—“we (the board) are kind of at the highest level; well we are very flat organization, when I say high level I mean broad view of the whole organization”, CBC is more horizontal in its structure and the flow of communication to and from its leaders.

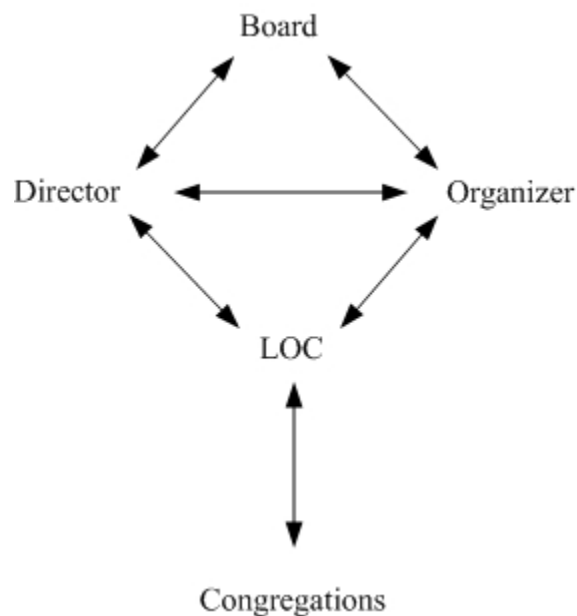


Figure 7 Map of the Communication Network of CBC

I had a relationship with both CBC and CFN and could have approached CFN instead of CBC to be the case for this study. I chose CBC because their organizational structure was more of a horizontal network; CBC has more equivalency in the status and power of the different groups of actors in the organization and the majority of actors have a greater potential ability to communicate with all other groups of actors in the network (see discussion of organizational

analysis in chapter three). Although it is possible that CFN exercises synergic power and has network-based leaders, the organization is more of a vertical network. There are unequal statuses and unequal power of actors and communication between groups of actors in the network is limited. These factors combined made CFN less than ideal for an *exploratory* study of synergic power; again this does not mean that they may not exercise synergic power. Other process and structural reasons why CBC was approached over CFN are:

1. Relationships in practice are not valued the same way in CFN as in CBC.
2. CBC leverages leader networks to act on issues while CFN leverages volunteers
3. CFN refers to their volunteers as volunteers and key leaders as leaders which is somewhat less psychologically empowering than CBC's reference to volunteers and key leaders as leaders
4. Communication network aside, structurally there are more levels between volunteers in CFN and the director than in CBC
5. There are more bureaucratic structures in CFN which could create further distinctions, separations, confusion, and competition among key leaders who serve on the leadership team, board, and on the research action teams with the volunteers
6. In CFN volunteers are provided opportunities to participate in meetings generated by the director and organizer (top-down); in CBC meetings are also generated by the leaders (bottom-up)

Most of the reasons listed above address issues of unequal status and power within CFN which make it less useful for exploring synergic power. CFN is also less than ideal for exploring network-based leaders. As stated in chapter two, network-based leaders leverage relational networks to exercise power for the common good. Also, network-based leaders empower their

followers by creating an organizational culture that reflects the attitudes and beliefs of connective leaders—which includes creating broad-based democratic institutions. CFN is somewhat undemocratic in its decision-making process (Perkins et al, in press).

While both organizations attempt to develop new leaders and to do leadership development, in CBC primacy is placed on leadership development and in CFN it is placed on developing new leaders. This slight but important difference in orientation manifests in different organizational goals and culture. CFN is more concerned with getting as many new people into different roles in the organization as possible therefore to receive a role at their research meeting all you have to do is show up to the planning meeting and be available. CBC is more concerned with developing the leaders they have therefore roles at research meetings are determined based on the development, willingness, and availability of a leader. Volunteers and potential new leaders in CFN become involved because of the reputation of the organization or a desire to work on issues identified by the organization (Perkins et al, in press) as important to the community. Leaders in CBC additionally become involved because of their relationships to other members. The emphasis on leadership development and the involvement of new leaders through relationships may produce a deeper identification with and commitment to the goals and vision of CBC by its leaders.

Study Implications

For Leadership in Organizations

Organizational leaders who want to cultivate synergic power in their organization should begin to value relationships as Wheatley (1999) suggests physicists value relationships (see chapter two for discussion). Understanding the importance of relationships is critical to

appreciating interdependence which is a central theme of the synergy paradigm, synergic power, and network-based leadership. Leaders must come to understand that it is through relational ties that the values, culture, vision, and ethics in organizations are communicated. Network-based leaders are aware that activity in an organization is enabled and constrained by the structure of relational ties. The other central theme to the concepts above is diversity. Leaders who want to nurture synergic power in their organization should maintain the integrity of individual participants and groups. Leaders must create a 'field' (see Wheatley discussion in chapter two) in the organization in which a clear sense of organizational identity and individual freedom within the bounds of that identity can flourish allowing the organization to transform, grow, remain viable, and true. Leaders must also develop more leaders.

Leaders in organizations have increasingly been asked to empower their followers. Empowerment from a scarcity paradigm which views power as zero-sum, a limited pie, would require power to be redistributed in order to address the power differential in the organizations that are disempowering. Empowerment from a paradigm of synergy which views power as energy—unlimited, would require power to be shared and a willingness of leaders and followers to believe that as they share power their own power will grow and so will the power of others in the organization. Empowerment from a paradigm of synergy places an emphasis on the relationships in the empowerment process—this emphasis allows us to appreciate that empowerment is not the product of individual actions. Empowerment is the product of relational interaction between leaders and their followers, experts and their clients, public health professionals and the community. Empowerment is a social phenomenon.

For Practice

In practice, empowerment is problematic from the relational perspective of the synergy paradigm when it is applied in a paternalistic and authoritarian manner (Minkler et al, 2001). Similar to the assumptions in Shearer and Reed's (2004) reformulated empowerment theory (see chapter two), professionals with empowerment agendas from a paradigm of synergy should assume that power is accessible to all humans not just to those whose expertise, knowledge, or birth places them in positions of power- over others. This assumption would also be helpful for professionals who already employ a strength-based approach—focusing on the positive skills, knowledge, and resources each partner brings to the table, to public health initiatives or community partnerships (such as business-community, university- community, and government agency-community partnerships) but have yet to discard their authoritarian and paternalistic stance.

Professionals who seek to exercise synergic power should seek opportunities to facilitate the empowerment of others and not to empower them. They should assume the very process of working together and sharing information, knowledge and skills with others will allow for creatively achieved outcomes that meet every stakeholder's interests (including their own) often better than each stakeholder could alone. Therefore professionals should seek opportunities to collaborate with others including former adversaries to meet identified interests. Professionals should attend to the existing network structure around an issue; they should seek to cultivate, develop, and maintain relationships within the network structure to achieve mutual goals.

