

PATHWAYS TO PARTICIPATION: AN EXAMINATION OF THE NATURE AND EXTENT
OF PARTICIPATION IN CIVIL SOCIETY

by

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(Under the Direction of Hal G. Rainey)

ABSTRACT

Community Leadership Development is believed to be instrumental in the development of community capitals and the strengthening of a community's ability to solve its social problems. By arming local residents with leadership skills, knowledge about the community's social and economic conditions, and opportunities to develop their social networks, community leadership programs are expected to produce alumni who are highly involved in their communities, participate in decision making, and otherwise become involved in community governance.

This research examines the participatory behavior of leadership program alumni throughout the state of Georgia. Using responses to closed- and open-ended survey items, individual participation is operationalized in four different ways in order to examine the range of participatory behaviors. The research also presents a model of "pathways to participation", positing that individuals with a strong orientation toward some aspect of civic life will demonstrate increased participatory behaviors. The research also employs hypotheses that consider individual skill development, community knowledge, social networking, motivated capability, and altruism as potential predictors of participatory behavior. Using OLS and probit

estimation, the research finds that various forms of participation have different predictors, and that networking and motivated capability were the strongest and most consistent predictors of participatory behavior.

Considering the results of the study, this research sets out implications for future theoretical development and leadership programs, as well as implications for practitioners with respect to participation on the individual level, response to populist movements, and enhancing democratic governance.

INDEX WORDS: Leadership, Participation, Democracy, Civil Society, Citizenship, Populism, Social Capital, Community Capital

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DEDICATION

To my nieces, Katherine and Blakely, who have never known the world without my being enrolled in some university or another. You can achieve anything that you set your mind to, and this document is proof of that. Never let an opportunity pass you by.

To my parents, Barry and Tammy, who have supported me through thick and thin and through the joys and pain of school for longer than either of them would care to remember. I love you both and cannot thank you enough for all that you've done for me.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The concepts of civic engagement and public participation in government have a long history of interest from the social sciences. Theoretical propositions explore the question of *whether* engagement is beneficial. Arguments for public participation have appeared in the political science and public administration literature for decades, and the concept of civic engagement as beneficial for community strength is popular in the field of sociology. Similarly, research and programmatic interventions target the issue of *who* becomes engaged. A great deal of research has been performed on the determinants and outcomes of volunteerism, voting behavior, and other civic engagement behaviors. State and local governments across the nation, as well as local chambers of commerce and other organizations, have likewise begun to sponsor Community Leadership Programs, targeting individuals with the potential for valuable participation in community affairs and providing training to encourage such participation. This research will explore the questions of *why* and *how* individuals who have participated in these programs choose to become engaged in their local community.

Theoretical Perspective

The over-arching theory behind this work originates from a normative perspective that roots itself in the basic democratic values underlying American society and favors public inclusion over exclusion and market-based approaches (Roberts 2004; Box et al 2001). As such, the approach accepts as its underlying premise that increased participation, within reason, is a desirable quality for public administration (Sandel 1994; deLeon and deLeon 2002; Roberts

2004; Denhardt and Denhardt 2007), despite disagreements among the founders) and potential issues of populism and the 'tyranny of the majority' as expressed in the debates between Madison, Hamilton, and other authors of the *Federalist Papers*). This perspective also contrasts with managerialists, institutionalists, and public choice adherents, who frequently characterize inclusion efforts as idealistic or infeasible (Simon 1957; Moynihan 1969), although some theoretical and empirical contributions have attempted to bridge some of the divide between those schools of thought (Golembiewski, Moore, and Rabin 1973; Montgomery 1979; King, Stivers, and Box 1998).

The public administration can serve as a mediating structure within society, one which functions to parse a sea of public opinion and help shape policy in a way that reflects social values and needs (Mosher 1968; King, Stivers, and Box 1998). Of course, we should be careful to distinguish public opinion from public interest; the perspective of public interest involves the views of knowledgeable and educated members of the public. The introduction of participation and inclusion efforts into the administrative domain can potentially interrupt the vicious cycle of alienation created by democratic and citizenship deficits. Nabatchi describes this cyclical pattern, stating, “As citizens withdraw from political activity, their preferences are less known, and, therefore, less well reflected in public policy decisions. In turn, as more policy decisions poorly manifest public preferences, citizens further withdraw support from government, the legitimacy of the democratic regime is called into question” (2004, 379) Additionally, inclusion efforts may serve to increase the perceived legitimacy of the public administration in the governance process (Box et al 2001, 615; Nabatchi 2004, 379).

A primary goal of this chapter is to tie together the theoretical perspectives regarding civic participation across the spectrum of the social and behavioral sciences. While this does not

constitute an attempt to develop a "grand theory" of sorts, it does attempt to frame the issues of inclusion, participation, and civic engagement in a way that provides value both to the social scientist interested in individual behavior or institutional context and the practitioner who seeks to improve the efficacy of his organization or improve the acceptance of its policies among the general public.

Though the rationale behind participation and inclusion in governance comes from a normative perspective, the overall theoretical framework to be applied in this work itself is a positive one. The political theory which suggests that greater participation yields stronger democracy shares a number of common threads with anthropological and macrosociological perspectives on social capital and civic engagement. These perspectives influence the participatory theory and applications in a variety of fields, including public administration and public health. Similarly, the fields of psychology and microsociology feed their perspectives on interpersonal influence and collective behavior into leadership and management studies, which also are well-represented in public administration and public health.

Given the variety of scholarly traditions which provide perspective and insight on the issue of participation and civic engagement, it logically follows that empirical research on participation should occur not only at the macro- or meso- scale (as most of the work in public administration and health does), but at the micro- level as well. By examining the issue at the micro- and individual level, this work will serve to fill in the missing pieces in our understanding of inclusion and civic engagement, and will provide insights for public and non-profit managers with respect to their public recruitment and retention efforts.

Participation Questions at the Micro Level

Rosener (1978) examined the complexity of public participation and the potential for evaluating the effectiveness of participation efforts at the agency level by "asking the basic journalistic questions who, where, what, how, and when" (1978, 458). However, she gives only brief consideration to the motivations of participants while discussing the question of who participates, noting the potential for vast differences between the perspectives of individuals and groups of citizens. "Even within these groups, there are differences, and the importance of these differences in shaping how individuals or groups view participation cannot be over-emphasized," she notes. "There should be little doubt that knowing who is doing the perceiving is crucial to any understanding of the effectiveness of citizen participation" (Rosener 1978, 458). In examining participation from the individual or micro level, it is again useful to examine the phenomenon in the context of the journalistic questions, this time with the addition of what is perhaps the most important question for this level of analysis (and the major focus of this research): why?

Who participates? There is a wealth of literature that suggests that individuals of older age and those with above-average educational attainment and socioeconomic status are significantly more likely to participate in civil society and public decision-making (Verba and Nie 1972; Berry, Portney, and Thompson 1993; Chambre 1993; Cnaan and Cascio 1998; Hendricks and Cutler 2004). Much of the writing on inclusion efforts supports the idea of recruiting minorities and other marginalized populations, who might lack strong opinions or be sufficiently disenfranchised as to doubt their ability to affect change. As such, it is important to consider the demographic characteristics of individuals who participate in public decision

making or other civic opportunities, and compare those participants against the broader population in order to identify under-represented groups.

Where do they participate? By and large, the majority of individual participation in public decision-making occurs at the local level, be it within an individual's neighborhood or immediate community or on a city- or county-level scale. However, a number of citizens also become involved in policy issues at the state, regional, or even federal level. Participation in these different levels of society may reflect differences in access or interest, and should be taken into consideration when exploring the behaviors and motives of participants.

What do they participate in? Not every individual will exhibit an interest in every different policy arena. Childless couples may have less interest in educational issues than parents might, just as a small business owner might have more interest in urban renewal and redevelopment than a blue-collar worker might. Just as in the case of examining the characteristics of participants with respect to which level of society they choose to participate in,

Table 1.1. The Journalistic Questions as Considered Through Macro/Meso and Micro Approaches

Journalistic Question	Macro/Meso Approach	Micro Approach
Who	groups of political actors including elected officials, administrators, and citizens	demographic characteristics of participating and non-participating citizens
What	objectives, specific outcomes	arenas of policy concern
Where	goals motivating participatory action	what level of government or arena of civil society
When	stage of the policy process	invited, reactionary, or spontaneous participation
How	complexity, duration, scope, intensity	depth of involvement in an issue
Why	not addressed	motivation, skills, and other psychological factors

examining the characteristics of individuals who participate in specific policy arenas can provide administrators with information on underrepresented groups.

When do they participate? At what point does an individual become interested in civic life? Is their interest in public decision making one that is ingrained or spontaneously developed, or does an individual need to be invited to participate? Does their participation begin in reaction to a controversial proposal or other instigating event? Influences on civic participation begin early in life (Stryker 1980; Margolis 1984; Putnam 2001). Beck and Jennings (1982) find that pre-adult activities and the socioeconomic status of one's parents are strong predictors of civic orientation; it is entirely possible that those experiences in high school may influence an individual's civic interests far later in life. However, that is only part of the picture. A number of authors report that the organizational context and social ties are key in predicting participation (Schlozman, Burns, and Verba 1994; Boggs, Rocco and Spangler 1995; Musick, Wilson, and Bynum 2000).

How do they participate? The question of how an individual participates in civic life is one of the depth of his or her involvement, just as Rosener's approach suggested an examination of the complexity, duration, scope, and intensity of participation in public decision making. Arnstein (1969) discussed a 'ladder' of participation in government, but addressed it from the government perspective, with opportunities for participation in public decision making ranging from nonparticipation and tokenism to genuine levels of citizen power. Using case studies to create a seven-stage model of behavior ranging from volunteer to advocate, Boggs, Rocco, and Spangler (1995) find that the motives for moving from one stage to the next reflected a shift from a primary concern with personal benefits to a stronger concern with the common good at the later stages. But these pathways and ladders fail to address the individual's movement from

one type of participation to a more involved, deeper type of involvement, moving from basic volunteerism or fund-raising toward what Stivers (1990) would call “authentic citizenship” through participation in government decision-making.

By contrast, Shlozman, Burns, and Verba describe the boundary between political and non-political participation activities as “fuzzy”, they point out that “participation in these [non-political] spheres - for example, running the PTA fund drive or managing the church soup kitchen - can develop skills that are transferrable to politics even when the activity itself has nothing to do with politics. In addition, these nonpolitical institutions can act as the locus of attempts at political mobilization: church and organization members make social contacts and, thus, become part of networks through which requests for participation in politics are mediated” (Schlozman, Burns, and Verba 1994, 1967). Arnstein’s ladder was based upon the official means of participation in government activity. But what if, instead, we look at a ladder of participation in the community? This would represent a scale ranging from true engagement and participation in government decision making at the top to the everyday types of engagement that would typically arise from family life, such as church or PTA membership, or from business life, such as from membership in professional organizations to participation in the chamber of commerce. Rather than a single ladder or pathway from basic participation activities to more active ones, however, I propose that we look at a number of different starting points for participation, based upon the type of organizations one initially becomes involved with, as outlined in Figure 1 below. Without attempting to reinforce stereotypes, one might imagine the family-oriented “soccer mom” becoming involved with the local PTA and eventually become more active in youth-related charities or causes (Schlozman, Burns, and Verba 1994, 1967), while the “white-collar dad” becomes involved in his professional organization, joins the local chamber of

Figure 1.1. A Theoretical Model of "Pathways" to Participation



commerce, then eventually begins to participate in community meetings regarding economic development (Shlozman, Verba, and Brady 1999). Similarly, a church member may initially become involved with church activities, then progress to volunteering or advocating for religious or charitable issues (Wuthnow 1999). I have termed these paths the “parental path”, the “professional path,” and the “religious path”, respectively. Each of these generalizations represents steps from casual engagement to genuine advocacy and engagement, with the potential for engagement in public decision-making as the final step along the path. It is entirely possible that different origins in the type of participation may influence whether, how, and when an individual moves farther along that path.

Why do they participate? The motivational and other psychological aspects underlying an individual's decision to participate in some aspect of public life are of special interest to those who wish to recruit those minorities and underserved or underrepresented segments of society. A literature review conducted by Smith (1994) identified six determinants of volunteering: context, social background, personality, attitudinal factors, situational factors, and social participation. Wilson (2000) explores the various theories that explain volunteerism behavior, grouping them

into three types: those that emphasize values, those emphasizing rational decision making, and those that emphasize social ties and resources; he notes that the research literature finds support for each of the theories. Edwards (2009) finds support for intrinsic and extrinsic motivations, as well as a link with professional background and the type of organization an individual chooses to volunteer with. However, there has been significant qualitative work on an individual's development as a participant in civil society, many of which describe the progression as "individual development" or a "path" to more meaningful forms of participation (Schlozman, Burns, and Verba 1994; Boggs, Rocco, and Spangler 1995).

Overview of the Chapters

This chapter has provided a brief overview of the issues of participation, inclusion, and civic engagement across the spectrum of the social and behavioral sciences, and has outlined six key questions that administrators and researchers should consider when considering participation from an individual or micro perspective. It has also outlined a testable theoretical model of individual participation based on an individual's social context.

Chapter Two will provide a much more in-depth examination of the theoretical and research contributions to the field of participation. This chapter begins with the broad themes of deliberative democracy and political theory, and its history in the tradition of public administration. It will also consider the sociological theories of social capital and civic engagement and its relationship to inclusive management and participatory techniques in public administration. It will also consider the recent trend toward applied civic leadership programs, which are designed to encourage community involvement among citizens at the local level. These efforts will be examined according to their underlying theories in psychology and leadership studies.

Chapter Three will introduce the population to be studied, participants of Community Leadership Programs throughout the state of Georgia, and will explain the survey research methodology used in the collection of data. This chapter will also attempt to answer the questions of "who," "what," and "where" of respondents who participated, and will draw demographic comparisons between those respondents who were involved in civil society or public decision making in some matter and those who were not, as well as by drawing comparisons between those who participated with the overall state population.

Chapter Four will look more deeply into the question of "where" individuals participate with respect to in terms of individuals and their social networks. The chapter will also investigate the related question of "how" individuals participate, and will attempt to measure the depth of an individual's community involvement within the pathway framework presented earlier. This measure, as well as other measures of participation, will be examined in relation to individual psychological traits, motivations, and other factors in an attempt to understand the question of "why" individuals participate in civil society in a variety of ways.

Finally, Chapter Five will present an analysis and discussion of the research findings, and will attempt to reconcile those findings with the extant theoretical and empirical literature. The chapter will provide a discussion of implications for participation and inclusion in public administration both from a theoretical and practical perspective, and will set forth a research agenda for deeper exploration of the topic.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE

The Historical Context of Civic Participation in American Government

The relationship between democracy and administration is one that has concerned scholars since well before the emergence of the study of public administration. The early American administrative landscape was dominated by the upper classes, with little room for non-landholders and even many farmers to be heard. The wide geographic area encompassed by the young country made representative forms of government a practical necessity. In addition, the Federalists expressed a strong preference for the public will to be filtered by elected representatives. Suffrage was also highly restricted, with extensive property qualifications required for elective office-holding and even voting. Not only was the common man unqualified to participate in governance, they considered them to be uninterested. As King and Stivers note, “a well-run government would win the continuing allegiance of citizens and made their involvement, other than as voters, unnecessary” (King, Stivers, and Box 1998, 50). Further, van Riper points out that “even Thomas Jefferson was reluctant to carry his interest in the common man to its logical political conclusion” (Van Riper 1958, 16).

While the federalists were the dominant voice of the day in political affairs, they were not the only one. The antifederalists took a more republican approach to political theory, promoting active public engagement in public affairs and the cultivation of civic virtues as a way to correct the excessive individualism created by the liberal, Federalist approach (Morgan 1994).

Since the issue of voting rights was left to the individual states, official methods for political participation were limited. However, the years following the adoption of the constitution saw the states shift their voting laws toward more inclusion. Property qualifications or eliminated entirely, much to the distress of the Federalists. "Not only did the Federalists object to the extension of the suffrage and even propose the closing off of the frontier settlement," says van Riper, "but they also began to manipulate the public offices more and more obviously to maintain their partisan position" (Van Riper 1958, 21). Political and administrative appointments became more partisan under Adams than they were under Washington, and though Jefferson later pledged to put a political balance to the civil service, his appointments were also heavily partisan. The Four Years Law of 1820 set a term of office for a number of public positions, though Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams did not use them to cause much upheaval in the public administration following the War of 1812.

The election of Andrew Jackson signaled a shift in the direction of American government, introducing an egalitarian philosophy which promoted a government "by the people" – that is, administration by those who would be responsive to the electorate (Mosher 1968). Jackson believed that government would benefit from a wider variety of perspectives, and while this still did not directly encourage public participation in the business of government, it did serve as a key step toward making the bureaucracy more acceptable and representative of the interests of the common man (Van Riper 1958).