For Community Action and Social Change

In chapter two, empowerment for social justice was discussed from the individualistic perspective of the scarcity paradigm—suggesting power is limited and power relations are

dominated by a philosophy of ‘every man for himself’, as the efforts of those who have power to work with those who do not in order to enhance the ability of the have-nots to resist the power of others over them. From a paradigm of synergy which assumes everybody already possesses power because of their capacity for action, empowerment for social justice is the facilitation of the power of persons, who perceive themselves powerless, to act on behalf of their interests in power-based arenas. Retaining empowerment’s emphasis on relationships and the interdependence of social actors, from a synergy paradigm persons who act on behalf of their own interests do so with the recognition that they are part of a whole and seek their own interests in relation to the common good. Therefore the first implication for action and change is to identify common interests.

In chapter two, empowerment for social change was discussed as the efforts of those who have power to help those who do not have power gain control over their lives. Assuming again that everyone already possesses power and moving from a scarcity paradigm to a paradigm of synergy, empowerment for social change is the facilitation of the power of persons, who perceive themselves powerless, to gain control over their lives by exercising power to affect their own ends. Control is not influence over others which preferences one’s own interests at the expense of others. With this understanding of control and retaining the central themes of interdependence and diversity, I borrow from Juris (2004) to suggest collective social action from a paradigm of synergy is a commitment by people to act together to establish democratic control over their daily lives. The second and third clear implications for action and social change become: acting on behalf of your common interests with others and acting to build broad-based democratic institutions through collective action.

A Word of Caution

Admittedly the implications so far do not provide concrete and practical strategies for the application of synergic power in organizations and empowerment initiatives. Due to the exploratory nature of the study and the developmental stage of synergic power, prescriptive strategies for employing synergic power would and should be suspect. Until more studies can be conducted and the theory can be articulated more fully it is my hope that practitioners will continue to do what they have always done with the efforts of theorists—take what they need and leave the rest. Like empowerment theory, synergic power will be applied differently in different contexts depending on the needs of the particular context. This point is made not as an excuse for the lack of clarity synergic power provides right now but in recognition that as the players, the goals, and the contexts change, so will the potential of the outcomes. That is at least the only hopeful and prescriptive application of synergic power I am willing to give at this point. With these words of caution I am hopeful that the synergy paradigm, synergic power, and the concept of network-based leaders will allow us to create together solutions to the local, regional, and global problems that face us today—solutions that will be mutually beneficial meeting the needs and interests of all involved.

Future Studies

While there are some limitations to this study (see Appendix I) it does provide a conceptual foundation on which further empirical and quantitative studies can be constructed. For example, a next step in the research and development of synergic power is to develop a scale that can measure people's understanding of social power from a cooperative, rather than conflict-driven, frame. This will allow me, the author, to test whether an alternate understanding of

social power from that measured in the Armstead (2004) study could lead to higher levels of trust. This study will also allow me to continue to explore the model of successful collaborations (see model in chapter three) in which it is hypothesized that successful collaborations are the product of shared power and high levels of trust conditioned on minimal risk to power and status of interested stakeholders.

Social network analysis (SNA) can be used to explore two features of synergic power—how power expands and resources become accessible throughout an organization. Future studies using SNA include looking at the social network structure of organizations that are empowering and/or empowered to better understand how resources, information, and opportunities flow in general through these types of organizations. Also using SNA I can explore how important organizational size and horizontal, decentralized network structures are to the capacity of an organization to exercise synergic power. I hypothesize, like CBC, smaller organizations benefit from a more horizontal and decentralized network structure (the most decentralized structure resembling a circle) in their ability to exercise synergic power. Larger organizations may benefit from a more horizontal and centralized network structure (the most centralized structure resembling a star or cross centered around one actor or group of actors). I further hypothesize that organizations with vertical network structures that are more centralized are least capable of exercising synergic power.

APPENDIX A

Interview Protocol

The “semi-structured” interview is designed with a fairly open framework to allow for focused, conversational, two-way communication. Unlike a questionnaire, where fixed questions are formulated ahead of time, semi-structured interviewing asks questions focused on broad issues or topics and follow-up questions may be asked to help clarify or illuminate the response. In such a process, new issues or themes may emerge wherein follow-up questions will be asked, allowing both the interviewer and the person being interviewed the flexibility to probe for details or discuss issues.

Below are some possible questions and follow-up questions around the themes of leadership development, empowerment, and participation. No questions will be asked or followed-up about unrelated issues (work settings, school settings, family settings, etc.) or personal issues (financial status, lifestyle choices, sexual matters, etc.).

Questions:

Leadership Development

What does it mean to be a leader?

How are leaders developed in your organization?

For example, is there a training program for leaders?

Are leaders developed through experience?

How many leaders would you say your organization has right now?

Why?

Would this organization function well with more (or less) leaders?

What would you say the role of a leader is?

Empowerment

Who has “the power” in your organization?

Can more than one person in an organization have power?

Do you have power?

What is the source of your power?

If power was defined as the ability to meet one’s own ends, would you consider yourself as possessing power?

What does empowerment mean to you?

Are you empowered by your role in the organization?

What is your role in the organization?

What resources are available in your organization? (I’ll provide examples)

What resources are valued by your organization?

Do other community- based organizations value the same resources as yours?

Do you have access to the valued resources of your organization?

Would you say one person controls the valued resources or are they shared?

Is leadership a resource?

Participation

When participating in the activities of the organization would you say you work in teams or alone?

Tell me about an issue you worked on with others in the organization?

What happened?

What did you all accomplish?

Could you have accomplished the same things if you worked alone?

Why or why not?

How did the thing you accomplished meet your needs?

How did it meet the needs of others in your organization?

Did anyone outside of your organization benefit?

Did you ever think an issue you worked on with others in your organization could have been handled by only one person?

If yes, can you explain why?

APPENDIX B

Letter from CBC Director to Members

November 14, 2005

Dear CBC supporter,

We are asking you to participate in an interview that is being conducted by Theresa Armstead, from Vanderbilt University. We have been working with persons at Vanderbilt for almost five years as part of the longest study ever conducted on community organizing.

The focus of the interview is to support us as we explore ways to utilize our own internal resources in more effective ways as we work to improve the quality of life in Colorado.

You are receiving this letter because you have been selected at random from among CBC's membership as a potential interviewee. The interview would last for about one hour and can be held in a place you feel comfortable.

With regard to your participation in the interview, here are several important points for you to know:

1. Your participation is completely voluntary. You can choose to participate or not participate. If you do participate, you can choose to not respond to any question or to terminate the interview at any time.
2. Your individual identity will not be revealed. Although we will provide Theresa your name and address, she will keep your name confidential and any results she provides will not identify any individual participating in the study.
3. Your decision to participate or not participate will not impact CBC in any way.

If you have questions about the interviews you can contact Theresa Armstead [insert phone number].

Sincerely,

Director

APPENDIX C

Letter from Researcher to CBC Members

November 14, 2005

Dear CBC supporter,

I believe community organizations with missions toward social change have unique, creative, and responsive approaches to leadership development, empowerment, and participation. I would like to interview you to better understand how these things work in your organization.

The interview will be used for understanding these processes at a group level. This means that no information given during the interview will be reported on an individual basis. What will happen is any information given will be analyzed and reported at a group level by only revealing general themes or quotes that do not identify the person interviewed.

What is learned from the interview will allow CBC to strengthen some processes in the organization and capitalize on other processes in the organization that better support the work you all do.

Interviews should last no more than one hour and will be tape recorded unless you request otherwise. If you do not wish to be tape recorded I will take notes. No matter what you decide I will protect your identity by locking away the notes and interview tapes and keeping the typed interviews in a password protected computer.

You will be contacted by phone to see if you are willing to participate and to set up a location and time for the interview. Both the location and time will be based on what is most helpful to you. At the time of the interview you will be given a consent form that explains the purpose of the interview and informs you of your right to stop the interview at any time.

If you have any questions about the interviews you can contact Theresa Armstead at [insert phone number].

I look forward to the opportunity to speak with you,

Theresa Armstead

APPENDIX D

Observation Checklist

Date of Meeting _____ Location of Meeting _____

I1: What type of meeting is it?

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Planning | <input type="checkbox"/> Board |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Research | <input type="checkbox"/> Action |
| <input type="checkbox"/> LOC | <input type="checkbox"/> Clergy |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Staff | <input type="checkbox"/> Fundraising |

I2: Whose meeting is it? (Name of LOC or LOC's holding the meeting)

I3: Are there CBC members present who are affiliated with an LOC other than the host LOC(s)?

- Yes
 No

I4: How many are in attendance?

- (number of people)
 (ratio of CBC staff to members to guests)

I5: Who calls the meeting to order?

- Lead organizer
 Key leader
 Host CBC Member
 Guest

I6: Does anyone initiate a topic not on the agenda?

- Yes
 No

If yes, who?

- Lead organizer
 Key leader
 Host CBC Members
 Other CBC members or Guests

I7: What non-agenda topics are discussed? (Topic may not be important)

- I8: According to the agenda, who does the opening prayer?

- I9: Did this person do the opening prayer at the last meeting I attended?
 Yes Not applicable
 No
- I10: According to the agenda, who does _____ (fill in based on type of meeting)?

- I11: Did this person do _____ (same as above) at the last meeting I attended?
 Yes Not applicable
 No
- I12: According to the agenda, who does _____ (fill in based on type of meeting)?

- I13: Did this person do _____ (same as above) at the last meeting I attended?
 Yes Not applicable
 No
- I14: According to the agenda, who does _____ (fill in based on type of meeting)?

- I15: Did this person do _____ (same as above) at the last meeting I attended?
 Yes Not applicable
 No
- I16: Does anyone leave the meeting before it adjourns?
 Yes
 No

Roles	Descriptions	Present (Yes or No)	Member Type
Initiator	Recommends novel ideas about the problem at hand, new ways to approach the problem, or possible solutions not yet considered		
Information giver	Provides data for forming decisions, including facts that derive from expertise		
Opinion giver	Provides opinions, values, and feelings		
Elaborator	Gives additional information—examples, rephrasings, implications—about points made by others		
Coordinator	Shows the relevance of each idea and its relationship to the overall problem		
Orienter	Refocuses discussion on the topic whenever necessary		
Evaluator	Appraises the quality of the group's methods, logic, and results		
Energizer	Stimulates the group to continue working when discussion flags		
Procedural Technician	Cares for operational details, such as the materials and machinery		
Gatekeeper and expediter	Smooths communication by setting up procedures and ensuring equal participation from members		
Standard setter	Expresses, or calls for discussion of, standards for evaluating the quality of the group process		
Block	Negativistic; resists the group's influence; opposes group unnecessarily		
Aggressor	Expresses disapproval of acts, ideas, feelings of others; attacks the group		
Dominator	Asserts authority or superiority; manipulative		
Evader and self-confessor	Expresses personal interests, feelings, opinions unrelated to group goals		
Help Seeker	Expresses insecurity, confusion, self-deprecation		
Recognition Seeker	Calls attention to him or herself; self-aggrandizing		

From Forsyth, 1999

APPENDIX E

Observation Checklist—Coding

Item 1 What type of meeting is it?

Option 1: Planning

One of the least structured meetings, possibly with no agenda. There may not be guests attending the meeting. The best meeting type for observing the presence of leadership development opportunities.

Option 2: Research

This meeting will probably have an agenda. There will be at least one outside person. It is the best meeting type for observing participation and empowerment through roles. Who does what tasks during the meeting? Who has the power to open and adjourn the meeting?

Option 3: LOC

This meeting may not have an agenda but probably should. This is the meeting where key leaders in the organization will shine and may hold the most leadership roles. This is also the meeting type where new leaders could be identified and asked to step up and serve in upcoming leadership roles.

Option 4: Staff

This meeting will most likely not have an agenda. During this meeting topics such as LOC development and leadership development may be discussed. This meeting however will mostly address capacity issues related to the organizations activities.

Option 5: Board

I doubt there will be an opportunity to observe one of these. I am not sure what the focus of the discussions would be but I do know that these members are also part of active (or once active) LOC's and may still be filling the leadership roles of these groups.

Option 6: Action

I doubt there will be an opportunity to observe an action. This type of meeting will provide opportunities for many leadership roles to be filled. It would be interesting to see who would be responsible for different tasks during this type of meeting.

Option 7: Clergy

This meeting may have an agenda. The focus will probably be on clergy development. The Clergy in this organization are key authority figures whose support is important if LOC's are to be successful. The development of clergy is different from the development of leaders; and while I am not sure what I will be able to observe I think observations here would still be rich.

Option 8: Fundraising

It is perhaps a false understanding of this meeting type to think of it as a fair but that is my metaphor. There is perhaps no agenda. However, as with other meeting types there will be many leadership roles to fill. This event is key to the future financial capacity of the organization so it will be interesting to see whether leadership development is as salient here as with other meeting types.

Item 2 Whose meeting is it?

This item is important because a developing or redeveloping LOC may not already have key leaders. If it is an active and long-time LOC it may have key leaders and roles may not be cycled as often as with new or redeveloping LOC's.

Item 3 Are there CBC members present who affiliated with an LOC other than the host LOC(s)?

If there are members present besides the host LOC then it will be interesting to see how they are involved and how their participation is received. Also participation by other LOC members speaks to the related values of interdependence as present in synergic communities.

Item 4 How many are in attendance?

This item will provide information relevant to how many people are available to fill leadership roles.