When Andrew Jackson opened positions in the public service to citizens of all levels of society, it established citizens as having the potential to participate in governance. However, the sweeping changes in the makeup of the public administration was nowhere near as sweeping as many would assume. In fact, van Riper states that "Jackson's concepts of office-holding were in

many respects quite as high as those of his predecessors” (Van Riper 1958, 35). Therefore, the limited pool of qualified candidates meant that the actual turnover in the civil service was similar to the amount of turnover that occurred when Jefferson took office (Mosher 1968).

The practice of patronage continued for over fifty years, marking the gradual reduction of control by the aristocracy and the increase of governance by the common man. The reality of the situation was not as idyllic as it may sound, however. Mosher describes the rise of the political machine in state and local politics, a chaotic public administration tied to incompetence and political influence, and an opaque government that he characterizes as neither responsible nor responsive (Mosher 1968, 63). Therefore while this period did reflect an inclusion of the common man in the political process, the way in which it was instituted may indeed have caused more harm than good. A push toward qualifying examinations and other forms of professionalism in the public service came as early as the 1850s, and gained even more traction following the civil war.

The passage of the Pendleton Act reflected another shift in thinking about who should govern. While these reforms still supported the egalitarian notions underlying the spoils system, it served to open the civil service at many levels to any who was qualified. The political power remained at the higher levels of decision-making in agencies, however, and it was hardly politically neutral (Mosher 1968). The shift in ideas toward a neutrally competent civil service began to blossom with the writings of Wilson (1887) and Goodnow (1900), who sought to insulate administrators from the whims of politics – a concept which has famously, while incorrectly, been characterized as the “politics-administration” dichotomy. While authors such as Wilson and Goodnow noted that such an insulation from politics would improve the performance

of administration, they also realized the impossibility of true political neutrality, and were arguing for a reduction in the political nature of administration rather than a complete separation.

The early 20th century brought with it the development of public administration as a field of study in its own right. Early works like those of Wilson and Goodnow became intertwined with the scientific management theories which flourished in that day, rationalizing the “development of a highly specialized, technically competent administration” (Mosher 1968, 71). The focus on scientific management in public administration was the prominent school of thought, though writers such as Cleveland, Gulick, and Mosher remained concerned about issues of democracy. Overall, the approach to public administration became quite clinical and positivist, with little concern over public opinion or administrative responsiveness to anything but the policy-makers they were responsible to.

The Great Depression brought about changes of its own, with a new resurgence of spoils. Officials in the Roosevelt administration believed that merit and political appointment could exist alongside one another, and certain New Deal agencies, including the Tennessee Valley Authority, were created with permission to bypass the merit system (Van Riper 1958). Ideas, imagination, and energy – purposes which were distinctively political – became more important than concerns of efficiency. Reports by groups such as the Brownlow Committee and the Hoover Commissions pushed for a greater centralization of administrative power under the President. Decision-making power would thus be handled by appointees who headed up federal agencies, while those decisions would actually be carried out through a well-trained and neutrally competent civil service at the lower levels of those agencies (Mosher 1968). While this did allow for an expansion of politically-sensitive individuals to serve in decision-making capacities, the

idea of reflecting the public will remained in the political appointees with that decision-making power, rather than through direct communication with the citizenry.

Following World War II, scholars of public administration began to refute the idea that administration could or should be kept separate from political and policymaking activities. Appleby, for example, argued that administration is actually an important political process (1945), while Simon began to distinguish between facts and values and their importance in administrative decision-making behavior (1957). The idea of representative bureaucracy emerged during this time as well, with authors such as Long, Kingsley, and Bendix discussing the heterogeneity of backgrounds among civil servants and its potential for injecting democratic responsiveness into the administrative system (Mosher 1968).

To this point, there had been no true attempts to directly involve citizens in the business of government beyond attempting to fulfill various ideas of “representative bureaucracy”. The push for what Thomas (1995) terms the "New Public Involvement" began in the 1960s, when President Johnson's Great Society legislation and the War on Poverty was implemented. This movement distinguished itself not only by expanding its focus beyond the academic or social elite to include low-income citizens and other interest groups, but the focus of citizen involvement was primarily a matter of implementation, rather than policy making. Mounting controversies and distrust in government, as evidenced through issues of the day such as the Watergate scandal and the war in Vietnam, “opened the door for citizens to become more involved in the federal administrative process” (King, Stivers, and Box 1998, 54). Many of the programs implemented during the Great Society reforms included requirements for public contact and feedback. Unfortunately, these opportunities were typically treated more as an administrative hurdle – an annoyance to the administrator – and were often carried out without

enthusiasm in order to satisfy an additional requirement for program implementation, rather than as an opportunity for genuine engagement or collaboration with the general public.

Perhaps the most vocal and well-known criticism of the Great Society's participatory efforts is Moynihan's 1969 volume entitled *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding*. In his assessment of the Community Action Programs (CAP) of the 1960s, Moynihan argued that attempts for participation only intensified social conflict, especially among the impoverished and non-white minorities. Such increasing conflict between social groups led Moynihan to be especially critical of the social theories underlying the rationale of the CAP, stating, "as they got caught up in the thrill of battle, they quite failed to see the degree to which the strategy of induced conflict contradicted their own theory of anomie, or at least would in all probable reality lead to an increase rather than a decrease in anomic withdrawal" (Moynihan 1969, 119).

Moynihan identified a number of issues that plagued the CAP, noting that often the programs did not reach their targets, and even if they did, that the services were insufficient, that administrators lacked true understanding of those citizens' needs, and participation among citizens was nominal at best (1969, 69-70). He found that encouraging genuine participation by the lower classes in solving social problems was problematic as well, attributing these failures to the fact that "lower class families moved a great deal; community activities were typically staffed by middle-class personnel; the self-defeating attitudes of the lower class made them feel nothing could be accomplished; and, finally, 'intergroup tensions' kept the community fragmented" (1969, 107).

Moynihan's volume was not without his critics. Walinsky (1969), for example, accused Moynihan as having presented such a harsh assessment of the CAP in order to win favor and continued political employment from the incoming Republican administration. Walinsky claimed

that the real reason for the failures of the CAP laid in the poor planning, lack of goal targeting, and especially the lack of funding for such efforts, with funds that might have been used for job-creation programs or other social justice efforts diverted to the military efforts in Vietnam. Similarly, Shipman (1970) suggests that the social conflict and unrest of the 1960s, especially the Civil Rights Movement, may have arisen because the CAP failed to provide "an adequate expressive outlet for the drives and aspirations the programs helped to stimulate".

The idea of public participation reappeared briefly with the Minnowbrook conference and its "New Public Administration". While not discussed extensively in the literature, Friedland notes that it was a common theme of discussion during the conference. The Minnowbrook participants recognized that administrative agencies had become the major vehicle of social change during the Great Society reforms, and recognized the problems inherent in poorly implemented participation programs. Crenson recognized the importance of participation, noting that "political action has come to be regarded as a character builder" (Crenson 1971, 87). However, he realized that genuine participation was infeasible at the federal level and would require administrative decentralization to be successful. Additionally, he points out that participation can lead to improvements of public perceptions of agencies.

In the years that followed, public administration took on a more business-oriented approach. Citizens were viewed either as clients or consumers in a more professionalized, standoffish approach to governing. Although the concept of co-production was put into use in some agencies, it was not a widely accepted practice. Responding to the failure of several citizen participation initiatives, Fredrickson (1982) expressed concern about a crisis of confidence in public administration, saying that administration should be tied to citizenship and working directly with the citizenry. Two years later, a special edition of *Public Administration Review*

examined issues of citizenship in the public service. While each of the authors expressed a commitment to the concept of educating citizens and integrating into decision-making and implementation processes, they still had little faith in the feasibility of its implementation (Gawthrop and Waldo 1984, 180).

Modern Perspectives on Public Participation in Administration

The frequency with which public participation appeared in the scholarly literature began to increase beginning with the Blacksburg Manifesto of 1990. Goodsell and Stivers expressed a concern for citizenship and the public interest, while White, who had also participated in the Minnowbrook conference, presented a deep discussion of a “model” for public participation (Stivers 1990; White 1990). Wamsley promoted an Agency perspective, arguing that agencies should stand for the public interest to the broadest extent possible, and should seek the greatest possible consensus with respect to substantive policy. He reinforced the idea that community and participation suffer from severe problems of scale, and that the agency can become a “focal point within a policy subsystem and look to it as another important locus for community” (Wamsley 1990, 150).

Later that year, in reflecting on the state of public administration as a field, Gulick (1990) identified four core, yet conflicting, principles of social organization which he saw as relevant to the field: democracy, individualism, specialization, and the market. In discussing the matter of democracy in administration, he noted that “public education and citizen participation remain crucial challenges,” and that “education and leadership must focus on ways of preparing the youth for citizenship” (Gulick 1990, 602). Similarly, in outlining what he called the areas a democratic society must focus on to ensure a successful administrative state, Kirlin (1996, 418) calls for “the sustained capacity of the political system itself to make and act on collective

choices, *opportunities for effective citizenship and political leadership*, ensuring a limited government, *nurturing the civic infrastructure necessary for collective action without public authority*, providing the institutional structures necessary for operations of the economy, and protecting individual freedoms and rights" (emphasis mine).

The debate over whether citizens are better treated as consumers or community members is reflected in the literature on urban politics as well. Lowndes (1995) discusses a need for both approaches in a contingency perspective. Certain applications may be appropriate for the market-oriented, citizen-as-consumer approach popularized by Osborne and Gaebler (1992), while other municipal services (such as those dealing with public goods) benefit more from a participatory, community-oriented approach. Further, Prior, Stewart, and Walsh (1993) note that taking a community-oriented approach to local governance improves responsiveness to citizen wants and needs.

In examining the New Public Management movement sparked by Osborne and Gaebler's work, Box, Marshall, Reed, and Reed (2001) express concern over the seemingly radical shift toward a market-based model of governance and its potential for alienating the citizenry. They characterize the efforts of the NPM reforms as creating a sanitized, apolitical approach to administration that loses touch with its democratic roots, and argue that contemporary society is sufficiently complex to necessitate efforts to increase substantive democracy in the public administration. The authors state: "The current environment of public institutions has deteriorated beyond procedural democracy to a market model in which citizens' primary action outside the household is earning money, to make product and service choices in the market economy to maximize the satisfaction of their desires. The result is a distancing of the citizen from her or his public-service institutions and a tacit assumption that interactions in the public

sphere (determining what issues will be on the public agenda and how they will be addressed, for example) should also be left to the invisible hand of the market" (Box et al 2001, 614).

Many of the arguments for an inclusive public administration are rooted in political theory. Sandel (1996), for example, argues that an emphasis on community involvement and self-governance is preferable to a value-neutral, more liberal form of governance; cautioning attempts to remain value-neutral serves only to fuel social cleavages and scandal, or as he puts it, "fundamentalists rush in where liberals fear to tread" (1996, 322). Similarly, Thomas (1995) describes a number of potential gains to democratic values from the use of public involvement in decision making, including:

1. "Decision quality may improve as citizens and citizen groups add to the information available for making decisions. That information might prevent repetitions of many ill-advised public decisions (for example, high-rise public housing and large-scale residential displacement from urban renewal areas).
2. With citizens involved in making decisions, acceptance of decisions may increase, enhancing the likelihood of successful implementation.
3. If citizens assist in service delivery, services may become more effective and more efficient.
4. As involvement increases citizen understanding of governmental operations, criticism of governmental agencies may lessen, improving the plight of beleaguered bureaucrats" (Thomas 1995, 180-181).

Some contemporary work in public administration takes the ideal of participation even farther and proposes that, under a framework of democratic governance, it is the administrator's *responsibility* to involve citizens in the policy process. In making their case for what they call the

New Public Service, Denhardt and Denhardt argue “that public servants, especially including public administrators, have an ethical obligation to extend the boundaries of public participation in the political process in whatever way they can” (Denhardt and Denhardt 2007, 56). They identify a number of specific advantages to public participation, including ease of implementation, increasing public trust in government, meeting expectations that the public should have a voice in the policy process, creating a better informed public, and meeting the challenges of an emerging information society. Similarly, in discussing the democratic values of public administration, Nabatchi states that “these values require the field to accept among its responsibilities and obligations the promotion and maintenance of civic education and democratic operations” (2010, 381).

Of course, the literature on public participation in administration is not wholly supportive. There are a number of potential drawbacks to public participation, including the time requirements involved, complexity of including citizens in policymaking and implementation procedures, and challenges presented by competing adversarial coalitions or confrontations with angry citizens (King, Feltey and Susel 1998). Timney (1998) expresses a concern that administrators find citizen participation as disruptive and wasteful, and perceived by citizens as little more than a hollow exercise designed to do little more than make them feel good about themselves. Similarly, Foley (1998) points out that there are structural and attitudinal changes to the administrative system that would be required for effective public engagement, underlying key issues in the theory-to-practice bridge. Thomas (1995) notes that participation can adversely affect technical decision-making, can deter innovation, can increase the overall cost of programs, and can result in the overrepresentation of special interests.

Further, extremely high levels of participation can develop cleavages in society and fuel controversies, such as in the case of the civil rights movement as described by Milbrath (1973). Such cleavages can also be seen in recent social movements, such as the development of so-called “Tea Party” organizations and the current “Occupy” movements which have sprung up in major cities throughout the country. Public sentiment toward these movements is highly divided, as was the case during similar social movements of the 1970s. Boyte’s (1980) description of such movements bears a striking similarity to contemporary times:

“Beneath the surface of American political and intellectual discourse, little-understood kinds of ferment at the level of people’s actual lives spread through recesses of the society. Myriad forms of protest, self help, community building, and insurgency grew and flourished at the grassroots, sending ripples through the entire culture. In the public media, such activism generally appeared as a crazy-quilt array of protests, without apparent themes in common” (1980, 2).

While these cleavages can be highly divisive in society, they can also serve as instruments of social and political change. Huntington (1981) proposes that increased participation will lead to increased alienation and feelings of powerlessness, which discourage further participation. Such disenchantment can certainly present itself when individuals feel as if they are unable to affect change, however, research by Berry, Portney, and Thompson (1993) fails to provide support for Huntington’s model of alienation.

Despite these potential issues, efforts to integrate the public into administrative decision-making continue across the nation. Thomas (1995) outlines five forms of public involvement. The first three are for the purposes of service delivery: ombudspersons and action centers, coproduction, and volunteerism. The latter two focus on decision-making, and include

institutionalized citizen roles in decision making and structures for protecting the public interest, such as interest groups. Efforts to find new ways to make public involvement more effective have increased in recent years, using a wide variety of techniques, but citizen interest and engagement in their community are requisite for fostering such participation.

The concept of community organizations has become integrated in discussions of public participation and governance as well. Cooper (1991), for example, argues that administrative practice should use voluntary and professional organizations to bridge the gap between corporate and government interests. Concepts such as social and community capitals became popularized in the research literature from their introduction in 1988, and especially following the publication and popularity of Putnam's work (Coleman 1988; Putnam 1995). The integration of "third sector" research into the public administration literature indicates the growing relevance of nonprofits and community groups in discussions of governance.

The inclusion of individual citizens and community groups has the potential to improve the perceived legitimacy of the policy process. Although certain mechanisms do exist at the federal level (for example, the ability to contact one's elected representatives or the review and comment model of agency rulemaking), many view the policy decision-making process as out of reach for the common citizen, dominated by the impenetrable "iron triangles" which afford influence only to the most powerful of interest groups and lobbyists. However, the individual's ability to influence policy outcomes is somewhat enhanced at the state and especially at the local level, as smaller constituencies increase the likelihood that an individual or group of citizens' voice may be heard. Whether a locality's decision-making authority is concentrated in a council or commission, or in the more decentralized New England-style town meeting, public meetings and hearings afford greater accessibility to the general public.

Similarly, the smaller constituencies at local levels permit the opportunity for greater citizen influence on the implementation process, and in many cases, a bottom-up approach that permits a higher level of citizen influence may actually be preferable to a top-down approach. Peter and Linda deLeon, for example, argue that bottom-up approaches to implementation make for more practical applications of policy, and that the body of implementation research indicates "a trend toward a more discursive form of policy implementation, one that recognizes that there is *somebody* whose behavior needs to be modified in order that implementation will be considered successful, and that those *somebodies* might be more willing to conform to the new mandates if they were informed, and even so if they consent, *before* the decision" (deLeon and deLeon 2002, 478) Recent work by Yang (Yang 2005; Yang and Callahan 2007) explores citizen involvement initiatives at the local government level. He finds that administrators choose to undertake citizen involvement efforts based upon their level of trust in citizens and the perceived costs and benefits related to those efforts. Although his research indicates that administrators tend to have a neutral level of trust in citizens, he reinforces deLeon and deLeon's (2002) argument that involvement should be the preferred option, stating that "'Trust, unless otherwise proved' should become an ethical imperative for administrators and an institutional principle for system designers" (Yang 2005, 282).

Participation, Leadership, and Community Capacity

Because of the greater opportunities for effective public inclusion at the local levels, it is unsurprising that it is at these levels that participation is most commonly examined; this is reflected in the literature on urban politics and government. According to Lowndes, three key propositions underlie the relationship between urban politics and citizenship:

1. "Citizenship derives from community identification and membership.