Item 5 Who calls the meeting to order?

This item addresses a specific role during a meeting in which different persons can serve who are lead organizers, key leaders, host members, or others. The interest here is to see different people in this role especially during LOC meetings, research meetings, and actions.

*If at all possible a copy of the meeting agenda will be obtained to better note items 6- 12.

Item 6 Does anyone initiate a topic not on the agenda?

An important role of a leader is to be an initiator. This item is a sensor for who gets to act as initiator in the meetings. Important here is to see that it isn't always the lead organizers or key leaders who introduce topics.

Item 7 What non-agenda topics are discussed?

I am not quite sure how this item will contribute but it is important for some of the other goals of the study to keep track of the kinds of things that are important to the members.

Item 8 According to the agenda, who does the opening prayer?

A key component to leadership development is the opportunity to hold certain positions or visibly serve in certain roles. The opening prayer serves an important function in the organization and it may be that convenience determines who fills this need or it may be preplanned. Whether it is determined on the spot or ahead of time who serves in this role, it will be interesting to see if the decisions reflect the values of the organization.

Item 9 Did this person do the opening prayer at the last meeting I attended?

This item is designed to observe whether this role is cycled or held by the same person every time. Ideally it will be cycled to reflect the goal of leadership development and the value of participation and empowerment.

Item 10-15 (a) According to the agenda, who does _____(fill in based on type of meeting)?

These items serve the same purpose as items 8 and 9.

Item 16 Does anyone leave the meeting before it adjourns?

This item is probably more relevant to the claim that the meetings are public and people are free to come and go as they please.

APPENDIX F

Affordable Housing Issue Work

Leader P: So the concern had come from the one-to-ones with people in our church community who said I have kids who grew up here and want to stay here in [the city] but they can't afford it. They are teachers, nurses, and whatever and they are never going to afford to buy a home here. So I would say it was a small win with the city, we did have several city Council people there, three I think, and plus the mayor. We asked for a task force like a separate task force that would look at city code and city policy around development and answer the question why was it all the new construction around town seemed to be these big huge houses that cost over her \$200,000, and nothing that would... we were looking for what would be affordable for people at like 80% of area median income. At that time that was 140,000 to \$150,000 homes. So I would say it was a little win they didn't actually put together a separate task force but they kind of referred the issue to an existing city committee but several of us sat in on those meetings and there were a series of recommendations made to the city and overtime a couple of those recommendations have been implemented by the city which I think has made a moderate impact on our housing situation.

Follow-up: For example?

Leader P: Well one of the things was to do a public awareness campaign about what it means to talk about affordable housing. It doesn't mean, I think people sometimes think it means put in a high rise housing project somewhere and some of the problems that may come with that like if you think of a more urban setting than [the city]. So they did a poster campaign to try to put a face on public housing; this is about your child's teacher who earns \$25,000 a year when she first starts in the school district and she can't afford to buy a house here. It's about the nurse takes care of you in the hospital, this is about the firefighters, you know.

So that was one thing and what the real problems with the city's development review process were extremely long and required developers to put a lot of work into a development plan. So of course they are going to build these bigger houses. They have to invest so much money up front that in order to turn a profit, they got to be confident that they can sell these more expensive houses in order to pay back all of the pre-work costs. So the city has looked at that and I haven't been familiar with the details since then but they have looked at that and I think there have been some changes made to the city's process.

So it's a little hard to evaluate exactly what happened because the economic situation has completely changed. This is right before the.com bubble burst and then it did, and we had like no vacancy rates anywhere, and houses sold very quickly in [the city]. And since that time rents have gone down and some of the pressure has gone off. There have been layoffs here and the whole economic situation has down turned. That's why I say it was a little win, because there have been some positive changes in the way the city works. It might help in the future if the problem should come back, but it really wasn't the kind of thing that you could really see clearly you know [as a big win].

APPENDIX G

CBC and the Immigration Issue

Question: What I am really interested in right now is how the immigration issue became important for your organization?

Director X: A couple of things. There is an interesting sort of paradox around what happened. In [one of the cities] where they directly picked immigration as an issue and with a new group of leaders who did not have a lot of experience, they basically couldn't follow through because it was too intimidating and they could not imagine a victory. So the organizing fell apart on the immigration issue. So that came out of one- to- ones at [an LOC] in [that city]. It was basically too big.

In [the city] where we were not intentionally working on immigration, but the housing and banking were all immigration related in the sense that you know it was houses but a lot of the houses were for people who had been denied participation in the housing market previously. This was a lot of immigrants. We wanted to get the housing prices down which are good for everybody.

The second part was you had not only... immigrants can't get loans so we had to look at the banking issues. We worked directly on immigrants, illegal immigrants being able to participate fully and get loans. So that was sort of the background of the people in that church. They had been working indirectly but somewhat directly on immigrant issues and immigration was an issue that kept coming up in various forms like around education and other things. Does that make sense?

Follow-up: Yes. You were able to provide housing opportunities for legal immigrants as well, how does that work?

Director X: Well the main thing, there are laws saying if you are here illegally you have to leave more or less, but they are basically not enforced. We have a ... system, we know we need the labor. We sort of act like we are upset about it and then we turn a blind eye because we know there are a lot of businesses that need this work. There is no law against being undocumented and buying a house. The problem is you have to qualify for a loan and since you are generally working for very low pay, even if there are multiple family members all working, collectively you might be able to afford to buy a house. The housing prices tend to be pretty high.

According to the National Homebuilders Association [the city] is ranked in the top few cities in the country where when you compare people's income with the cost of housing the gap is the greatest. So you might be living, the living wages and then the costs of housing, there was a huge gap so it was difficult for people to get housing.

The housing issue directly affected a lot of people. A lot of working people and part of what we learned from our work in [another city] is that there are local developers who want to build entry level housing. The reason they want to is turning the housing over quickly, especially if they end

up managing the sale or development, is really easy because the highest percentage of the market is people wanting to buy starter homes or entry homes.

So you have this huge market for these homes but the builders weren't able to build them. Part of the reason they weren't able to build them was because cities without being conscious of what they are doing have all kinds of complex zoning regulations that get more and more complex over time. They are often in conflict with each other. Builders have to spend a lot of time getting a development plan approved. They are frustrated by this. The out-of-state developers don't care. They are use to it and just do boiler(?) places but the local developers are often the ones most interested in doing entry level homes.

So we asked the city to make some changes to work with the developers themselves around a sort of smoother approval process that could happen and save a lot of money. That is how the housing piece works and then they make city policy changes essentially. With the requirement that any developer who wants to take advantage of these incentives, if you will, like for example instead of requiring a two inch caliber tree every so many square feet, it might only require a one and a half caliber tree and a little less trees per acre. So that could save a lot of money. It can be a million little things like that where if you add them up in development it could save a developer a lot of money. The most important thing is if the developers have very clear guidelines, that if they follow them when developing the property, the city guarantees, and if they promise to build at least 20% or more of entry level affordable housing—affordable to people earning 80% below area median income, then they get to take advantage of those benefits and the streamlining. So instead of tying up their money for as long as seven years to get a development approved they might get approved in six months and that could save them an enormous amount of money and allow them to build cheaper.