2. Civic action and political participation is concentrated at the local level.
3. Local governance and urban politics provide an 'education for citizenship'" (1995, 160).

First, she notes a practical argument for community identification at the level of towns and cities. However, locality is not the only component required for community identity; Lowndes notes that the institutions within the community are key for facilitating individuals to move from residents to citizens. Second, she outlines the argument that participation is most likely at the local level as this is where "people live and work and socialize, raise their families, and draw upon the services and benefits of the state" (1995, 154), though she notes that this proposition relies upon an emphasis on active citizenship in democracy. Lowndes also notes that there are varying levels of meaningfulness in citizenship behaviors, or as Arnstein characterized it, a "ladder of participation" (1969). Finally, urban politics is thought to provide a sort of training ground for citizens, providing them with the opportunity to develop their skills and knowledge to potentially become active at the state or even national level. This practical education reinforces democratic values, or what Wildavsky describes as "moral development" (1980).

Recent examinations of participation at the local level has focused on the concept of a community's capacity for collaborative decision-making. Chaskin, Brown, Venkatesh, and Vidal (2001) present a definitional framework of community capacity in an attempt to synthesize a variety of approaches to its study, including participatory processes, organizational influences, and individual capabilities. They present four common aspects of community capacity as found in the literature: first, the existence of resources, whether based upon organizational finances or individual skills; second, networks of relationships within a community; third, leadership, which they note is not always precisely defined; and fourth, community support for mechanisms that

foster collective action and problem solving. They characterize such capacity as a dynamic and multidimensional construct, and present a framework that offers six specific dimensions of interest: fundamental characteristics, levels of social agency, functions, strategies, conditioning influences, and community-level outcomes. Each of these dimensions relate to one another, and the authors present a conceptual model of those relationships, presented in Figure 2.1.

In addition to outlining common dimensions of community capacity, Chaskin and colleagues present four major strategies for its development and enhancement: leadership development, organizational development, community organizing, and enhancing collaborative and organizational networks. The authors represent these strategies as highly interconnected, with individual leadership capacity as a potential boon to organizational capacity, organizational development and community organizing as instrumental in the development of community leaders, and leadership capacity as key to successful collaborative networks. Individual leadership skill and its development, therefore, are central to the strengthening of a community's capacity for problem solving and change. Of course, that skill and development are of little benefit to the community if they are not utilized, and so the matter of participation again becomes of concern.

Community Leadership Programs

To a number of scholars, the question is not *whether* citizens should participate in decision-making, but *who* participates. Thomas notes that those who participate in community decision-making often are not representative of the larger community as a whole (1995). Instead, they often represent special interest groups and may seek to protect their "turf". Just as in the case of problems with genuine engagement at the federal and state level, the broader public interest at the local level can be pushed aside due to the overwhelming nature of powerful of

Figure 2.1. Chaskin et al's Model of Dimensions of Community Capacity

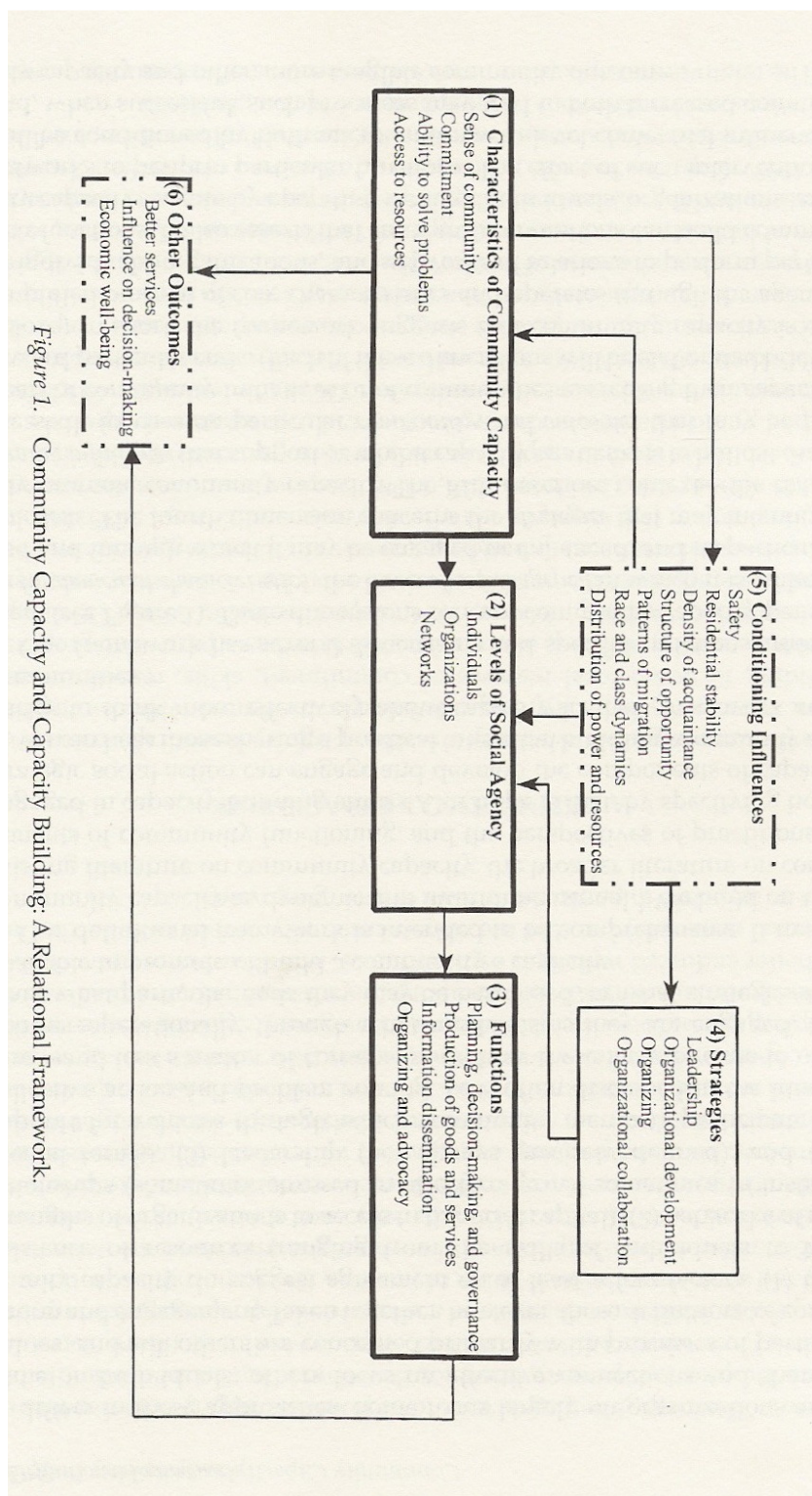


Figure 1. Community Capacity and Capacity Building: A Relational Framework.

From Chaskin, Brown, Venkatesh, and Vidal, 2001. *Building Community Capacity*, page 12. New York: Walter de Gruyter.

better-organized interest groups. As such, it is important to encourage the marginalized social and demographic groups within the broader population to become more active and engaged citizens. Community Leadership Programs can help to bolster the mediating structures of civil society and help to bridge between the individual citizen and public institutions (Berger and Neuhaus 1977).

A Community Leadership Program provides the potential to help increase or extend participation across a community, just as investments in managing volunteers can help to bolster potential volunteerism reserves. Positive experiences with participation has been shown to have significant effects on political and community self-efficacy (Bowler and Donovan 2002). However, as Boggs, Rocco, and Spangler note, “It is through adult civic education that relevant information identified, collected, and interpreted becomes knowledge with depth and structure. It is also through such civic education that understanding emerges of the processes by which decisions are made and influence is gained” (1995, 450). As such, the wisest strategy for cultivating continued involvement and preservation of participation as a resource would likely be one that involves both practical knowledge and the application of that knowledge through experiences.

Yukl points out that “most leadership training programs are designed to increase generic skills and behaviors relevant for managerial effectiveness and advancement” (2006, 387).

Community leadership differs somewhat from organizational leadership, although both share a common set of interpersonal skills as their basis. However, as Pigg (1999) notes, community leadership development should be based on community knowledge rather than organizational knowledge. While there are many similarities between the study of managerial leadership and the study of community leadership, it is important to underline some key differences. Many studies

of managerial leadership take place within a specific organizational structure as opposed to the loose, amorphous structures of everyday society. While many of the intrapersonal skills observed in the laboratory settings likewise translate into an organizational setting, many of their effects may be diluted by a complex organizational structure and its demands. Therefore, approaches suitable for use in examining community and small-scale political leadership are comprised of a muddled mixture of both the basic study of leadership and applied managerial sciences. CLPs seek to develop both those generic skills and behaviors as well as to provide additional skills specific to the community setting.

Some of the strategies to empower and educate citizens in order to overcome barriers to effective citizenship offered by King, Feltey, and O'Neill (1998) bear strong similarities to the goals and strategies of CLPs. These include creating opportunities for people to interact with each other, teaching citizens how to work both with and within administrative systems and better explaining the need for rules and procedures to reduce anti-government sentiment. Such opportunities are commonly presented in these CLPs. Although curriculum certainly varies, community leadership programs typically involve three key facets – Interpersonal and Networking Skills, Decision-Making and Practical Skills, and Community Knowledge and Awareness. Similarly, although no single theory completely describes the relationship between particular leadership skills, many appear as common threads throughout a myriad of surveys and case studies. In general, these skills can be examined using a three-dimensional model, although with some changes from the three factors developed by Yukl, Gordon, and Taber (2002), as presented in the table below. These facets also align with Berry, Portney, and Thompson's (1993) elements of citizenship education: knowledge of how to participate, a belief that the individual has the potential to influence the political system, and learned experiences derived from political

Table 2.1. Comparison of Different Conceptualizations of Prerequisites for Effective Citizen Leadership

Yukl	Berry	CLP Model
Relations-Oriented Skills	Belief the individual can influence the political system	Interpersonal and Networking Skills
Task-Oriented Skills	Knowledge of how to participate	Decision-Making and Practical Skills
Change-Oriented Skills	Learned experience from political activity and active citizenship behaviors	Community Knowledge and Awareness

activity and other active citizenship behaviors.

Interpersonal and Networking Skills. Rost (1993) describes leadership as an influence relationship across collaborators. Effective leaders are resourceful, using their interpersonal skills to influence the behavior of others and obtain assistance or specific resources needed for an initiative to succeed. Networking permits program participants to build social capital by developing new relationships that may be helpful in future efforts. Studies by Woltring, Conatantine, and Schwarte (2003) and Fredericks (1999) find networking to be an important component of leadership programs at the state-wide level and in public health.

An individual's existing social capital can also influence their likelihood to become engaged in civic activities (Putnam 2001). Churches and other social groups commonly participate in volunteering for social and emergency services programs, typically developing long-term, reciprocal relationships. As Schneider notes, "many volunteer opportunities only involve people working together with people they already know" (2007). Thus, the development of social networks can increase an individual's exposure to volunteering opportunities. In accordance with the functional view's suggestion that individuals may be motivated to volunteer in order to fit into one's social reference groups (Stukas et al 2009), it is anticipated that those

who maintain memberships in such groups will be more likely to avail themselves of the volunteering opportunities presented through those associations.

Decision-Making and Technical Skills. With regard to specific skills and abilities important for community leadership development, there is relatively little disagreement among scholars. Yukl groups the abilities requisite for effective organizational leadership into three groups – technical, conceptual, and interpersonal (2006). In a community setting, individuals bring their technical abilities with them as they enter a leadership development program. These programs thus focus on conceptual skills, such as decision-making and expanding awareness of the community, as well as interpersonal skills, such as mediation and working in teams, communication and networking are also emphasized by a number of authors (Adair 2005; Fredericks 1999; Pigg 1999; Yukl 2006).

Community Knowledge and Awareness. Leaders cannot be effective in any setting without a deep understanding of the environment and situation (Yukl 2006). Pigg describes leadership as an emergent phenomenon, which comes about as a result of social interaction within the community (1999). In community leadership development, this means that participants should be exposed to the various needs and concerns of the community. A focus on community knowledge is common in leadership programs; Fredericks found that many of the state-level leadership programs focused on information and exposure to the major issues of a state (1999). A study by Emery and colleagues suggests that community learning does indeed have an effect on the future development of community capitals (Emery et al 2007). As with the topic of skill development, awareness of community issues is considered to be an integral part of community leadership development.

While many of the measurable outcomes of leadership programs do not directly involve citizen participation in government activities, engagement in other aspects of civic life have been theorized to support effective governance. de Tocqueville (1835) was fascinated with American society and its political life, curious as to why some communities were effective and prosperous; his observations led him to believe that the civic attitudes of individual citizens were a key determinant of community success. Similarly, Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti (1993) found that high levels of social trust and civic participation were important to successful governance. Therefore while civic engagement and political engagement are separate constructs, they are closely related (Brewer 2003). Additionally, research in the field of sociology has indicated that individuals engaged in volunteering and other civic activities are more likely to demonstrate active citizenship behaviors (Wilson 2000). Women in political leadership roles tend to attribute their success as leaders to past civic activities (Rosenthal 1998). The building of social and community capital through civic engagement and leadership training has also been identified as valuable for the sustainability of non-profit and voluntary organizations (Wilson and Simson 2006). The goals of the community leadership programs, coupled with the literature linking engagement to active citizenship, lead to three similar, yet distinct hypotheses:

H1: An individual's interpersonal leadership skills will be positively associated with the depth of community involvement.

H2: An individual's understanding of their community's social and economic issues will be positively associated with the depth of community involvement.

H3. Individuals with strong social networks in their local community will demonstrate an increased depth of community involvement as compared to those with weak social networks.

The Psychology of Participation

Participation in civic life is, for the most part, a voluntary behavior; as such, the bulk of the literature on the motivations of civic engagement and participation in public life is concentrated on volunteerism behaviors and voting activity. The functional approach to volunteerism holds that an individual's motivations, combined with the opportunities afforded by a volunteering environment, affect outcomes from volunteering such as intentions to remain a volunteer and time spent volunteering (Clary and Snyder 1991; Snyder, Clary, and Stukas 2000; Stukas, Worth, Clary, and Snyder 2009).

Altruism and Self-Regarding Motivations. The literature describe some motivations for volunteering and other forms of community involvement as altruistic - that is, with a primary focus on the well-being of others (Bussell and Forbes 2002), or even as some form of moral obligation (Harrison 1995). Strong motivations to serve the public interest or to make a difference in the community can become ingrained as part of an individual's identity, driving increased commitment to civic engagement and investing their time and efforts in volunteerism activities (Stryker 1980, Penner and Finkelstein 1998).

Egoistic or self-regarding motivation has been suggested to have links to community involvement among businesses due to enlightened self-interest, with some arguing that philanthropic behavior could improve firm performance (Burlingame and Young 1996, Litz and Samu 2008). What individuals classify as volunteerism may also be more closely related to the notion of corporate social responsibility, or corporate-sponsored volunteerism. Many companies either require, sponsor, or otherwise facilitate volunteerism among their employees; Brudney and Gazley (2006) report that 18% of volunteers learn about volunteer activities through their employers.

The potential for networking and social interaction may also serve as motivators for participation in community activities of any sort. Whether acting as a volunteer or simply being a spectator at a community event, social participation can create feelings of affiliation with others, increasing self-confidence and feelings of connectedness with society (Kelley & Freisinger 2000, Swanson, Davis & Zhao 2008).

While there has been some debate among social psychologists as to whether true altruism is a realistic construct, a thorough review of theory and research on the subject by Piliavin and Charng (1990) concluded that while altruism and egoism often do coexist and interact, they are indeed separate constructs and that altruism on its own can exist. In a study of young adult volunteers in Switzerland, Rehberg (2005) found that while few volunteers (11%) expressed altruism as their sole motive for action, the majority identified a combination of altruistic and self-regarding motives for participation in volunteer activities, and that 77% of volunteers identified altruistic motives as the primary motive for participation. Similarly, Allen (2003) finds that altruistic personality variables such as other-oriented empathy and helpfulness were stronger predictors of mentoring activities than life or career variables. These findings are consistent with other research that suggested mixed motives for engagement (Yeung 2004).

Given these findings, it is possible that those with strong career, networking, or other similar self-regarding motives would consider active citizenship behaviors to be in their self interest. However, in the absence of strong altruistic motivations or an appropriate match between the individual's motivation and the opportunities provided by community involvement, it is anticipated that the depth of community involvement by such individuals would be minimized.

H4. Altruistic-oriented motivations will demonstrate a positive association with the depth of an individual's community involvement.

H5. Self-regarding motivations will demonstrate a negative association with the depth of an individual's community involvement.

Motivated Capability. The concepts of self-confidence and empowerment are rather enigmatic, with a number of similar constructs presented across the literature. McClelland (1985) defines self-confidence as the degree of perceived probability of success at a task, though he notes that the concept itself is difficult to capture. Similarly Zimmerman describes empowerment at the individual level as including "participatory behavior, motivations to exert control, and feelings of efficacy and control (1990, 174)", but may be considered with or without accounting for the influence of cultural or other ecological influences. Given the wide range and similarities of such conceptual definitions, additional constructs such as locus of control and perceived individual ability may be considered as falling under an umbrella of "motivated capability". Studies have linked such psychological constructs leadership activities (Mowday 1979, Kolb 1999) as well as to effectiveness in discourse and community involvement (Carpini, Cook, and Jacobs 2004).

H6. High levels of perceived competence or confidence in one's ability to affect change will be positively associated with the depth of community involvement.

Social Orientation and Pathway Status

Verba and Nie (1963) recognized the influence of an individual's social circumstance on politicization and the nature of participation in civil society, stating that much cooperative activity "involves the mobilization of community energies to achieve relatively noncontroversial goals" (1963, 53). An individual's point of social reference, or his general circumstance, is

expected to play a strong role in determining the nature of their orientation toward civil society, as proposed by the pathway model I present in Chapter 1 and supported by the broader context of the symbolic interactionism theory of sociology (Stryker 1980). An individual with a strong frame of reference that focuses them onto a single aspect of civil society, therefore, would be expected to have a greater depth of community involvement than one without focused reference - that is to say, individuals whose experiences and activities suggest that they are on one of the various pathways to participation would be expected to demonstrate deeper involvement in civil society than those without.

H7. Individuals who are on any of the participatory pathways will demonstrate greater depth of community involvement than those who are not.

Engagement and Demographic Considerations

In addition to psychological factors that influence participation, research in the field of sociology suggests that a variety of demographic factors may have an influence on whether and how much an individual becomes involved with their community. While these variables are not of primary interest to the present research, they should be considered nonetheless.

Gender. Gender has often been studied with respect to leadership behaviors; Kolb (1999) finds that those with male-oriented gender identities tend to demonstrate stronger leadership behaviors than those with female-oriented identities. Similarly, studies have indicated that as the female gender role has shifted from that of homemaker to breadwinner over recent decades, volunteerism and other forms of community involvement among women has decreased (Blau, Ferber and Winkler 1998, Andersen, Curtis, and Grabb 2006, Rotolo and Wilson 2007).

Age. Chambré (1993) noted an increase in community involvement and volunteerism among older adults since the 1970s. The time commitment given to volunteerism and the level of

organizational involvement tends to increase over an individual's life span from the mid-20s to the mid-70s (Hendricks and Cutler 2004). There are multiple potential explanations for this phenomenon. First, as individuals progress through life and become more established in their communities, they may develop social networks and interests that provide increased opportunities for involvement. Second, as workers grow older and reduce their working hours or retire, they will have an increased amount of time to dedicate to their ancillary interests. Research has indicated that older volunteers are most likely to serve in religious organizations, also place importance on senior centers, health service organizations, and community agencies (Herzog, Kahn, Morgan, Jackso, and Antonnucci 1989, Caro and Bass 1995, Van Willigen 2000).

Socioeconomic Status. Cnaan and Cascio (1999) report that individuals who possesses socially desirable demographic characteristics will be considered more desirable for leadership positions, and "will tend more often to volunteer and, by extension, to perform better than those whose demographic characteristics are perceived as less desired." Socioeconomic status, a multifaceted indicator often measured through educational achievement and income, has also been theorized to have a relationship with volunteerism. Jirovec and Hyduk (1999) suggest that the skills and abilities developed through higher levels of education, such as self-confidence and communications skills, provide individuals with more resources and social networks which would facilitate volunteering opportunities. Income has also been found to have a positive association with volunteer participation (Gallagher 1994), the relationship with the frequency of volunteering is unclear, as Wilson (2000) has noted the rising opportunity costs that individuals with higher incomes face when making the decision to spend time volunteering. A study of civic participation by Nagel (1987) found that deeper, more intensive forms of community

involvement tend to over-represent individuals of high socioeconomic status, although Berry, Portney, and Thompson (1993) found no association between socioeconomic status and the degree of structure in participatory activities.

Family Status. Studies have suggested that married individuals are more likely to be active in civic life and volunteerism, and especially so in youth-oriented causes, whether or not they are parents (Sundeen 1990). The propensity of married individuals to demonstrate increased community involvement has been attributed to greater social ties among married couples, as well as the mutual support that they might offer one another in such participation (Rotolo and Wilson 2006). The presence of dependent children in a household has been observed to have differing effects, as while parents with children of pre-school age have less available time than do parents of school-age children (Robinson and Godbey 1997), having children of school age can link parents to community organizations through school and recreational groups (Rotolo and Wilson 2007).

CHAPTER 3

DATA AND MEASUREMENT

Data for this research was collected as part of a broader evaluation of the Georgia Community Leadership Initiative (CLI) by the University of Georgia's Fanning Institute. The CLI program provides grant funding to leadership development programs in rural cities and counties throughout Georgia, and is funded by the Georgia Rural Development Council. Participating programs tend to have a focus on economic development and an emphasis on the development of leadership skills such as public speaking, problem solving, conflict resolution, and active leadership. Programs funded through the CLI are required to implement certain management and reporting requirements, including program evaluation. Additionally, while each program is tailored to specific local needs, grant-funded programs are required to include session topics on understanding community leadership, a session on socio-demographics, the community leader's role in economic development, and local governance.

The evaluation covered the first five years of the program's operation, 2002-2007, and consisted of examining annual reports and other program documents, interviewing community program coordinators, and a survey of past program participants. This chapter will outline the findings of the evaluation and provide context for the survey data set, and will describe the method by which survey data is analyzed.

Program Coordinator Interviews

The evaluation team conducted semi-structured interviews with 30 program coordinators from grant recipient counties. Questions asked of program coordinators covered topics such as

recruitment, program outcomes and alumni activity, program topics and scheduling, management, steering committee involvement, and funding. These interviews were transcribed and reviewed, and a series of codes were created to measure the frequency of common responses and themes. This section describes the common themes which emerged during these interviews and identifies key challenges for program recruitment and management.

Scheduling of Programs. Community leadership programs are scheduled in a variety of ways. Programs range from seven to fifteen sessions, and may be scheduled weekly, biweekly, or monthly. Programs meeting weekly tend to have sessions lasting two to three hours in mornings or evenings, while those that hold their sessions on a biweekly or monthly basis meet for either a half or full day. The length and frequency of sessions is influenced by three major factors. The primary concern with scheduling mentioned by program coordinators is the availability of participants to attend sessions. This may be influenced by participant availability for regular evening sessions or the willingness of employers to permit program participants to regularly miss work for the purpose of attending the program.

The second concern that influences the frequency of programs is the time commitment required of participants. Some program coordinators prefer to schedule the program more frequently in order to reduce the length of the time commitment required of participants; programs which meet weekly would require a roughly three month commitment, while monthly programs would involve up to a year's commitment on the part of the participant. Similar to the concern over time commitment is the matter of knowledge reinforcement and attrition. Coordinators must find an adequate balance between an intensive frequency of class sessions and the need to reinforce skills and knowledge developed. Some program coordinators have

indicated the use of homework between monthly sessions as a successful way of minimizing attrition.

Topics Covered. The topics covered in programs' curricula are highly varied. Many programs have an opening retreat or orientation session which focuses on leadership skills and team building exercises. Programs from smaller, less developed counties typically present at least one full session on understanding leadership and developing individual leadership skills. Larger communities, by contrast, tend to focus their session topics on local issues, and may or may not integrate leadership skill development into the sessions. Many programs also include a trip to the state capitol in Atlanta as a session.

With regard to developing knowledge about the community, a key tool mentioned by program coordinators was the integration of field trips into the program. These may occur as a single day session, as part of multiple sessions on different topics, or by holding class meetings in different locations throughout the program. Another important tool for fostering community involvement and action is the use of a class project, in which participants identify a specific problem or need in the community and work to take action to resolve it.

During the interview process, 17 program coordinators were asked to identify the community-based topics covered in their programs. Table 3.1 presents a breakdown of these topics and the frequency of their use.

Recruitment and Participation. The decision of whether to have a strong focus on skill development in the program seems to be tied to the recruitment process. Small counties whose programs are not yet firmly established are more likely to have an open application process, inviting participants to apply through advertisements in local newspapers and chamber newsletters. By contrast, programs which have been in existence for some time tend to rely on

Table 3.1: Frequency of Topics Covered by Leadership Programs

Topic	Frequency
Agriculture	1
Arts and Culture	1
Communication	1
Current Issues	4
Community Demographics	12
Community Service	1
Economic Development	17
Education	15
Environment	3
Family Issues	1
Grassroots Power	1
Community Growth	1
Health Care	11
Industry	2
Law Enforcement and Public Safety	10
Local Government	17
Military	1
Quality of Life	5
Social and Human Services	3
State Government	4
Tourism	5

local leaders and leadership alumni to nominate potential participants. While the use of a nomination process can be useful for the purposes of identifying individuals interested in community development, it may be the case that the majority of nominees already serve in managerial or leadership roles or are already involved in community leadership or action in some way.

One of the stated goals of the CLI program is the recruitment of “unlikely suspects”, or individuals who would not likely participate in the community or take on leadership roles without encouragement. If it is the case that the bulk of program participants already possess strong leadership skills, attention should be paid to the differences between those who are nominated and those who apply or agree to participate in the program. It does not seem as if

diversity has been ignored in the recruitment process; twenty one of the thirty program coordinators interviewed indicated a desire to develop a diverse group of participants, whether in terms of race, age, gender, or industry of employment. Some program coordinators have indicated difficulty in recruiting minorities, stating that while the group of individuals nominated for the program is very diverse, the applicants and participants are far less so. In such situations, it may be necessary to find alternate ways to market the program to these “unlikely suspects”.

Program Funding. There are two primary methods through which programs are funded, apart from the use of CLI grant funds: tuition fees and sponsorships from local businesses. The amount of money charged for tuition varies greatly across programs, with rates ranging from as little as \$25 to as much as \$1000. The average of the twenty-five counties that reported their tuition rates was \$340; an additional county reported charging no tuition and instead relying solely on donations and sponsorships. The variation in the amount of tuition charged again appears to be related to the size and economic strength of a county. In programs where participants generally pay their own tuition, rates range from \$75 to \$150; some program coordinators have expressed concern about ensuring that the program remains affordable for local residents. In more populated and developed counties, tuition is typically paid by employers and the fee is somewhat higher.

Local donations and sponsorships are also a vital source of funding for programs, with twenty-two of the program coordinators indicating having sponsorships or donations from local businesses. These sponsorships come in a number of forms, including the donation of meeting space, provision of meals, giving scholarships for program participants, and donation of funds for general program purposes. Coordinators have emphasized the usefulness of developing buy-in from the local community in recruiting sponsors, and noted that inviting local business leaders

to participate either as a speaker or by taking the class has been useful in developing that buy-in. Also noted was the potential problem of donor fatigue, as many other groups and programs also routinely solicit donations from local businesses.

Program Management. In each of the thirty interviews, program coordinators were asked what advice they would give to someone who was starting up or taking over a community leadership program. Seven emphasized the large time commitment required to manage the program, and ten mentioned need to plan for the program well ahead of time. In terms of skills relevant to the role of coordinator, four mentioned management skills such as budgeting and organization, while three mentioned the need for leadership skills such as developing a vision and motivating the steering committee.

Another common theme about the management of the program that emerged from sixteen of the discussions was a desire to keep the programs dynamic and interesting, and to ensure that program content reflected the needs of the incoming class. Twelve program coordinators indicated that they routinely use session evaluations in planning for upcoming classes, and nine said that they recruit recent alumni for their steering committees. Additionally, nine program coordinators said that they had previously taken the leadership class, which some also identified as an important part of understanding and coordinating the program. The relationship between the program coordinator and steering committee seems to be a key to the management of a program; fourteen coordinators emphasized the importance of having a strong support structure through the committee members and other volunteers. Ten of the coordinators reported dividing session planning and coordination among committee members in the form of “day” or “session chairs.”

Program Outcomes. Each of the program coordinators interviewed was asked to identify outcomes of the program and the involvement of program alumni in the community. Ten of the program coordinators indicated more activity within the chamber or alumni taking on leadership roles within the chamber; alumni involvement in local politics was mentioned in thirteen of the interviews. Thirteen coordinators also noted continued civic activity among alumni, and seven reported continued alumni involvement with the leadership programs. Also mentioned were career advancement and leadership roles within religious organizations.

Challenges Faced. Three key challenges for program management emerge from these interviews. As previously mentioned, many of the program coordinators express ongoing efforts to maintain interest in the program, both through alumni involvement in the community and by ensuring sufficient buy-in from the local community to ensure financial support for long term sustainability. The use of class projects appears to be a useful tool in encouraging alumni to continue to be active in the community, and provide visibility for the program in the local area.

A second challenge appears in ensuring that programs are actually recruiting “unlikely suspects” and developing leaders. The use of a nomination process highly influenced by program alumni has the potential to limit the types of backgrounds participants come from. Additionally, the difficulty in recruiting minorities expressed by some coordinators suggests that different tactics may be needed to target those individuals who would most benefit from civic socialization and networking (McCall and Hollenbeck 2007; Boyle and Sawyer 2010).

Finally, coordinators should take care to determine what the appropriate focus of the program should be. While the development and reinforcement of leadership skills is vital to ensuring effective action (Adair 2005; Fredricks 1999; Pigg 1999; Yukl 2006), community awareness and education is also important (Wren 1994; Langone 1995; Emery et al 2007).

Different communities will have different needs. A populated and developed county with participant pool that already demonstrates strong leadership ability will likely maintain a focus on developing community knowledge, but should seek to integrate the reinforcement of leadership skills into these sessions. Smaller counties may feel the need to spend the majority of class time on leadership skills, but should also strive to demonstrate to participants how to utilize those skills to effect change in the environment of their own local community. Finding the appropriate balance of these two aspects of leadership development, as well as ways for the two to complement each other, will continue to be an important challenge for program coordinators.

Survey Data

Data for the present research utilizes this participant survey data. Survey instruments were sent during the summer of 2008 to 2,538 previous program participants, who were given the option to respond via the paper instrument or online. Reminder cards were sent after two weeks, and a second copy of the survey was sent at four weeks after the initial contact. Of those, 817 program alumni responded, for a response rate of 32.2%. A breakdown of those respondents by county of residence is provided in Appendix A.

Respondents in the sample were 56.3% female, 84.1% Caucasian, and 12.3% African American. 70.0% of respondents had completed at least a Bachelor's degree, and 83.1% identified themselves as married or living with a domestic partner. The respondents' occupations covered all sectors, with the strongest representation from education (15.9%) and government (16.5%). 4.28% of respondents identified themselves as unemployed, and an additional 5.26% identified themselves as retired. The mean age of respondents was 48, and the majority of respondents claimed an annual household income ranging between \$80,000 and \$149,999. Demographic characteristics of the sample are further outlined in Appendix B.

Because of the challenges faced with recruitment of “unlikely suspects” and the documented tendency for participants in community activities to be white, professional, highly educated, and of higher socioeconomic status than non-participants as discussed in Chapter Two, I compare the respondent sample to available Census data on the state of Georgia as a whole. Unfortunately, programs did not collect or report data on the demographics of program participants, therefore comparison of the sample to all participants is not possible. Additionally, the low number of respondents for many counties make comparisons to county demographics impractical.

It is important to note that demographics of the program participants are not reflective of the overall state population. The sample includes a higher percentage of women than the state; according to the 2000 census, only 50.8% of Georgia residents are female. There is also a much lower percentage of African Americans in the sample than in the state population, with a U.S. Census Bureau estimate of 30.5% for the state as compared to the 12.3% of the sample. Additionally, CLI participants tend to have higher levels of educational achievement, as the 70% of respondents identifying themselves as having completed a college degree is significantly higher than the 27.1% estimate reported by the U.S. Census Bureau. Their unemployment rate is lower than the statewide population, at 4.06% as compare to the 6.6% unemployment rate for Georgia as reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in September 2008 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2009). CLI participants also have higher incomes, with the mean income response falling into the \$60,000-\$79,999 response band, as compared to the 2009 Median Household Income for Georgia of \$25,098 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009).

These differences indicate a key limitation to external validity, suggesting that the findings of this research should not be generalized to the population as a whole. However, because of the tendencies of participants to be biased toward white, professional, educated, and

higher SES individuals as discussed in Chapter 2, the sample does likely reflect the characteristics of program participants overall. Therefore, the sample and research is most illustrative of those who select to participate in the leadership programs.