That has pretty much been proven in [another city] where we fought for those changes and there has been \$173 million dollars worth of entry level housing built. That was a huge victory and we copied that in [the city] but the results are not yet in, we don't have the ability to evaluate it. Basically a plan was developed and the builders can qualify for this stuff and some builders are doing it. That is how the housing comes down.

The next piece is the banking piece. So you have a family of four and three of them are working; one is bringing in a part-time income and two are bringing in full-time incomes and combined we have enough incomes to buy a house that costs say \$140,000. We could qualify for a mortgage but we don't have any credit. One of us is undocumented and the others are documented. Our family is here, we live in a bad neighborhood right now, we are renting, and we haven't been able to establish a credit. We do not have any credit cards, etc. So we go apply for a loan and we get turned down. We never even talk to anybody we just fill out the form and it is an automatic rejection. The computer rejects us before it ever... So that story repeated a lot of times, turns out in [the city] it was being repeated in one area, the Northeast corner of [the city]. Well it is against the law for banks to loan inequitably across town or something. So we called them on that but mostly we worked out a partnership with the bank. They did a couple of things, one they worked out creative financing for some of them and two, instead of just the social security number they started accepting the ITIN, oh what does that stand for...

Follow-up: Individual Tax Payer Identification Number.

Director X: Yes thank you. That is the paradox of our country. The fact that it exists is a sign of how we know we are going to have illegal immigrants here and, it does not allow them to work here but if they did work illegally, it guarantees that they will pay taxes. So we literally have a system that guarantees illegal immigrants will pay taxes. It is kept in the same format as the social security number but banks would not accept them because it wasn't their tradition.

With the first bank we started working with, I forgot their name, basically the position was to, first of all we had to demonstrate to them that this was an unexplored niche market. Niche meaning there is a huge segment of the population not getting any loans. Second we had to prove that the segment of the population actually pays back loans as good as or better as than other segments of the population so the risk isn't any worse.

So we did that by connecting this bank to other banks in the country that we knew about through the, we worked with another non-profit out of Chicago called the International Training Institute of Chicago, it was also a federal HUMDA Data repository. It collects the housing, the HUMDA housing (?) act data and they did the mapping demonstrating loans were not being made in a quarter of [the city]. They also have connections to banks where they have in other places come up with creative solutions to make loans to poor people. They have had tremendous success with it.

So we got a bank president from Milwaukee to talk to the bank president here in [the city] and he convinced them. He said oh God this is great. It has really built our bank and we have huge amounts of investment in our bank and loans. That is how banks make money is loans. If they get paid back they make money on them. So mortgages are good for banks. So this bank put their own money in it and agreed in a public meeting with a couple hundred people to accept the ITIN in lieu of a social security number. That is specifically for the undocumented folks. They agreed to put up a pot of money specifically allocated for ITIN mortgages which they did but also offering other creative solutions for people to get mortgages. So when they apply they do not automatically get rejected by a computer but get looked at by a real person first. The person will take in account other factors to help them establish credit and then give them mortgages. That has been working. We have, I have forgotten the number, but something like a million dollars worth of loans approved.

It is somewhere, \$600 to \$700 or a million dollars, I am not sure. It is growing. That is all since last spring. So it happened relatively quickly and that is sort of the background on that. Again, all of this was gearing around immigration. What happened is there is sort of this tendency to start normalizing. Certainly in the Latino and ideally in the Anglo community, which is the bank industry normalizing the fact that there are a lot of undocumented folks working in [the city]. One of the largest meat packing plants in the country is in [the city]. They hire almost entirely undocumented folks. They are always given a clean bill of health by ICE formerly the INS.

Question: Say what ICE stands for again?

Director X: ICE is the Immigration and Customs Enforcement. It used to be called the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) but under Homeland Security it all got rolled in together. Now the sub-department under Homeland Security is called ICE, Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

So ICE is the INS of the past. What happened was there is a lot of complexity politically and we are convinced this is what is going on. So the background is the following, the short story is that a Republican, uh county district attorney, [name withheld], he is a major Republican player who is sort of located in [the city]. He was former Senator Dick Cheney's personal appointment to the Iran Contra investigation to give you a sense of how connected he is. I believe his wife is a Colorado Republican committee fundraising chair. So he is really rooted in the Republican Party. He is also a straightforward kind of prosecutor who wants to do a good job on crime and stuff like that.

A couple of things happened but basically out of the blue we found out that he was asking, under the guise of addressing the growing gang problem in [the city]—which first of all there is no evidence that it is growing and second there is very little, in fact the evidence is perhaps negative evidence, that undocumented folks are involved in gangs. They are the least likely to be involved in gangs actually. He didn't really have any evidence. He wrote a letter and asked for senator [x] and congresswoman [x], conservative Republican senator and conservative Republican congresswoman and she is from the district that is her area, to sign a letter of support asking essentially the Department of Homeland Security and ICE to open up an ICE office in [the city].

This really upset people because in the midst of trying to normalize the fact that, you know, yes we are hear as undocumented folks but everybody knows this city needs us economically and we are just trying to be normal people. We want to take care of our neighborhoods that are our community and do all that kind of stuff. So all of the work that we had gone into to sort of make it normal so an undocumented person can live normally, not sort of hiding, not hand to mouth constantly, and it is often that a lot of these families, a huge percentage probably more than half are living together having—I don't mean all the families are living together but family members are living together, and often one or more of the family members are legal. So the only way for deportment to work is by dividing the family. In other words the legal family stays. That can be, you can be parents who are legal but your children are not because they were not born in this country. So it gets really messy.

There is tremendous fear in the Latino community about the ICE office. It turns out; we had found out from [the district attorney], that he was under enormous pressure from very, very vocal anti-immigrant conservatives in the Republican Party. He admitted that later. He talked about the extremist that were pushing him to do something about the immigration problem. That is why he sort of went after the gang problem. On top of that politically the other thing happening is that Colorado is a swing state. Latinos notoriously don't vote. In fact the Northeast corner of [the city] which is almost entirely Latino has an Anglo city council person. There was even a Latino running against him. Well there are very few Anglos living in that neighborhood. They vote and Latinos don't. Voter turnout in the last election, for people who did or could register to

vote was 1%. It is well known Latinos don't vote. That is something that obviously if we are going to build power that has to change.

Question: So voter registration is one of the strategies?