Another concern discussed previously is that the nature of program recruitment may yield participants who already possess leadership skills, and therefore would see limited benefits of the program. To assess this possibility, I examine the differences in how individuals rate their skills

Table 3.2. Descriptive Statistics for Perceived Differences in Skills Before and After Program Participation

Skill	N	Mean Difference	Std. Dev. Of Difference	Min.	Max.
Functioning as an effective community leader, with or without authority	819	0.330	1.296	-4	4
Ability to use appropriate styles of leadership	819	0.324	1.299	-4	4
Using power ethically	819	0.190	0.946	-4	4
Motivating and inspiring people to work together	819	0.252	1.095	-3	4
Respecting differing values among community members	819	0.304	1.130	-3	4
Managing conflict	819	0.256	1.086	-5	4
Valuing and incorporating diversity	819	0.276	0.999	-3	4
Identifying and developing new leaders	819	0.293	1.182	-4	4
Communicating effectively	819	0.263	1.074	-4	4
Negotiating with others to reach consensus	819	0.283	1.071	-4	4
Running an effective meeting	819	0.250	1.135	-5	4
Solving problems in group settings	819	0.277	1.075	-5	4
Building partnerships and collaborations	819	0.330	1.187	-4	4
Identifying issues of local concern	819	0.404	1.330	-5	4
Influencing community affairs	819	0.295	1.245	-5	4
Identifying community resources	819	0.398	1.539	-4	4
Understanding the community's economic development situation	819	0.471	1.706	-4	4
Understand the community's social problems and other issues	819	0.466	1.536	-4	4

before and after participation in the program. Although this can be considered a “retrospective pretest”, it does provide useful information about how respondents perceive their skills to have improved following program participation. Table 3.2 presents descriptive statistics for the differences in perceived skill both before and after program participation, and indicates that individuals tended to indicate modest change in skill level. For each of the variables, some respondents actually reported weakened skills following program participation. Table 3.3 presents the mean values of individual skills before and after program participation, as well as the results of a paired samples t-test. The t-test results indicate a statistically significant increase in each of the individual skills measured, and show that while respondents may already have possessed a moderate level of a given skill, participants did perceive an increase of their leadership skills on the whole.

Measurement

There are a number of potential methods for measuring an individual’s depth of community involvement. As previously discussed, community involvement takes many different forms. Therefore, I examine four different forms of community involvement: community decision-making, organizational memberships, volunteerism, and self-reported behaviors.

Community Decision-Making. The survey data provides a number of opportunities for measuring participation in a variety of ways. First, and most simply, we can examine the response to the survey item, “Since participating in the leadership program, I have participated in some form of decision making for the community”. This response can be considered in two different ways - first, as a dichotomous variable (*Participated in Decision Making*), simply measuring whether a respondent was involved in community decision making of some sort or

Table 3.3. Paired Samples T-tests for Perceived Skills Before and After Program Participation

Skill	Mean, Before Participation	Mean, After Participation	t-value
Functioning as an effective community leader, with or without authority	3.066	3.399	7.284***
Ability to use appropriate styles of leadership	3.062	3.38	7.128***
Using power ethically	3.28	3.472	5.762***
Motivating and inspiring people to work together	3.175	3.429	6.578***
Respecting differing values among community members	3.171	3.478	7.699***
Managing conflict	3.129	3.388	6.708***
Valuing and incorporating diversity	3.141	3.419	7.912***
Identifying and developing new leaders	3.043	3.339	7.095***
Communicating effectively	3.166	3.433	7.032***
Negotiating with others to reach consensus	3.144	3.43	7.572***
Running an effective meeting	3.15	3.403	6.313***
Solving problems in group settings	3.105	3.385	7.378***
Building partnerships and collaborations	3.032	3.364	7.949***
Identifying issues of local concern	3.028	3.436	8.699***
Influencing community affairs	3.018	3.316	6.792***
Identifying community resources	2.954	3.356	7.407***
Understanding the community's economic development situation	2.936	3.412	7.907***
Understand the community's social problems and other issues	2.951	3.422	8.694***

***indicates significance at the $p < 0.001$ level.

not. Second, the full range of responses can be examined according to the strength of agreement.

It is important to note that the "strongly disagree" category for this variable only contains 10 responses, or 1.2% of the sample, and the "disagree" category contains only 134 responses, or 17.3% of the sample. As such, these categories have been collapsed, and models using this variable (*dm-strength*) would be most indicative of elements influencing the strength or depth of a respondent's participation.

Volunteerism. Another approach to measuring participation can be found in the amount of time spent volunteering, measured by the response to the survey item, “In the last month, how many hours, if any, did you spend engaging in volunteer activities?” (*Volunteer Hours*). However, simply examining volunteerism does not paint a complete picture of an individual's engagement in their community. Additionally, such a measure is subject to idiosyncratic variation, as individuals likely consider time spent volunteering differently. For example, one individual may view altruistic actions toward others - such as aiding an elderly neighbor with yard work or household chores, or helping with activities at one's local church - as volunteerism, while another may view time spent participating in “official” volunteerism with community or other non-profit organizations as the only amount of time that should be considered in response to the survey item. Therefore, while the variable can provide useful insight into volunteering behavior and engagement in civic life, its value for inference is somewhat limited.

One might also choose to examine the breadth of involvement through the variety of causes a respondent becomes involved with. This might be examined individually, measured with an additive scale which would be indicative of a respondent's range of interest or commitment to community issues, as well as how deeply involved an individual may be in civic life. In constructing an additive scale to measure the depth of one's involvement, a test of fit yields a Cronbach's alpha of only 0.4086, suggesting that such a scale would not be an appropriate measure of participation. Further, involvement with multiple organizations may indicate only nominal involvement with multiple organizations, as opposed to deeper involvement in only one or two organizations. Therefore, only the amount of time spent volunteering will be used in the present research.

Organizational Memberships. Similar to the concept of examining the various causes one volunteers for is that of organizational memberships. Individuals who are highly involved in their communities are likely to hold memberships in a wide variety of civic or other groups, and such memberships potentially be used to measure the breadth and depth of participation. In an attempt to craft such a variable, I first examine the organizational memberships according to the pathways model presented in Chapter 1. The survey data provides an opportunity to create a number of variables based upon these pathways, as well as a broader variable that rates membership according to the relative influence over community affairs that a member of that organization might have. Each organization was given a score ranging from 1 to 3, with 1 indicating a nominal influence and 3 indicating significant influence. In evaluating specific entry points under the pathways framework, irrelevant memberships were not included for that variable. The scores assigned to each type of organization is included in Table 3.4. Additionally, in order to gain a score of ‘2’ or higher, a respondent must hold an organizational membership at a lower level along that same pathway. An individual must have a score of ‘1’ along a particular path in order to receive a ‘2’, and must have a ‘2’ in order to receive a ‘3’.

Consider the example of an individual, who we will call “Rosie”. Rosie runs a home-based business and is a member of the PTA at her children's school, as well as a member of her local homeowners association and the local chamber of commerce. According to the values on Table 3.5, Rosie would score as a ‘1’ on the parental path variable, as membership in the chamber of commerce does not count for a higher score on the parental path. On the professional path variable, however, she would be scored as a ‘2’, as homeowner's association membership serves as the prerequisite membership for chamber of commerce membership. Similarly, Rosie would be scored as a ‘2’ on the broad path variable.

Another example can be illustrated by “Charlie”, a sales professional who does not maintain a membership in any professional society, but who coaches youth soccer and is a member of his local Rotary Club. Since Charlie is a soccer coach he would qualify for a ‘1’ on the broad path and parental path variables, and his membership in the Rotary would give him a ‘2’ on those same paths. If Charlie were to successfully run for a seat on his local water board, he would receive a score of ‘3’ for both the broad and parental paths.

Table 3.4. Values for Measurement of “Membership” Dependent Variables

	Broad-mem (Broad Path)	Parental-mem (Parental Path)	Professional- mem (Professional Path)	Religious- mem (Religious Path)
Youth support groups (e.g. Girl’s & Boy’s Club, Little League Parents Association)	1	1	0	0
PTA, PTO, or school support groups	1	1	0	0
Neighborhood or homeowners’ association	1	0	1	0
Professional societies, trade or business association, or labor union	1	0	1	0
Church, synagogue, mosque, or religious organization	1	0	0	1
Service organizations such as Rotary or Lions	2	2	2	2
Local advocacy group	2	2	0	2
Chamber of Commerce or other economic group	2	0	2	0
Political club or political party committees	2	0	0	2
City Council	3	3	3	3
Local advisory board	3	3	3	3

A third example would be “Sarah”, a teacher who is an active member of her church, coaches youth cheerleading, is an member of her local neighborhood association and the Professional Association of Georgia Educators. Although she has a variety of memberships, each of those memberships only rank as a ‘1’ on any given path, including the broad path, and as such she would be scored as a ‘1’ for the broad, parental, professional, and religious path variables.

This method of measurement is not without its limitations. Charlie, for example, would receive a ‘3’ on the parental path variable by winning a seat on the water board, even if his motivations for running for that position were unrelated to his interest in children. Similarly, an individual who is a member of a local advocacy group but who is not a member of a professional society, neighborhood group, youth organization, or religious group, they would receive a score of ‘0’ for each path, as they do not have a qualifying prerequisite membership to receive a ‘2’ score.

While the variables created in this process fit well with the theoretical framework of pathways to participation, the fit and reliability statistics for such measures fail to give support for their use as a measure of participation. No combination of membership variables could produce a suitable fit for a Rasch model, Mokken or Guttman scale, and a test for a suitable additive scale yielded a Cronbach’s alpha of only 0.3915, suggesting that memberships cannot be used as a suitable proxy for participation. This is not necessarily surprising, as simply holding a membership in a particular group or organization does not guarantee participation of any sort, and provides no indication of how active an individual actually is. Varying positions and levels of activity among different groups may mean that an individual scoring a ‘1’ along a particular path may actually be more active and involved than an individual rating a ‘2’ along the same path. Returning to the individual examples, Sarah may be far more active and involved in her

community than Rosie or Charlie, but would receive lower scores on those variables because of the nature of her memberships. Therefore, the use of organizational membership as a proxy for civic engagement should be used with great caution, if at all, and will not be used for the present research.

Self-Reports of Participatory Behavior. The use of open-ended questions in the survey provides the richest information with respect to how individuals are involved in their communities. Of the 817 surveys returned, 293 provided responses to the open-ended questions “In what ways do you feel you have acted as a leader since participating in the program?” and “What are some of the projects or community groups you plan to be involved in over the next 12 months?” (see Appendix C for the full survey instrument). These responses were coded in two separate ways - first according to how an individual's response fits under the pathways framework, and second, how the response indicates overall community involvement by its alignment with behaviors as measured in a manner similar to the Index of Community Participation model presented by Verba and Nie (1972) and implemented Berry, Portney, and Thompson (1993). I call this measure “Individual Community Participation”, henceforth referred to as ICP.

Open-ended responses to survey items were coded by six different coders. Coders were oriented to the theoretical framework through written materials (provided in Appendix D), as well as a 30-minute discussion session. Even given the relative specificity of the coding instructions, each rater brought his or her own subjective rating to the data. The variables used for the present research were tested for inter-rater reliability yielded Krippendorff's Alpha, which is presently the only test of inter-rater reliability that is robust to any number of coders and level of measurement (Hayes and Krippendorff 2007).

Krippendorff's Alpha scores for the pathway variables between 0.37 and 0.53; these fall lower than the generally accepted value of 0.67 for inter-rater reliability to be considered 'strong'. However, the increased number of coders, the highly subjective nature of this data, and the availability of a 'don't know' response makes this finding unsurprising. Because of the great variability in the coding of pathway depth, I instead create a set of dichotomous variables indicating whether individuals are on a particular pathway: parental-oriented, community-oriented, professionally-oriented, religious-oriented, health-oriented, or crime-oriented. If two or more coders identified a respondent as being on a particular path, that respondent was assigned a value of '1' for that pathway's variable. Of 288 valid responses coded, only seven respondents were considered to fall upon a crime-related path and fourteen on a health-related path; as these variables do not display sufficient variation for analysis, they are not used in the present research.

To transform the data from the coding schema into variables for this research, the data was first transformed from wide to long, creating an individual variable for each coder and path. The coded ICP values were compared for each respondent, and a final value was assigned for each respondent using the modal value of the five codes. If coded ratings were bimodal, the median of the two modal points was assigned, and if there was no agreement among coders, the median value was taken. Distributions for each path variable and the ICP variable are presented in Table 3.5.

Who Participates? Demographic Characteristics of Participants by Type

An examination of correlations between the path status and demographic variables is presented in Appendix E, and indicates a correlation between status on the parental path and having children as well as being college-educated; additionally, it indicates a positive and

Table 3.5. Frequency Distributions for Coded Variables by Totals and Percentages, N=288

	0	1	2	3	4	5
crime	281 97.57%	7 2.43%	- -	- -	- -	- -
health	274 95.14%	14 4.86%	- -	- -	- -	- -
religious	244 84.72%	44 15.28%	- -	- -	- -	- -
community	87 30.21%	201 69.79%	- -	- -	- -	- -
parental	223 77.43%	65 22.57%	- -	- -	- -	- -
professional	183 63.54%	105 36.46%	- -	- -	- -	- -
ICP	35 12.15%	27 9.38%	45 15.63%	71 24.65%	56 19.44%	54 18.75%

significant relationship between being on the professional path and being married. Correlations among the demographics suggest that females in the sample tend to have lower levels of education and income, that minority respondents tend to have lower levels of income and are less likely to be married, and that respondents with dependent children tend to be more educated, have higher household income, and are more likely to be married.

What, Where, and How do they Participate? A Content Analysis

To analyzing the open-ended responses provided by survey respondents, I first reviewed the responses and then created a series of codes to characterize the attitude of responses as well as the frequency of certain terms, such as “church” or “Chamber of Commerce”. A number of common themes in the way respondents are engaged in their community emerged. The most common type of participation indicated by respondents was with community groups, including

service organizations such as local Rotary and Lions clubs or Masonic or other fraternal organizations that also participate in service activities. Also common was participation in local festivals, such as seasonal parades and historical and cultural festivals, along with other activities that respondents felt were key to the identity and fabric of their local community. For example, participation in the play "Swamp Gravy" was routinely echoed by respondents from Colquitt county, who see the play, which tells folk-life stories of local residents and changes annually, as both a strong bond for their community and as a major economic force for the rural county, as it drives a great deal of tourism to the area.

A second major theme found in the responses is participation or leadership in local chambers of commerce and other economic development groups. This finding is not surprising, given that almost all of leadership programs in the sampling frame are sponsored by the local chambers, and likely serves as a mechanism for chamber recruitment. Additionally, a primary goal of the state's leadership initiative is to aid in rural economic development and the overall economic health of the state. Many respondents also noted participating in the design or execution of future leadership programs in their community, or in continuing projects conceptualized by their own leadership cohorts. For example, participants in the Habersham county program developed and continued a meth-awareness and use reduction project, and many indicated continued participation in those efforts.

A third theme is one of participation in religious organizations, especially in organizing activities or events at church, teaching Sunday school, or by participating in outreach ministries. This finding is not especially surprising, given the relatively high religiosity of Georgia and the rural South in general. Although church activities are often considered to be key to certain social groups within a community, these benefits of these activities are often limited to the members of

a particular congregation, denomination, or religious belief. Therefore, while participation or leadership in churches may be a good indicator of an individual's leadership emergence, it may not be reflective of an individual's participation in the broader community.

A small number of respondents also voiced concern about barriers to authentic participation in their community; some of whom used rather strong language to express their anger and frustration in the lack of opportunities for those who were not from the core socio-political groups in small communities. Consider the following comments from respondents:

- *"Many of the participants get discouraged by 'Local' idiots that they walked away!!"*
- *"Opportunities in my local community are limited due to many 'closed shop' situations"*
- *"Non-progressive political leaders at city and county level - 'good old boy' mentality prevails"*
- *"It is your community standing not your leadership ability that affects change in this community!"*

These findings, although sparsely distributed in the sample, suggest that a number of social barriers to participation exist in small, rural communities, and that there may be some sort of cronyism in some communities that serves to exclude individuals who are not from social groups or families with established social or political influence.

How and Why do they Participate? A Statistical Model of Participation

Following the discussion of measurement, four dependent variables appear appropriate for use in estimating an individual's depth of community involvement. The *Strength of Decision Making Participation* variable for depth of participation, the *Volunteer Hours* variable for the amount of time spent volunteering, and the *Individual Community Participation* variable for the depth of community involvement are each approached with OLS regression. Additionally, the

Participated in Decision Making variable is used in a probit regression model. Each of these dependent variables is estimated with the same independent variables, according to the following model:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Depth of Community Involvement} = & \beta(\text{skills after participating}) + \\ & \beta(\text{community knowledge and awareness}) + \beta(\text{altruism}) + \beta(\text{self-regard}) + \\ & \beta(\text{motivated capability}) + \beta(\text{networking}) + \beta(\text{pathway}) + \beta(\text{age}) + \beta(\text{education}) + \\ & \beta(\text{income}) + \beta(\text{dependent children}) + \beta(\text{marital status}) + \beta(\text{gender}) \\ & + \beta(\text{ethnicity}) + \beta(\text{metropolitan county}) + \varepsilon \end{aligned}$$

An individual's leadership skills are measured by the respondent's evaluation of their own abilities after participating in the leadership program for the following survey items: functioning as an effective community leader, with or without authority (*Effective Community Leader*); motivating and inspiring people to work together (*Motivate Others*); communicating effectively (*Communicate Effectively*); negotiating with others to reach consensus (*Negotiate Consensus*); running an effective meeting (*Running an Effective Meeting*); and solving problems in group settings (*Group Problem Solving*). Community knowledge and awareness was measured in the same set of survey responses, and reflects the respondent's evaluation of their abilities for the following survey items: identifying issues of local concern (*Understanding Local Issues*); understanding the community's economic development situation (*Understanding Economic Development Issues*); and understanding the community's social problems and other issues (*Understanding Social Problems*). Both the skill and community knowledge variables were tested to determine whether an additive scale might be appropriate, and while the sets of variables yielded Cronbach's alpha scores of 0.9436 and 0.9680, respectively, model testing

indicated that the use of a single scale variable for either construct eliminated the unique explanatory power of each individual variable.