Director X: Yes. That is where we get ideas like voter registration because what has happened is it has become clear particularly in Colorado but now nationally, Colorado is a sort of test place and [the city] was a test place for the whole state. We predicted that what was going to happen was that the Republican Party was going to come out introduce a whole bunch of legislation and go for an amendment to the Colorado constitution that would be anti-immigrant based on what was happening in [the city]. It didn't make sense. Why was there so much energy going into this when there really wasn't a problem. You have two or three people in the whole city complaining about it. It really is a non- issue and it is expensive to do, to bring an ICE office in. Plus it could make hiring workers more difficult. So it didn't make logical sense to do this so the question is why are they doing it and why in a place like [the city]?

Well, [the city] is a big enough city but it is off the beaten path. So let's test it out in [the city] and see how far we can get in [the city] and then if it flies in [the city] we can take it statewide. The goal really was, this was never said but clearly looked obvious that the goal was really to divide the community. In other words have the Anglo community upset, so they wouldn't be upset with other things the Republican Party is doing or not doing for them, get the Anglo community upset about the terrible injustice being committed to them by the immigrants even though they would lie about the story. There are some phenomenal quotes out there from like Senator [x] who speaks like he is pro- immigration person, at least his aides do, but then he said some horrible stuff.

Anyway, basically our analysis is that this is being used to divide the community so we took a unity position on immigration saying the reason that they are dividing the community, we have a completely mixed race community here and while we have had problems in the past we have also had huge amounts of very positive things happen between Anglos and Latinos. People feel comfortable together now. This is making people feel less comfortable and more distrustful of each other. It is creating huge racial tension. So we took a position morally around uniting the community. That is what we addressed in a big action with [the district attorney], the city council, and the county commissioners.

APPENDIX H

A Leader on Power

Leader S on Sources of Power	
Money	Leader S: They need organizers to help them organize because they need a voice and the way its standing they don't have a voice you know. A lot of it has to do with, the, a lot of people like to blame the poor but I like to blame the people in power because the poor don't have a choice.
Community versus Divine Ordination	Leader S: Well it goes back to what I was saying about people with power. They have a lot of responsibility to the community. Of course they'll say we have the power because God gave it to us.
Control over decisions and agendas	Leader S: What got me, when it came back to city council and human relations, they rewrote it but deleted the most important resolution got deleted. That resolution was we did not need an ICE office because we don't need one. The less important resolutions they passed but the essential resolution they held back. That told me wait a minute somebody already decided something. They left it open. That tells me the decision has already been made and they will bring an ICE office.
People	Follow-up: So there were various organizations working together to make this happen. Do you think what was accomplished could have been accomplished if the organizations had worked separately? Did you need to work together? Leader S: Oh absolutely. There is power in numbers.
Institutions/Organizations	Follow-up: I hadn't thought of it as you just suggested that the churches, as institutions, as part of the status quo institutions in a way, are a CBC resource. So if you come from within, as a member status quo institution, you can influence others.

APPENDIX I

Study Limitations

This study has a few limitations beyond those usually posed by a case study analysis of one organization and nine interviewees. The first major challenge in the data collection was the language difficulties present in both the interviews and observations. While the author of this study has some familiarity with the Spanish language, receiving three years of lessons in secondary school and two years of lessons in post-secondary education, the author is not fluent in Spanish and therefore needed an interpreter for one of the interviews and both of the meetings. Additionally some interviewees expressed difficulty (after the interview had been concluded) comprehending some of the questions that were asked because of the difference in their primary language of Spanish from the author's primary language of English.

Although difficulty comprehending the questions was not expressed by all interviewees who have Spanish as their primary language, and while some of those interviewees seemed to have a better grasp of English than others, the difference in the primary language between the author and majority of the interviewees does present a challenge to this study. Also, of the two meetings observed, the author had more difficulty comprehending what was spoken in the larger meeting that was conducted partly in Spanish than the small meeting that was conducted completely in Spanish. This was mostly due to the difference in speed and flow of information and communication in the meetings. The speed of communication was quicker and information flowed more randomly in the larger meeting.

Additionally, this study has limited power to draw conclusions about the organization structure and process (beyond the research design which does not seek conclusions as the study is exploratory) because only two meetings were observed using the observational checklist.

Although the possibility of attending multiple meetings was present before the first round of interviews, those meetings did not manifest during the course of the author's stay. The unavailability of meetings to attend was partly due to the absence of the director and the organizer for much of the author's visit. Also the time of year may have played a role because the first visit occurred after the Thanksgiving holiday and before the Christmas holiday. Many of the local organizing committees were slowing up and had already had their last meeting of the year.

Another limitation to the study is some persons were interviewed twice because of the inaudibility of several interview tapes after the first wave of data collection. This posed a greater risk of interviewer bias beyond what is to be expected from the data collection methodology. However, this author does not believe in the two cases where this occurred there was any significant difference in the themes or quality provided in the second interviews versus the first. For example, in one of these interviews, the interviewee was even more negative about her experiences in the organization during the second interview than she was during the first. This occurred despite the presence of an interpreter, who also happened to be her LOC's organizer, during the second interview.

Finally, this study was designed to allow member checks—that is data and interpretations that are verified by persons within the context of study. The goal of this design was to provide credibility to the data and interpretations made by the author. To achieve this goal chapter four in its entirety with elements of chapter three were shared with approximately six of the nine interviewees. Only one of the interviewees who were provided these documents supplied feedback and comments in time to include into the analysis and discussion sections of the study.

Any additional feedback received from the interviewees will be placed in an appendix to this study or presented in follow ups to this study as it is feasible and reasonable.

The main critique of the interviewee who provided feedback is the researcher had the theory worked out a priori and the interviews merely offered examples of the phenomena of interest—synergic power and network-based leadership. The interviewee was more interested in and curious of the point of the research, since there did not appear to be a hypothesis tested, than the conclusions drawn or how the data was presented. The interviewee's critique illuminates another limitation to the study. This study is exploratory. The researcher did not enter into the study assuming that evidence of synergic power and network-based leadership would be found. The researcher entered the study hoping that evidence of these phenomena would be found. In response to the interviewee the researcher stated that the point of the exercise is to explore whether a concept of synergic power is applicable to community organizations. Also, the researcher provided the interviewee a copy of this chapter in hopes of gaining more feedback of the conclusions drawn from the study.

REFERENCES

- Aksamit, D. L., Hall, S.P., & Ryan, L. (1990). Naturalistic inquiry applied to the evaluation of a teacher education program. *Teaching & Teacher Education*, 6(3), 215- 226.
- Alinsky, S. (1971). *Rules for radicals; a practical primer for realistic radicals* (1st ed.). New York: Random House.
- Arendt, H. (1958). *The human condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Arendt, H. (1970). *On violence*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace & Company.
- Argyris, C., & Schon, D.A. (1974). *Theory in practice: Increasing professional effectiveness*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Armstead, T. (2004). An exploration of coercive power and trust in community involvement (Masters Thesis, Vanderbilt University). Retrieved January 26, 2006 from <http://etd.library.vanderbilt.edu/ETD-db/available/etd-07292004-161052/>
- Bachrach, P., & Baratz, M.S. (1962). Two faces of power. *The American Political Science Review*, 56(4), 947- 952.
- Balkundi, P., & Kilduff, M. (2005). The ties that lead: A social network approach to leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 16, 941-961.
- Bolman, L.G, & Deal, T.E. (2003). *Reframing organizations: Artistry, choice, and leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Bond, M., & Keys, C. (1993). Empowerment, diversity, and collaboration: Promoting synergy on community boards. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 21(1), 37- 57.
- Broom, M., & Klein, D. (1999). *Power: the infinite game*. Maryland: Sea Otter Press.
- Bruins, J. (1999). Social power and influence tactics: A theoretical introduction. *Journal of Social Issues*, 55(1), 7-14.
- Burt, R. (1992). *Structural holes: The social structure of competition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Burt, R. (2000). *The network structure of social capital*. In R. I. Sutton, & B. M. Staw (Eds.), *Research in organizational behavior* (pp. 345– 423). Greenwich CT: JAI Press.
- Castells, M. (2004). *The network society: A cross-cultural perspective*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

- Cawthon, D. (2002). *Philosophical foundations of leadership*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- CNN (2003). *Major power outages hits New York, other large cities* [Electronic Version]. Retrieved January 26, 2006 from <http://www.cnn.com/2003/US/08/14/power.outage>
- Coberly, A. (2005, December 7). The ICE storm. *Fort Collins Weekly* [Electronic Version]. Retrieved January 26, 2006 from <http://www.cairco.org/articles/art2005dec07b.html>
- Craig, J. H., & Craig, M. (1979). *Synergic power: Beyond domination, beyond permissiveness*. (2nd ed.). Berkeley, CA: Proactive Press.
- Crook, P. (1996). Social Darwinism: The concept. *History of European Ideas*, 22(4), 261-274.
- Dahl, R.A. (1961). *Who Governs?* New Haven: Yale University Press.
- De Waal, F. (2005). *Our inner ape*. New York: Riverhead Books.
- Dokecki, P. R. (1996). *The tragi-comic professional : basic considerations for ethical reflective-generative practice*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Duquesne University Press.
- Erlandson, D., Harris, E., Skipper, B., & Allen, S. (1993). *Doing naturalistic inquiry. A guide to methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Faria, M. (2002). *Perpetual War*. Retrieved January 26, 2006 from <http://www.newsmax.com/archives/articles/2002/3/1/202757.shtml>
- Forsyth, D. (1999). *Group Dynamics* (3rd ed.). Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/ Knowledge*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Fox, J. (1992). Democratic rural development: Leadership accountability in regional peasant organizations. *Development and Change*, 23(2), 1-36.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. [New York]: Herder and Herder.
- Garner, J. (2005, December 22). Greeley council asserts 'neutrality' on immigration. *Rocky Mountain News* [Electronic Version]. Retrieved January 26, 2006 from http://www.rockymountainnews.com/drmn/local/article/0,1299,DRMN_15_4334207,00.html
- Gaventa, J., & Cornwall, A. (2001). Power and knowledge. In P. Reason & H. Bradbury (Eds.), *Handbook of action research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Greenleaf, R. (2002). *Servant leadership: A Journey into the nature of legitimate power and greatness*. New York: Paulist Press.

- Gruber, J., & Trickett, E. J. (1987). Can we empower others? The paradox of empowerment in the governing of an alternative public school. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 15(3), 353-371.
- Guba, E., & Lincoln, Y. (1989). *Fourth generation evaluation*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Gutierrez, L. (1990). Working with women of color: An empowerment perspective. *Social Work*, 35(2), 149- 153.
- Habermas, J. (1987). *The theory of communicative action, vol.1: Lifeworld and system: A critique of functionalist reason*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Hale, D., & Hale, L.H. (2003). China takes off. *Foreign Affairs*, 82(6), 36-43.
- Hajbaghery, M.A., & Salsali, M. (2005). A model for empowerment of nursing in Iran. *BioMed Central Health Services Research*, 5:24.
- Hernstein, R., & Murray, C. (1994). *The bell curve*. New York: Simon and Shuster.
- Hinze, C. (1995). *Comprehending power in Christian social ethics*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Hobbes, T. (1994). *Leviathan*. Indianapolis, Indiana: Hackett Publishing Company.
- Hollander, E., & Offerman, L. (1990). Power and leadership in organizations. *American Psychologist*, 45(2), 179- 189.
- Irby, B.J., Brown, G., Duffy, J.A., & Trautman, D. (2001). The synergistic leadership theory. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 40(4), 304-322.
- Juris, J.S. (2004). Networked social movements: Global movements for global justice. In M. Castells (Ed.), *The network society: A cross cultural perspective* (pp. 341-362). Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- Katz, R. (1984). Empowerment and synergy: Expanding the community's healing resources. In J. Rappaport, C. F. Swift & R. Hess (Eds.), *Studies in empowerment: steps toward understanding and action* (pp. 201- 226). New York: Haworth Press.
- Keddy, J. (2001). Human dignity and grassroots leadership development. *Social Policy*, 31(4), 48- 62.
- Kilduff, M., Angelmar, R., & Mehra, A. (2000). Top management-team diversity and firm performance: Examining the role of cognitions. *Organization Science*, 11, 21–34.
- Krackhardt, D. (1999). The ties that torture: Simmelian tie analysis in organizations. *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, 16, 183– 210.

- Krackhardt, D., & Kilduff, M. (1990). Friendship patterns and culture: The control of organizational diversity. *American Anthropologist*, 92, 142–154.
- Kropotkin, P. (1988). *Mutual aid: A factor of evolution*. Quebec, Canada: Black Rose Books.
- Kuhn, T. (1996). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kuokkanen, L., Leino-Kilpi, H., & Department of Nursing, U. o. T. F. (2000). Power and empowerment in nursing: three theoretical approaches. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 31(1), 235-241.
- Labonte, R. (1994). Health promotion and empowerment: Reflections on professional practice. *Health Education Quarterly*, 21(2), 253- 268.
- Lewicki, R. J., Mcallister, D. J., & Bies, R. J. (1998). Trust and distrust: New relationships and realities. *Academy of Management Review*, 23(3), 438-458.
- Lipman- Blumen, J. (1996). *The connective edge: Leading in an interdependent world*. San Francisco: Jossey- Bass Publishers.
- Lukes, S. (1974). *Power: A radical view*. London: Macmillan.
- Mauss, M. (199). *The gift: the form and reason for exchange in archaic societies*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- McCombs, B. (2005, November 30). Buck submits his own resolution on ICE office. *Greeley Tribune* [Electronic Version]. Retrieved January 26, 2006 from <http://www.greeleytrib.com/article/20051130/NEWS/111300062>
- McMillan, B., Florin, P., Stevenson, J., & Kerman, B. (1995). Empowerment praxis in community coalitions. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 23(5), 699-727.
- Mills, C.W. (1956). *The power elite*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Minkler, M., Thompson, M., Bell, J., Rose, K., & School of Public Health, U. o. C. B. C. A. U. S. A. m. u. b. e. (2001). Contributions of community involvement to organizational-level empowerment: the federal Healthy Start experience. *Health Educ Behav*, 28(6), 783-807.
- Mondros, J., & Wilson, S. (1994). *Organizing for power and empowerment*. New York: Columbia University press.
- Monroe, G. (1976). *Renewal of educational systems: synergic power through organization development*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois at Chicago Circle.
- Morgan, L.H. (1985). *Ancient society*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