Altruism and self-regard were calculated from a rotated factor score based upon the responses to seven questions on the rationale for the respondent's participation in the leadership program: "I have a strong commitment to my community" (*commitment*); "I have a vision for the future of this community" (*vision*); "the program was recommended to me by someone else" (*recommended*); "I wanted to help make a difference" (*difference*); "I wanted to make new connections in the community" (*connections*); "the program sounded interesting" (*interesting*); and "I thought it would help me in my career" (*career*). As the results for each of these responses were largely concentrated in the 'Agree' and 'Strongly Agree' categories, the responses were re-coded into dichotomous variables, with 1 indicating strong agreement and 0 indicating any other response. These dichotomous variables were then constructed into two additive scales for testing purposes. The intrinsic scale was composed of the commitment, vision, and difference variables, and yielded an alpha score of 0.7850; the extrinsic scale was composed of the recommended, connections, interesting, and career variables, and yielded an alpha score of 0.6933. Given the moderate alpha scores, I then constructed a confirmatory factor analysis to verify the validity of the scales. The rotated factor matrix created three factors, with the two sets of variables loading onto the first two factors in a manner similar to the constructed scales. The results of this factor analysis are presented in Appendix F. I then predicted factor scores, *altruism* and *self-regard*, which are used for independent variables in the analysis.

Motivated capability was measured by the response to two different survey items: "since participating in the leadership program, I feel as if I am in a position to affect local policies and events" (*Can Affect Local Policies*); and "since participating in the leadership program, I feel like

I am a more competent leader than before participating" (*More Competent Leader*). The strength of an individual's social and professional network is measured by the response to the survey item, "I have made many useful connections in the community" (*Made Useful Connections*). The pathway variables include the dichotomous variables discussed previously, indicating whether a respondent demonstrated characteristics of parental, professional, religious or community-oriented engagement (*Parental Path*, *Professional Path*, *Religious Path*, and *Community Path*, respectively).

Age was treated as a raw value of the respondent's age, as the literature described in Chapter 2 suggests a positive and linear relationship between age and engagement. Income (*income*) is measured by household income treated in bands of \$20,000 up to \$100,000, with the highest two income bands consisting of \$100,000-149,999 and \$150,000 or more. The remaining demographics are measured as dichotomous variables, and include education (*college*; college education or higher = 1), dependent children (*Has Dependents*; has dependents = 1), marital status (*married* = 1), and gender (*female*; female = 1). As there were very few Asian or Hispanic respondents to the survey, ethnicity is measured by a dichotomous variable (*black*), with a value of 1 indicating that the respondent is African-American. Finally, a dichotomous variable (*Metropolitan County*) is used to indicate whether the respondent resides in a county considered to be a metropolitan county under the 2005 Georgia County Guide.

A number of interaction effects were tested, including the interaction between parental status and being employed, the interaction between being female and having children, and the interaction between being female and being employed. However, in tests for the model specifications, the interaction effects failed to significantly improve the predictive ability of any

of the models, and did not influence the sign or significance of other independent variables, and therefore are not included in the final model.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As discussed in Chapter 3, depth of community involvement was operationalized in four different ways: First, using a dichotomous variable indicating whether an individual had participated in some form of public decision making (*Participated in Decision Making*); second, a scaled variable indicating how strongly a respondent agreed with whether they had participated in decision making (*Strength of Decision Making Participation*); third, the number of hours spent volunteering in the past 30 days (*Volunteer Hours*); and fourth, a measure of overall individual community involvement coded from individual responses to open-ended survey items (*Individual Community Participation*). The first dependent variable, *Participated in Decision Making*, was estimated using a probit model; the remaining dependent variables were estimating using an Ordinary Least Squares model.

While each of the models were first tested for selection effects using Heckman models, gamma statistics for each of the models failed to reject the null hypothesis of no selection effects, indicating that Heckman models were not necessary for estimation. Dummy variables for the respondent's county of residence were used during model testing; however, as no county variable was found to be significant, those variables are excluded from the analysis presented. Dummy variables for the year participated were also used in model testing but yielded no significance, and are also excluded from the present analysis.

Breusch-Pagan tests for heteroskedasticity failed to reject the null hypothesis of homoskedasticity for two of the three OLS models, and variance inflation factors for each model

Table 4.1. Results and Marginal Effects (Standard Errors in Parenthesis) for Probit Estimation for Participation in Community Decision Making, N=216

	Estimate	Marginal Effect (at mean)
Effective Community Leader	0.327* (0.182)	0.0670* (0.0380)
Motivate Others	-0.115 (0.207)	-0.0236 (0.0426)
Communicate Effectively	0.0290 (0.237)	0.00593 (0.0484)
Negotiate Consensus	0.102 (0.208)	0.0209 (0.0426)
Running an Effective Meeting	0.188 (0.199)	0.0385 (0.0406)
Group Problem Solving	-0.139 (0.209)	-0.0285 (0.0430)
Understanding Local Issues	-0.0911 (0.199)	-0.0187 (0.0408)
Understanding Economic Development Issues	0.0221 (0.219)	0.00453 (0.0448)
Understanding Social Problems	-0.0445 (0.239)	-0.00913 (0.0490)
Altruism	0.0386 (0.162)	0.00790 (0.0331)
Self-regard	-0.0175 (0.187)	-0.00359 (0.0383)
Can Affect Local Policies	0.416** (0.212)	0.0852* (0.0436)
More Competent Leader	0.160 (0.206)	0.0328 (0.0420)
Made Useful Connections	0.660*** (0.244)	0.135*** (0.0486)
Parental Path	0.517 (0.354)	0.0893* (0.0503)
Professional Path	-0.0311 (0.269)	-0.00641 (0.0555)
Community Path	0.571** (0.252)	0.134** (0.0665)
Religious Path	-0.248 (0.309)	-0.0558 (0.0753)
Age	0.0132 (0.0118)	0.00270 (0.00241)
College	-0.335 (0.307)	-0.0642 (0.0546)
Income	0.134 (0.0841)	0.0275 (0.0170)
Has Dependents	-0.131 (0.289)	-0.0273 (0.0609)
Married	-0.328 (0.375)	-0.0591 (0.0586)
Female	-0.276 (0.280)	-0.0550 (0.0546)
Black	-0.344 (0.355)	-0.0808 (0.0938)
Metropolitan County	-0.0827 (0.262)	-0.0169 (0.0537)
Constant	-4.851*** (1.548)	

Note: prob(chi²)=0.0004; Pseudo-R² = 0.2670; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

were acceptable, with no values above 3.0. In the case of the model for the number of hours spent volunteering, Hadi's multiple variance outlier test indicated 62 total outliers, which were not included analysis. Further, both a Breusch-Pagan test and visual inspection of residuals for the number of hours spent volunteering indicated heteroskedasticity; therefore this model is presented using robust standard errors. Residuals for each of the models were uncorrelated with the regressors, indicating that OLS is an unbiased estimator.

Model 1: *Participated in Decision Making*

The model for whether or not an individual had participated in some form of community decision making (Table 4.1) indicated four regressors with positive associations and statistical significance: the belief that one is able to act as an effective leader (*Effective Community Leader*), the belief that one is able to affect local issues (*Can Affect Local Policies*), having developed useful connections in the community (*Made Useful Connections*), and being on a community-oriented pathway (*Community Path*). Additionally, the marginal effect of being on the parental path is significant at the 0.1 level, and income has a positive effect which nears significant at the 0.1 level in both the model and marginal effects.

While the coefficients for each of the significant variables are similar in size, the marginal effects at the mean indicate that the effects of skill (*Effective Community Leader*) and motivated capability (*Can Affect Local Policies*) are much smaller in magnitude than the effects of networking, with a marginal effect of 0.135% chance of participating in decision-making for each additional point of agreement with the survey item, and the effects of being on the community-oriented path, with a marginal effect of 0.134% greater chance of participating in decision-making for those who were identified as being on that pathway.

Table 4.2. Results of OLS Regression for Strength of Participation in Community Decision Making (Standard Errors in Parenthesis), N=216

Effective Community Leader	0.162** (0.064)
Motivate Others	-0.051 (0.072)
Communicate Effectively	-0.009 (0.077)
Negotiate Consensus	0.052 (0.072)
Running an Effective Meeting	0.031 (0.068)
Group Problem Solving	-0.041 (0.073)
Understanding Local Issues	0.048 (0.068)
Understanding Economic Development Issues	-0.009 (0.071)
Understanding Social Problems	-0.038 (0.079)
Altruism	0.078 (0.052)
Self-regard	0.069 (0.059)
Can Affect Local Policies	0.171*** (0.070)
More Competent Leader	0.131* (0.071)
Made Useful Connections	0.239*** (0.079)
Parental Path	0.083 (0.108)
Professional Path	0.081 (0.088)
Community Path	0.109 (0.089)
Religious Path	-0.025 (0.113)
Age	0.007* (0.004)
College	-0.113 (0.098)
Income	0.046 (0.028)
Has Dependents	0.112 (0.096)
Married	-0.276** (0.120)
Female	-0.113 (0.089)
Black	-0.206* (0.123)
Metropolitan County	0.024 (0.083)
Constant	-1.561*** (0.470)

Note: $R^2 = 0.4124$; prob(F) = 0.0000; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Model 2: *Strength of Decision Making Participation*

The skill, motivated capability, and networking variables found to be significant for the strength of community decision making had positive and significant effects in the OLS model (Table 4.2), just as in the probit estimation for community decision making. Feelings of being an effective leader were found to be significant at the 0.05 level, and having made useful connections in the community was found to be significant at the 0.01 level. In addition to the belief that one is able to affect local issues (*Can Affect Local Policies*), the second variable measuring motivated capability, believing that one is a competent leader (*More Competent Leader*), was found to be significant at the 0.1 level and of similar magnitude to *Can Affect Local Policies*. However, no pathway variable was found to be significant for the model.

In addition to the variables of interest, three demographic variables were found to have significant relationships with the strength of community decision making. Age had a very small, positive relationship that was found to be significant at the 0.1 level with a magnitude similar to that of the variables of interest; this finding is not particularly surprising given the literature. Being married had the strongest magnitude of any variable, with a negative relationship significant at the 0.05 level. This result is somewhat surprising, in that the literature suggests that married individuals tend to have greater depth of community involvement. However, it may be the case that married individuals have less time to devote to more involved forms of public decision making, or that marital status may have some other unexplained influence on one's interests. Of the demographic variables, most interesting is that being African American had a negative relationship with the strength of decision making, significant at the 0.1 level. This suggests that even though minorities are specifically targeted for recruitment in leadership development programs, they remain less likely to participate in community decision making.

Model 3: *Volunteer Hours*

As previously mentioned, outliers for the number of hours spent volunteering were identified and removed using Hadi's multiple variance outlier technique, resulting in the removal of a total of 62 outliers identified for the full data set, or 37 total outliers removed from the estimation set; the outlier-corrected estimation included 179 responses. Outliers removed had reported between 75 and 365 hours spent volunteering in the previous 30 days, while included respondents reported between 0 and 72 hours spent volunteering in the previous month. The extreme numbers reported in volunteerism likely resulted from a combination of halo effects and idiosyncratic variation with respect to an individual's definition of volunteerism.

Variables found to be significant for this model (Table 4.3) differed from the decision making models. The only skill variable indicating significance was the ability to motivate and inspire others (*Motivate Others*), with a marginal effect of 3.097 hours per scaled response point, significant at the 0.1 level, although perceived skill in running an effective meeting did demonstrate a positive relationship nearing significance at the 0.1 level as well. Altruism was also found to have a large positive effect on volunteerism, with an estimated 3.650 additional hours spent volunteering per factor point, significant at the 0.01 level.

Respondents who were identified as being on a professional pathway were found to have the strongest marginal effect, as being on the professional path was found to have a marginal effect of 6.414, significant at the 0.01 level. The fact that this pathway has such a strong positive effect while no other pathways are found to have significance (although they did near significance at the 0.1 level) may be a result of employer-sponsored volunteerism activities or other volunteering opportunities sponsored through professional organizations. Interestingly, motivated capability was found to have a large negative effect, with individuals who believe

Table 4.3. Results of OLS Regression for Hours Spent Volunteering in the Past 30 Days (Robust Standard Errors in Parenthesis), N=179

Effective Community Leader	0.360 (1.791)
Motivate Others	3.097* (1.699)
Communicate Effectively	0.271 (1.973)
Negotiate Consensus	-2.155 (2.085)
Running an Effective Meeting	2.899 (1.784)
Group Problem Solving	-0.453 (1.653)
Understanding Local Issues	-0.992 (2.012)
Understanding Economic Development Issues	2.919 (1.768)
Understanding Social Problems	-1.335 (1.954)
Altruism	3.650*** (1.272)
Self-regard	-1.280 (1.421)
Can Affect Local Policies	-1.444 (1.404)
More Competent Leader	-4.387** (1.917)
Made Useful Connections	2.542 (2.111)
Parental Path	4.676 (2.569)
Professional Path	6.414** (2.482)
Community Path	3.852 (2.497)
Religious Path	4.577 (2.926)
Age	0.068 (0.107)
College	0.436 (2.332)
Income	-0.332 (0.751)
Has Dependents	3.079 (2.614)
Married	-4.727 (3.214)
Female	-0.190 (2.807)
Black	0.475 (3.757)
Metropolitan County	0.382 (2.154)
Constant	-2.375 (11.393)

Note: $R^2 = 0.2510$; $\text{prob}(F) = 0.0066$; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

themselves to be competent leaders demonstrating a marginal effect of -4.387 for each additional scale point. It may be the case that people who don't feel like strong leaders think that volunteerism is a good “follower” behavior, or that individuals who believe they are strong and effective leaders may find tasks typically associated with volunteering to be somehow below their level of ability.

Model 4: *Individual Community Participation*

The model for an individual's overall depth of community involvement (Table 4.4) bore some minor resemblance to the previously described models, but also provided some contrasts to those models. An individual's skill in running an effective meeting, for example, was found to have a positive effect, significant at the 0.05 level; however, the individual's ability to motivate others had a negative effect, significant at the 0.1 level. This finding is counterintuitive, especially given that the belief that one was a competent leader had a positive effect, significant at the 0.05 level.

As with the decision making models, having useful connections in the community had a positive and significant effect. Being on a pathway had a positive and significant effect for each path, with individuals on the community-oriented pathway having the strongest marginal effect. Additionally, age was found to have a small positive effect, significant at the 0.1 level.

Hypotheses Revisited

To better clarify the findings of these four models in relation to the hypotheses presented in Chapter 2, I have outlined each hypothesis below, along with a statement of related findings.

H1: An individual's interpersonal leadership skills will be positively associated with the depth of community involvement.

Support: Mixed. While a person's evaluation of their overall skill at being an effective

Table 4.4. Results of OLS Regression for Individual Community Participation Score (Standard Errors in Parenthesis), N=219

Effective Community Leader	-0.228 (0.151)
Motivate Others	-0.292* (0.172)
Communicate Effectively	-0.018 (0.181)
Negotiate Consensus	0.100 (0.172)
Running an Effective Meeting	0.372** (0.162)
Group Problem Solving	-0.172 (0.175)
Understanding Local Issues	0.159 (0.156)
Understanding Economic Development Issues	-0.056 (0.167)
Understanding Social Problems	0.147 (0.188)
Altruism	0.009 (0.125)
Self-regard	-0.110 (0.139)
Can Affect Local Policies	0.139 (0.168)
More Competent Leader	0.329* (0.168)
Made Useful Connections	0.451** (0.184)
Parental Path	0.753*** (0.257)
Professional Path	0.835*** (0.207)
Community Path	1.129*** (0.212)
Religious Path	0.535** (0.269)
Age	0.015* (0.009)
College	-0.157 (0.233)
Income	0.060 (0.068)
Has Dependents	-0.043 (0.227)
Married	-0.413 (0.288)
Female	-0.027 (0.212)
Black	-0.212 (0.293)
Metropolitan County	0.099 (0.197)
Constant	-2.081* (1.104)

Note: $R^2 = 0.3818$; $\text{prob}(F) = 0.0000$; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

leader was found to be significant for participating in decision making, the effects were moderate as compared to other significant variables in those models. The ability to motivate and inspire others had a moderately large and positive effect with respect to time spent volunteering, but a small, negative effect with respect to overall community involvement. Perceived skill in running an effective meeting had a small and positive effect on overall participation. No other individual skill was found to have significance in any model. Although this research purposefully treated each skill variable as a separate construct in order to test their differential effects, the high Alpha score suggests that the effects of each individual skill are highly intertwined, and thus the effects of one skill partial out the effects of another.

H2: An individual's understanding of their community's social and economic issues will be positively associated with the depth of community involvement.

Support: None. None of the three variables used to measure an individual's understanding of local social and economic issues were found to be significant in any of the four models.

H3. Individuals with strong social networks in their local community will demonstrate an increased depth of community involvement as compared to those with weak social networks.

Support: Moderate. Having strong connections within one's community was found to have large positive effects for community decision-making and overall community involvement, but was not found to have any statistical effect on volunteerism activity. This suggests that while networking is important in encouraging community involvement, it does not necessarily influence an individual's propensity to volunteer.

H4. Altruistic-oriented motivations will demonstrate a positive association with the depth of an individual's depth of community involvement.

Support: Weak. Altruism was found to have a large positive effect on the amount of time spent volunteering, but had no effect on community decision making or overall community involvement.

H5. Self-regarding motivations will demonstrate a negative association with the depth of an individual's depth of community involvement.

Support: None. Self-regarding motivation was not found to have any statistical significance in any of the models.

H6. High levels of perceived competence or confidence in one's ability to affect change will be positively associated with the depth of community involvement.

Support: Moderate. An individual's belief that they are a competent leader was found to have a positive and significant effect with respect to the strength of community decision making and overall community involvement, but had a large and negative effect with respect to volunteerism. The belief that one is able to affect local issues was found to have a positive and significant effect for both decision making models, but was not found to have a statistical association with community participation or volunteerism.

H7. Individuals who are on a particular participatory pathway will demonstrate greater depth of community involvement than those who do not.

Support: Moderate to strong. While being on a community-oriented pathway was found to have a positive and significant relationship with the strength of participation in community decision making, and had the strongest positive and significant effect on overall participation, it was not found to be significant in the OLS model for decision making or with volunteerism. Professional pathway status was the only pathway variable found to have a significant relationship with volunteerism, and in fact had the strongest marginal effect. Each of the pathway variables had a

positive and significant relationship with overall community involvement that was significant at or beyond the 0.05 level, giving support to the hypothesis that having some sort of orientation does in fact suggest greater depth of community involvement.

Limitations of the Research

This research is not without its limitations, especially with regard to how the findings might be interpreted and generalized. First, the estimation sample is only about a quarter as large as the overall survey sample, as only 216 respondents provided open-ended responses sufficient for coding on the pathway variables, out of a total sample of 817 respondents. Second, two of the independent variables, *Effective Community Leader* and *More Competent Leader*, seem to measure a similar construct while considered under separate hypotheses; however, this is due to the manner in which those survey items were addressed in the instrument. The question used to measure the *Effective Community Leader* variable was measured in a section that pertained to individual leadership skills, and respondents were asked to rate their skill levels before and after participating in the leadership program. The *More Competent Leader* variable, on the other hand, was measured in a section of questions that refer to the respondent's efficacy as a leader who can affect change. Appendix D includes the complete survey instrument.

With respect to the external validity of the research, the sample itself does not demonstrate demographic characteristics representative of the state of Georgia overall, as indicated in Table 3.2. Unfortunately, no reporting data was collected through the CLI grant program to describe the demographic characteristics of program participants, and therefore no mechanism to compare the respondent sample to the overall participant population exists. Therefore, this research operates under the assumption that the respondents are indeed a representative sample of CLI participants. Additionally, this study is limited to leadership

program participants in the state of Georgia. While Georgia is a relatively diverse state with residents from all walks of life and communities of all sizes and economic conditions, the state is a better representative of the South, with its characterization as being part of the Bible Belt and its history of racial tension, than it is of the nation as a whole, and therefore generalizations should be limited to the southeastern United States. Suggestions for replication and expansion of the research are presented in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

Implications for Theory

Perhaps the most important conclusion to be made from the four different operationalizations of community involvement and the different effects that each regressor shows in the various models is that not all forms of involvement are created equal. This is not an entirely surprising finding, as one would not logically equate participation in community decision making with volunteerism, for example. The relative thinness of the literature on individual participation in public administration paired with this finding does give a good starting point for research and theoretical development.

Different individual leadership skills, for example, appear to have varying relationships with different types of community involvement. Overall perception of possessing effective leadership skills, for example, was found to have a positive and significant relationship with community decision-making (Models 1 and 2). With respect to volunteering (Model 3), an individual's skill in motivating others was the only skill found to have a positive and significant influence. However, an individual's motivating skill was found to have a negative and significant relationship with overall community involvement (Model 4), while an individual's skill at running an effective meeting was found to have a positive and significant effect. This suggests that various leadership skills may be more effective in one situation than another.

Just as with individual skills, motivated capability has differing effects in each of the models. Feelings of being a competent leader, for example, showed a positive relationship with

strength of community decision making (Model 2) and overall community involvement (Model 4), but had a strong, negative and significant relationship with volunteerism. While this finding is initially puzzling, it may be the case that individuals who believe that they are competent and able to affect change may see traditional volunteerism behaviors, such as sorting canned goods at community food pantries, may be somehow "beneath" individuals who believe they are strong leaders. In other words, it may be the case that individuals who feel that they are strong and effective leaders believe that they should be leading the volunteers, rather than volunteering themselves.

Similarly, an individual's issue orientation or pathway appears to have differing influences on how an individual participates in civil society. While each of the four pathways examined - parental, community, professional, and religious - were found to have some positive and significant relationship for overall community involvement, only a community orientation was found to have a significant relationship with participation in community decision-making. Along the same lines, only professional orientation was found to have a positive and significant relationship with volunteerism behaviors.

Further, networking was found to be significant in the decision-making models but not the volunteerism model, suggesting that although having strong social networks might help to inform individuals about volunteerism opportunities, it does not necessarily influence how active one might be in their volunteering activities. Additionally, altruism, having been hypothesized to have a strong positive relationship with all forms of community involvement, was only found to have a significant relationship with volunteerism behaviors.

The varying effects of the different predictors of participation examined in this research highlight a number of potential avenues for future work in theory and research. Of primary

importance is the need to delineate the various methods by which an individual might participate in civil society and local governance, and the careful operationalization of each. Creating standardized, repeatable methods of measuring the different forms of community involvement can provide researchers with great opportunities to examine the differential effects of motivational aspects, individual skills, and other factors that may influence the participation decision and depth of community involvement.

Implications for Community Leadership Programs

A number of issues present themselves in examining participation among CLI participants and its implications for future community leadership programs. First is the matter of "unlikely suspects", or the recruitment of and future participation of potentially marginalized social groups. The underrepresentation of minorities and individuals of low income in the sample (and, assumedly, CLI participants as a whole) suggests that significant challenges still exist in bringing these marginalized populations to the table. In addition to the lack of minority representation in the sample, Model 2 indicates that individuals of African American descent tend to demonstrate less involvement in community decision making. This suggests that those few minorities who do participate in leadership programs do not become involved in their community as much or as deeply as non-minorities. Cultural barriers still remain, especially in the south, and it would appear that some action beyond simply providing these groups with the education and tools to participate effectively may not be sufficient to encourage active citizenship behaviors.

Similarly, Models 2 and 4 indicate that, at the 0.1 level of significance, younger individuals tend to have less strength of participation in community decision making and tend to be less involved in their communities overall. Although the findings are hardly surprising given

the literature that suggests older individuals tend to be more involved in civil society (Chambre 1993, Caro and Bass 1995, Hendricks and Cutler 2004), the question as to how to better engage younger individuals nonetheless remains. For both minorities and younger individuals, it may be the case that the underlying motivations and perceived benefits of community involvement differ from the traditional view of participatory behavior as applied to middle-class Caucasians, and such potential differences in motivations warrant further research and perhaps a modified approach to leadership development.

Another facet of community involvement which this research has found to be of high importance is that of skill-building and confidence. An individual's sense that they were able to function as an effective leader was found to be significant in with respect to community decision making (Models 1 and 2). Additionally, skill in motivating others was found to have a positive relationship with volunteerism (Model 3), and an individual's meeting skills were found to have a positive and significant relationship with overall community involvement (Model 4). Although other skills were not found to be significant on their own, the findings do suggest that the development of an individual's skills and abilities is very useful in developing their propensity to engage in active citizenship behaviors. Similarly, although there was neither support nor disconfirmation of the hypothesis that an individual's knowledge of community issues would have a positive relationship with community involvement, that does not necessarily mean that community education efforts should be minimized in such programs. In fact, it may be that community knowledge and understanding of local issues may have a moderating effect on other individual skills or motivations, with such knowledge enhancing the likelihood that one will become involved in their local community.

Further, an individual's motivated capability was found to be positively associated with both community decision making (Models 1 and 2) and overall community participation (Model 4). This suggests that in addition to individual leadership skills, feelings of self-confidence and one's ability to affect change are key to cultivating active citizenship. Sharing success stories and personal anecdotes, as well as allowing program participants to engage in small projects with visible positive outcomes, may serve to enhance motivated capability among program participants and in turn their active citizenship behaviors.

Building Civic Culture and Community Capacity as Local Policy

While concepts such as "social capital", "civic culture", and "community capacity" have distinct definitions in the literature, the concepts are highly interrelated and are often referred to interchangeably. No matter the specific name or conceptual definition given to the matter, there is a body of literature that indicates that communities with strong local cultures and capacities tend to have stronger democracies (Sid and Verba 1963, Almond 1980, Berry, Portney, and Thompson 1993, Putnam 2001, Bacot 2008, Reese and Rosenfeld 2008). The relationship between participation and culture is not necessarily causally linked in a single direction, however; Muller and Seligson (1994) find interpersonal trust within communities to be an effect, rather than a cause, of democratic tendencies. Therefore, community involvement is not only an antecedent or component of a strong civil society, but a consequence of it as well.

What, then, might policy makers at the local level do in order to develop feelings of community and enhance civic culture, and in turn participation? First, beyond simply sponsoring leadership development programs or sending out calls for public participation, local governments may seek to strengthen ties with local agencies and provide opportunities for those organizations to strengthen their ties with one another. As Chaskin and colleagues (2001) note, in addition to

their traditional roles in the community, social clubs, voluntary associations, and other community groups can create or reinforce community identity and commitment as well as support advocacy and the exercise of power within the community. Bringing these community organizations together through the use of topical focus groups or other workshop-type events can provide opportunities for administrators and leaders of these community associations to enhance their collaborative networks and work together to solve social problems through open dialogue and consensus-building.

Beyond working with community organizations, local governments can take actions to develop and foster a sense of community and civic culture. In addition to the dimensions of community capacity outlined by Chaskin, Brown, Venkatesh, and Vidal, Goodman and colleagues (1998) note that a sense of community, community power, and community values are also important in influencing community capacity. With respect to community power, local governance structures can strongly encourage citizen participation in relatively non-controversial decision-making; when citizens are allowed to participate in even small-scale issues and believe their contributions to be effective, overall engagement may be enhanced, even among marginalized communities. As Docherty, Goodlad, and Paddison (2001) note, "Citizen participation may be fostered as much by the creation of opportunity structures that build confidence in the efficacy of participation as by the intrinsic levels of civic culture".

Additionally, community capacity and civic culture can be strengthened through activities that aim to strengthen the overall sense of community (Goodman et al 1998). A local government might choose to sponsor new or increase the scope of local festivals, for example, in order to strengthen bonds within the community in addition to promoting tourism and economic activity. The folklore play "Swamp Gravy" in Colquitt County, Georgia, for example, has been

instrumental in bringing the community together since its inception. Similarly, Macon's Cherry Blossom Festival each March spans over more than a week's time of various events and activities, bringing in visitors from across the nation and serving as a major point of pride for the community.

Although community events and festivals tend to bring attention, smaller and less public efforts to build a sense of community and bring citizens together can be equally important. Glover, Shinew, and Parry (2005) found that participation in community gardening and other activities with leisure-based orientations were important in the development of democratic values, and that time spent in such public spaces was actually a stronger predictor of citizenship behaviors than time spent interacting with others in those spaces. Given these findings, local administrators may seek to strengthen the availability and quality of such public spaces such as gardens, libraries, and community centers, and seek ways to provide new activities that would attract citizens to spend time in such places.

Addressing Populist Movements through Local Governance

Populist sentiments have been more vocal and pervasive in recent years than perhaps at any time over the past three decades. In the United States, the emergence of the so-called "Tea Party" movement and the "Occupy Wall Street" protests that swept the nation in 2011 have stimulated an extended debate about democracy and the balance of power (or lack thereof) in America. Similarly, protests and revolutions in Bahrain, Iran, Egypt, Syria, and other nations have led to revolutionary changes, dubbed the "Arab Spring", while pro-worker protests against austerity measures and cutbacks to social programs have flourished in Spain, Greece, France, and other European nations. These populist movements have been so widespread and successful in

shifting the public debate (and in some cases, affecting actual change) that Time Magazine named "The Protester" as its 2011 Person of the Year (Andersen 2011).

Populist movements often air their grievances about social problems with particular angst toward the role of the administrator. As Montgomery noted, "there is a fashionable turn in the old populism that rejects, in the United States and abroad, technicians and administrators, along with politicians and judges" (Montgomery 1979). The modern day Tea Party movement, for example, often attacks bloat and waste in the bureaucracy, and expresses a general disdain for transfer programs and social policy, calling for what some might consider draconian cuts to government employment, regulation, and spending in order to reduce the tax burden on citizens. The Occupy Wall Street movement, although having an ideology diametrically opposed to that of the Tea Party movement, also attacks what they deem to be administrative wrongdoing, such as the failure of the Securities and Exchange Commission and other regulatory agencies to prosecute bank executives for their role in the economic meltdown of 2008, and the inappropriate of local government response to their protests, especially with respect to limitations on protest times and areas and the use of excess force by police agencies. Both of these movements grew organically, from decentralized groups of individuals with a wide variety of grievances, but coalesced into groups with increasing consensus on specific issues.

Today's populist movements face a dual-sided challenge if they are to be more than a proverbial "blip on the radar." First, they must attract and maintain a membership level, formal or otherwise, sufficient to attract and maintain attention on a local, state, or national stage. Second, they must be able to effectively articulate their priorities and negotiate their way through decision-making networks in order to affect change. From a governance perspective, administrators at all levels of government must take great care to listen to and attempt to address

the grievances of these movements without appearing to (or actually) relegating the level of involvement or voice given to such groups at a level that Arnstein (1969) would characterize as "tokenism".

Integrating populist sentiment into administration goes beyond simple issues of active versus passive representation. Although general public opinion and individual citizens do certainly represent some form of political authority and influence in governance (Rainey 2003), such influences are often relegated to minimal priority in decision-making. Additionally, the opinions and concerns of the general public not only often contradict the desires as related from stronger sources of political power, but are contradictory to one another as well. This can leave the administrator in a state of conflict, attempting to serve many masters while often ultimately pleasing none, or treating citizen interests as of little importance in the grand scheme of policy making. Moynihan describes such failures in his critique of the Great Society efforts at public participation:

"This is the essential fact: *The government did not know what it was doing*. It had a theory. Or, rather, a set of theories. Nothing more. The U.S. Government at this time was no more in possession of confident knowledge as to how to prevent delinquency, cure anomie, or overcome that midmorning sense of powerlessness, than was it the possessor of a dependable formula for motivating Vietnamese villagers to fight Communism" (Moynihan 1969, 170).

Although many of Moynihan's criticisms of problems with the Great Society attempts at participation can be explained by a lack of comprehensive planning and administrative buy-in, attempts to give individual citizens a voice remains impractical at the federal level even today. The Obama administration's "We the People" campaign, which allowed citizens to introduce and

provide support to petitions that would receive official responses once a given threshold of signatures was reached, was certainly well intentioned. However, as with the Great Society efforts, the public has largely considered the campaign to be little more than tokenism. Many of the official white house responses featured on the White House's We the People website, especially those relating to hot-button issues such as the printing of religious references on currency or the decriminalization of marijuana, contained non-responses or vague policy statements that served to discourage participants. This led many who had drafted petitions or campaigned to gather more support for those petitions to believe that the efforts were more therapeutic than genuine efforts for engaging the public, leaving them disenchanted and potentially reducing the chances that such individuals would attempt to participate in governance in the future.

The integration of popular sentiment, then, seems to have the best prospects for the long-term at the local level. With respect to the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street movements, both have numerous local organizations in virtually every major city across the United States, and presences in a number of smaller cities as well. While not official associations or legal entities of any kind, local administrators can interface with these groups in a manner similar to that of officially recognized groups and use their knowledge base and social networks in order to develop dialogue and even some level of trust. Similar to the ways in which Montgomery (1979) proposes the integration of local institutions into bureaucratic structures, populist groups can provide a great deal of knowledge about local issues and the human experience that administrators might otherwise not be made aware of; they can be highly effective in mobilizing local cooperation and support in a wide variety of undertakings; articulating and generating

proposals for solutions to social problems that would be satisfactory to the community as a whole.