- Murphy, D. (2005, December 1). Allard backs plan for Greeley ICE office. *Greeley Tribune* [Electronic Version]. Retrieved January 26, 2006 from <http://www.greeleytrib.com/article/20051201/NEWS/112010062>
- Nazzaro, M. (2003). Synergy: An unleashed community power. *The Public Manager*, 32(4), 23-25.
- Perkins, D.D., Bess, K., Cooper, D.G., Jones, D.L., Armstead, T., & Speer, P. (in press). Community organizational learning: case studies illustrating a three-dimensional model of levels and orders of change. *Journal of Community Psychology*.
- Perkins, D.D., & Zimmerman, M. A. (1995). Empowerment theory, research, and application. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 23(5), 569-579.
- Peterson, A., & Hughey, J. (2004). Social cohesion and intrapersonal empowerment: Gender as a moderator. *Health Education Research*, 19(5), 533- 542.
- Peterson, A., Lowe, J.B., Aquilino, M.L., & Schneider, J.E. (2005). Linking social cohesion and gender to intrapersonal and interactional empowerment: Support and new implications for theory. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 33(2), 233-244.
- Peterson, A., & Zimmerman, M.A. (2004). Beyond the individual: Toward a nomological network of organizational empowerment. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 34(1/2), 129- 145.
- Putnam, R. (1993). *Making democracy work*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Rappaport, J. (1981). In praise of paradox: A social policy of empowerment over prevention. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 9(1), 1-25.
- Rappaport, J. (1995). Empowerment meets narrative: Listening to stories and creating settings. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 23(5), 795-807.
- Reybold, L. E., Polacek, G. N. (2006). A critical perspective of health empowerment: the breakdown of theory-to-practice in one Hispanic subculture. *Family Community Health*, 29(2), 153-157.
- Riger, S. (1993). What's wrong with empowerment. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 21(3), 279-292.
- Roberts, S.J. (1998). Health promotion as empowerment: Suggestions for changing the balance of power. *Clinical Excellence for Nurse Practitioners*, 2(3), 183- 187.
- Rubin, H., & Rubin, I. (1995). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand

- Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sarason, S. B. (1977). *The psychological sense of community: Prospects for a community psychology*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Sarason, S. B. (1993). American psychology, and the needs for transcendence and community. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 21(2), 185-202.
- Sassen, S. (2001). *The global city*. New York: Princeton University Press.
- Schuler, D., & Day, P. (2004). *Shaping the network society: The new role of civil society in cyberspace*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Shearer, N. B. C., & Reed, P. G. (2004). Empowerment: Reformulation of a non-Rogerian concept. *Nursing Science Quarterly*, 17(3), 253-259.
- Sheppard, B. H., & Sherman, D. M. (1998). The grammars of trust: A model and general implications. *Academy of Management Review*, 23(3), 422-437.
- Skinner, B.F. (1976). *Walden two*. New York: Macmillian.
- Smith, K., & Berg, D. (1997). *Paradoxes of group life: Understanding conflict, paralysis, and movement and group dynamics*. San Francisco: The New Lexington Press.
- Smith, W. (1875). *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. London: John Murray.
Retrieved May 22, 2006, from http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/secondary/SMIGRA*/Civitas.html
- Speer, P. W. (2000). Intrapersonal and interactional empowerment: Implications for theory. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 28(1), 51-61.
- Speer, P. W., & Hughey, J. (1995). Community organizing: An ecological route to empowerment and power. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 23(5), 729-748.
- Speer, P. W., Jackson, C. B., & Peterson, N. A. (2001). The relationship between social cohesion and empowerment: Support and new implications for theory. *Health Education and Behavior*, 28(6), 716-732.
- Spreitzer, G. M. (1995). An empirical test of a comprehensive model of intrapersonal empowerment in the workplace. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 23(5), 601-629.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research. Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Stuart, D. T. (2004). NATO and the wider world: from regional collective defence to global coalitions of the willing. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 58(1), 33-46.
- Tjosvold, D. (1981). Unequal power relationships within a cooperative or competitive context. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 11(2), 137-150.
- Tjosvold, D., & Sun, H. F. (2001). Effects of influence tactics and social contexts in conflict: An experiment on relationships in China. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 12(3), 239-258.
- Turner, V. (1969). *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.
- US Census Bureau. Census 2000. Available at: <http://factfinder.census.gov>. Accessed January 26, 2006.
- Van Uchelen, C. (2000). Individualism, collectivism, and community psychology. In J. Rappaport, E. Seidman (Eds.), *Handbook of community psychology* (pp. 65- 78). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Vangen, S., & Huxham, C. (2003). Nurturing collaborative relations: Building trust in interorganizational collaboration. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 39(1), 5-31.
- Wartenberg, T. (1990). *The forms of power: From domination to transformation*. Philadelphia: Temple University press.
- Wasserman, S., & Faust, K. (1994). *Social network analysis: Methods and application*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Watts, D.J. (2003). *Six degrees*. New York: Norton.
- Weis, D., Schank, M.J., & Matheus, R. (2006). The process of empowerment: A parish nurse Perspective. *Journal of Holistic Nursing*, 24(1), 17-24.
- Wellman, B., & Berkowitz, S.D. (1988). *Social structures: A network approach*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wessels, C. (2000). *The holy web*. New York: Orbis Books.
- Wheatley, MJ (1999). *Leadership and the new science: Discovering order in a chaotic world* (2nd ed.). San Francisco: Berrett- Koehler.
- Wood, R. (2002). *Faith in action: Religion, race, and democratic organizing in America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Zimmerman, M.A. (1995). Psychological empowerment: Issues and illustrations. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 23(5), 581-599.

Zimmerman, M.A. (2000). Empowerment theory: Psychological, organizational, and community levels of analysis. In J. Rappaport, E. Seidman (Eds.), *Handbook of community psychology* (pp.43-64). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.