Of course, a proper balance must be sought, and the technical expertise of administrators cannot be undermined in public decision-making. As Berry, Portney, and Thompson note, "to many students of public administration it makes little sense to reduce the role of competent, nonpartisan experts so that a modest number of people can participate in public policymaking" (1993 p8). While official decision-making authority may never be successful in bringing in citizens in more than a consultative role, administrators at all levels of government should take a more servant-oriented approach to their work, keeping in mind that their responsibility is to provide the best possible outcomes for the public. Instead of the hands-off approach promoting expertise and business-like decision making popularized in the 1990s by the New Public Management, administrators should seek a balance between their technical expertise and the "serve, not steer" perspective advocated by Denhardt and Denhardt (2007). The combination of such knowledge and skill in the administrator's technical area, when paired with a concern for the public good and a willingness to listen to and consider citizen concerns can only lead to a public administration that is less marginalized in the public view.

Avenues for Future Research

The research presented here provides a number of avenues for further developing the understanding of citizen participation both in civil society and the public administration, both on the individual and institutional level. First, the present research can be expanded upon to a multi-state research project, examining the motives and behaviors of community leadership program participants across the country. While Georgia is a diverse state with a wide range of attitudes, it is only one state, and is subject to both state-level and regional effects. Examining leadership

program participants from each of the nation's geographic regions would allow for much broader generalizations to be made with respect to the effects of leadership training as well as motivational and demographic variations in participation. Similar studies could be conducted in the general population, not limiting the research to leadership program participants; this would allow for even greater understanding of why individuals become involved in civil society, not simply those who already had a propensity to do so or who were otherwise recruited into such programs.

At the institutional level, there is a strong case to be made for the in-depth study of the interactions and relationships among local government agencies, nonprofit and advocacy groups, voluntary associations, and the individual citizen with respect to community governance. Case studies of multiple cities across the nation, similar to those presented by Berry, Portney, and Thompson (1993) would provide insight into how opportunities for participation and inclusion are structured in various cities. As a complement to these case studies, surveys of public administrators, community leaders, active citizens, and the general population of citizens in these localities would provide opportunities for quantitative measures of participation and its correlates. Such a research design would provide the opportunity to examine the influence of low-scale engagement in decision-making at the local level, and could also allow for the examination of community-building opportunities, such as festivals and leisure spaces, and their relationship with participation levels among various social groups. A comprehensive examination of civil society and civic culture across cities would provide for a much deeper understanding of the participation puzzle, and would be invaluable both to empirical work and to future theory-building.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Number of Survey Respondents by County

	County	Number of Respondents	Percent
Population under 15,000	Atkinson	8	0.98
	Baker	25	3.06
	Bleckley	9	1.1
	Brantley	25	3.06
	Charlton	27	3.3
	Clay-Quitman	21	2.57
	Early	8	0.98
	Lanier	17	2.08
	Macon	4	0.49
	McIntosh	12	1.47
	Miller	32	3.92
	Pike	16	1.96
	Terrell	6	0.73
	Twiggs	28	3.43
	Warren	9	1.1
	Wilkes	8	0.98
	Wilkinson	12	1.47
Population between 15,000 and 23,000	Cook	16	1.96
	Crisp	17	2.08
	Dawson	24	2.94
	Elbert	22	2.69
	Fannin	29	3.55
	Lamar	22	2.69
	Monroe	31	3.79
	Pickens	13	1.59
	Tatnall	26	3.18
	Union	11	1.35
	Washington	22	2.69
	Worth	5	0.61
Population between 23,000 and 140,000	Barrow	2	0.24
	Bartow	11	1.35
	Bryan	15	1.84
	Camden	29	3.55
	Carroll	27	3.3
	Chattahoochee	2	0.24
	Clarke	21	2.57
	Dougherty	28	3.43
	Gilmer	9	1.1

Number of Respondents	Percent	County
Habersham	20	2.45
Hall	26	3.18
Haralson	19	2.33
Jackson	26	3.18
Liberty	9	1.1
Madison	8	0.98
Pierce	21	2.57
Whitfield	39	4.77
Total	817	100

APPENDIX B

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Variable	N	Percentage
female	780	56.28
college	817	70.01
religious	808	70.17
political	808	11.01
married	771	83.14
retired	808	5.26

Employment Sector:

Variable	N	Percentage
agriculture	794	4.91
business	794	9.70
education	794	15.99
government	794	16.5
financial	794	9.70
healthcare	794	7.93
insurance	794	3.15
legal	794	2.77
nonprofit	794	7.18
public safety	794	4.41
real estate	794	4.41
religious institution	794	1.64
retail	794	2.14
small business	794	8.56
manufacturing	794	6.05
other	794	9.70
unemployed	794	4.28

Respondent Age	Frequency	Percent
18 to 25	10	1.26
26 to 35	127	15.99
36 to 45	201	25.31
46 to 55	203	25.57
56 to 65	175	22.04
66 and older	78	9.82
Total	794	100

Household Income	Frequency	Percent
Less than \$20,000	14	1.96
\$20,000 - \$39,999	79	11.05
\$40,000 - \$59,999	98	13.71
\$60,000 - \$79,999	123	17.2
\$80,000 - \$99,999	152	21.26
\$100,000 - \$149,999	141	19.72
\$150,000 or more	108	15.1
Total	715	100

APPENDIX C

Survey of Community Leadership Initiative Participants

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:

I chose to participate in the leadership program because: (Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree)

I have a strong commitment to my community

I have a vision for the future of this community

The program was recommended to me by someone else

I wanted to help make a difference

I wanted to make new connections in the community

The program sounded interesting

I thought it would help me in my career

Since participating in the leadership program... (Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree)

My ability to work in groups has improved

I have been a more effective community leader

I have been able to use my personal connections for the benefit of my community

I have a different approach to leadership.

I have encouraged others who have decided to participate in a community group or activity

When there is a disagreement in a group or team, I am able to help find a solution

I feel more comfortable making decisions

I do not have enough free time to be able to volunteer

I am more capable of getting information out about important causes

I know a number of people who would make good community leaders

I am more skilled at facilitating discussion in group settings

I am able to apply the concepts I learned in everyday situations.

In the last month, how many hours, if any, did you spend engaging in volunteer activities?

_____ (Enter numeral from 0 to 744)

For which of the following have you done any volunteer work in the past 12 months (please select all that apply)?

Your place of worship

Health care or fighting particular diseases

School or youth programs

Any organization to help the poor or elderly

Any arts or cultural organization

Any neighborhood or civic group

Other: _____

None of the above

Please indicate which of the following organizations you are currently a member, if any (please select all that apply).

Local advocacy group

Chamber of commerce or other economic group

City Council

Local advisory board

Church, synagogue, mosque, or religious organization

Political club or political party committees

Professional societies, trade or business association, or labor union

Service organizations such as Rotary or Lions

Youth support groups (e.g. Girl's & Boy's Club, Little League Parents Association)

Neighborhood or homeowners' association

PTA, PTO, or school support groups

Other: _____

None of the above

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:

Since participating in the leadership program... (Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree)

I am motivated to serve the public interest

I am hesitant to make a decision until I have as much information as possible

I feel as if I am in a position to affect local policies and events

I feel comfortable speaking in front of a crowd

I am prepared to take on new leadership roles

I have made many useful connections in the community

I have participated in or helped organize future classes for my leadership development program

I would like to be able to do more in the community

I have participated in some form of decision making for the community

I feel like I am a more competent leader than before participating

I have taken actions toward my own personal leadership development

Thinking about the following skills and abilities, how would you describe your skill level both before and after participating in the leadership program? Please rank your skill abilities for each from 1-5, with 1 indicating weak skills and 5 indicating strong skills.

	Before participating in the leadership program	After participating in the leadership program
Functioning as an effective community leader, with or without authority	_____	_____
Ability to use appropriate styles of leadership	_____	_____
Using power ethically	_____	_____
Motivating and inspiring people to work together	_____	_____

Respecting differing values among community members	_____	_____
Managing conflict	_____	_____
Valuing and incorporating diversity	_____	_____
Identifying and developing new leaders	_____	_____
Communicating effectively	_____	_____
Negotiating with others to reach consensus	_____	_____
Running an effective meeting	_____	_____
Solving problems in group settings	_____	_____
Building partnerships and collaborations	_____	_____
Identifying issues of local concern	_____	_____
Influencing community affairs	_____	_____
Identifying community resources	_____	_____
Understanding the community's economic development situation	_____	_____
Understand the community's social problems and other issues	_____	_____

Now, we'd like to know some things about you. These questions are solely for the purpose of classification and to assure the researchers that we have a balanced and representative sample of leadership program participants.

Are you...

Male

Female

Decline to answer

In what year were you born? _____

Please indicate your highest level of education.

Some High School

High School/GED

Some College

College Degree

Some Graduate Work

Graduate/Professional Degree

Decline to answer

What is your approximate yearly household income for 2007?

Less than \$20,000

\$20,000-\$39,999

\$40,000-\$59,999

\$60,000-\$79,999

\$80,000-\$99,999

\$100,000-\$149,999

\$150,000 or more

Decline to Answer

How many dependent children do you have? (If "none", please enter "0"). _____

Which of the following categories best describes the sector in which you are employed?

Agriculture/Natural Resources
 Business
 Education
 Government
 Finance
 Health Care
 Insurance
 Legal
 Other (specify):

Public Safety
 Non-Profit Organization
 Real Estate
 Religious Institution
 Retail
 Small Business
 Manufacturing/Industry
 Not Currently Employed

Currently, are you either married or living with a domestic partner?

Yes, married or living with a domestic partner

No, neither married nor living with a domestic partner

Decline to answer

How would you describe yourself in terms of race?

White/Caucasian

Black/African-American

Hispanic/Latino

Asian American

Other (please specify): _____

Decline to answer

Please answer the following questions in as much detail as you are willing to provide.

In what ways do you feel you have acted as a leader since participating in the program?

What are some of the projects or community groups you plan to be involved in over the next 12 months?

What advantages and assets does your community possess that would help facilitate future projects?

What challenges does your community face that may hinder those projects?

Have you participated in any leadership programs beyond the local community level? If so, what were they?

APPENDIX D

Statement of Theoretical Model and Scoring Instructions for Open-Ended Survey

Responses

How do individuals participate?

The question of how an individual participates in civic life is one of the depth of his or her involvement, just as Rosener's approach suggested an examination of the complexity, duration, scope, and intensity of participation in public decision making. Arnstein (1969) discussed a 'ladder' of participation in government, but addressed it from the government perspective, with opportunities for participation in public decision making ranging from nonparticipation and tokenism to genuine levels of citizen power. Using case studies to create a seven-stage model of behavior ranging from volunteer to advocate, Boggs, Rocco, and Spangler (1995) find that the motives for moving from one stage to the next reflected a shift from a primary concern with personal benefits to a stronger concern with the common good at the later stages. But these pathways and ladders fail to address the individual's movement from one type of participation to a more involved, deeper type of involvement, moving from basic volunteerism or fund-raising toward what Stivers (1995) would call "authentic citizenship" through participation in government decision-making.

By contrast, Shlozman, Burns, and Verba describe the boundary between political and non-political participation activities as "fuzzy", they point out that "participation in these [non-political] spheres - for example, running the PTA fund drive or managing the church soup kitchen - can develop skills that are transferrable to politics even when the activity itself has

nothing to do with politics. In addition, these nonpolitical institutions can act as the locus of attempts at political mobilization: church and organization members make social contacts and, thus, become part of networks through which requests for participation in politics are mediated" (Schlozman, Burns, and Verba 1994 967). Arnstein's ladder was based upon the official means of participation in government activity. But what if, instead, we look at a ladder of participation in the community? This would represent a scale ranging from true engagement and participation in government decision making at the top to the everyday types of engagement that would typically arise from family life, such as church or PTA membership, or from business life, such as from membership in professional organizations to participation in the chamber of commerce.

Rather than a single ladder or pathway from basic participation activities to more active ones, however, I propose that we look at a number of different starting points for participation, based upon the type of organizations one initially becomes involved with, as outlined in the figure below.



Without attempting to reinforce stereotypes, one might imagine the family-oriented “soccer mom” becoming involved with the local PTA and eventually become more active in youth-related charities or causes (Schlozman, Burns, and Verba 1994 967), while the “white-

collar dad” becomes involved in his professional organization, joins the local chamber of commerce, then eventually begins to participate in community meetings regarding economic development (Shlozman, Verba, and Brady 1999). Similarly, a church member may initially become involved with church activities, then progress to volunteering or advocating for religious or charitable issues (Wuthnow 1999). Each of these generalizations represents steps from casual engagement to genuine advocacy and engagement, with the potential for engagement in public decision-making as the final step along the path. Of course, those are only three potential entry points to participation. Social problems such as crime or health care issues might also cause an individual to become motivated to engage in society. Additionally, an intervening event may occur, such as a natural disaster, which changes an individual's priorities toward engaging in public life. It is entirely possible that different origins in the type of participation may influence whether, how, and when an individual moves farther along that path.

Instructions for Scorers

First read the responses on the attached score sheet, then read the attached statement of the theoretical model. Return to the score sheet and rate each response according to the guidelines below.

Place an 'X' in any column which you find to be unable to be coded - for example, if it has no answer, or is lacking adequate information to code.

Type1: The type of civic engagement and participation that seems most prominent for the respondent

- 0 - no discernible path
- 1 - parental/youth oriented
- 2 - business/professional/economic oriented

- 3 - community/cultural oriented
- 4 - religious oriented
- 5 - health oriented
- 6 - crime/social problem oriented

Depth1: The depth of engagement and participation that the response indicates, ranked according to the following scale:

- 0 - no involvement
- 1 - nominal involvement, such as being a member of a group but not mentioning participation
- 2 - minor substantive involvement - mention of weak participation
- 3 - significant substantive involvement - mention of significant participation
- 4 - active citizenship - involvement that could potentially influence public decision-making

Type2: A secondary type of engagement that also seems to be important to the respondent, coded along the same scale as Type1.

Depth2: The depth of engagement and participation that the response indicates, coded along the same scale as Depth1.

ICP: A rating according to a rating scale approximating the Index of Community Participation:

- 0 - no participation
- 1 - participating in crime watch, electoral campaign, contacting local officials, helping to form a new group, or other activities involving some small degree of interpersonal interaction.

- 2 - working with others to help solve some community or neighborhood problem
- 3 - nominal or low participation in at least one group
- 4 - moderate participation in at least one group
- 5 - significant participation in at least one group

APPENDIX E

Pearson Correlations for Coded and Demographic Variables, N=288

	parental	professional	religious	community	ICP	female
parental	1.0000					
professional	-0.0955	1.0000				
religious	-0.0591	-0.0851	1.0000			
community	0.1322*	0.2068*	-0.0846	1.0000		
ICP	0.2369*	0.3412*	0.0988	0.5690*	1.0000	
female	0.0647	-0.0510	-0.0398	-0.0385	-0.0350	1.0000
black	0.0949	-0.0922	-0.0044	-0.0968	-0.0570	0.1001*
college	0.1247*	-0.0064	0.1400*	-0.0728	-0.0022	-0.1168*
income	-0.0421	0.1132	-0.0204	0.0069	0.0574	-0.1424*
age	-0.0424	0.0073	0.0554	0.0199	0.0716	-0.0312
married	-0.0526	0.1210*	0.0638	0.0152	-0.0097	-0.1361*
dependents	0.1846*	-0.0271	0.0888	0.0310	0.0043	-0.0502
	black	college	income	age	married	dependents
parental						
professional						
religious						
community						
ICP						
female						
black	1.0000					
college	-0.0335	1.0000				
income	-0.2496*	0.2973*	1.0000			
age	0.0613	-0.1637*	0.0260	1.0000		
married	-0.1365*	0.0065	0.3999*	0.0018	1.0000	
dependents	0.0032	0.1481*	0.1408*	-0.3950*	0.1728*	1.0000

* indicates significance at or beyond the $p < .05$ level

APPENDIX F

Results of Factor Analysis for Altruistic and Self-Regarding Motivation

Rotated Principal Factors Matrix, n=756

Factor	Variance	Difference	Proportion Cumulative
Factor 1 (Altruism)	1.54745	0.12476	0.6486
Factor 2 (Self-Regarding)	1.42269	1.42068	0.5963
			1.2449
			0.0008
Factor 3	0.00202	.	1.2458

LR test: independent vs. saturated: chi-square(21) = 1347.88; $p > \chi^2 = 0.0000$

Rotated Factor Loadings and Unique Variances

Survey Item	Factor 1 (Altruism)	Factor 2 (Self-Regarding)	Factor 3	Uniqueness
commitment	0.7448	0.1097	0.0011	0.4332
vision	0.7148	0.1141	0.0128	0.4759
recommended	0.0866	0.4305	0.0135	0.807
difference	0.6111	0.3077	-0.0245	0.5312
connections	0.2172	0.6498	-0.0080	0.5306
interesting	0.1911	0.6450	-0.0039	0.5475
career	0.1306	0.5287	0.0314	0.7025