Resource Document 2.

Power in Organizing Documents

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A Power Actions Progression

This Resource Document introduces the skills, methods, procedures, and practices required to build and apply power in organizing campaigns. The particular power analysis tools for union organizing teams involve a five-action progression. This progression begins with tools that are simple and easy to deploy. It then progresses to more advanced, more powerful tools. These advanced tools that build on what organizing teams have already learned and the power they have already built. These tools apply the "progressive action dynamic." This organizing campaign practice starts with "where people are." They then progressively build ever increasing organizing capacity. In this way, action-by-action, organizing campaigns increasingly build union members' tolerance for risk and willingness to engage in conflict. In the process, organizing campaigns advance toward their objectives. The following section of this Resource Document detail these power analysis tools.

Power analysis tools are essential to the success of actions that create, target, and manage the conflict. These managed conflict actions produce the results that actually make progress in organizing campaigns. Additionally, the power analysis tools—discussed below—help unions develop the situation awareness required to shape and adapt to the unfolding circumstances of an organizing campaign.[1]

The Power Actions Progression functions as follows. Organizing teams first determine the concrete desired outcome of their organizing campaign. Beginning with Action 1, this Resource Documents introduces a tool to enhance organizers' ***Strategic Thinking*** about power relationships, power actors, and the use of power analyses. This tool consists of series of powerful questions[2] can help organizing teams to analyze and assess the potential demands of power in organizing.

In the four subsequent actions, union organizing teams use what they have learned from exploring these powerful questions to anticipate and prepare for organizing demands and challenges before they arise in the heat of a campaign. As a result, organizing teams can out-think, out-plan, out-prepare, and then out-maneuver their adversaries in order to shape and adapt to the unfolding circumstances of an organizing campaign.

These tools also help organizer teams develop situation awareness of the power structure and the power relationships in their organizing environments. The analyses described in the following

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[1]This GUIDE's Chapter 2 introduced the foundations of power dynamics to explain what all union organizers should know about power in their organizing environments. This foundation builds conceptual ***Knowledge*** of organizing's *Relational, Interpretive,* and *Influential* functions in the COG method's **LISTEN** and **ACT** steps. Appendix 2 extended this foundation by elaborating and extending the depth and breadth of subject matter knowledge of organizing concepts, principles, and dynamics related to power in organizing.

The power actor identification, power structures, and power relationships tools explored in this Resource Documents rely on the situation awareness built through the use of the relational methods detailed in Resource Document 3. Additionally, the first part of Appendix 4 extends the depth and breadth of knowledge on power structures and power relationships. However, the exploration of power is not the exclusive focus of Appendix 4. Appendix 4 also carries the COG method's LISTEN, PLAN and ACT steps further by applying a union's knowledge of power to prepare for planned action. This second part of Appendix 4 is paired with Resource Document 4. Resource Document 6 suggests methods, procedures, model documents, and other planning tools to complement the preparation for planned action explored in Appendix 4.

[2]ERIC E. VOGT, JUANITA BROWN; & DAVID ISAACS, THE ART OF POWERFUL QUESTIONS: CATALYZING INSIGHT, INNOVATION, AND ACTION (Mill Valley, Ca., Whole Systems Associates, 2003); J. Brown, D. Isaacs, E. Vogt, N. Margulies, *Strategic Questions: Engaging People's Best Thinking* (distributed by, Waltham, Ma.: Pegasus Communications, Inc, Nov. 2002).

sections also offer organizers methods for estimating the self-interests and incentive structures of the power actors that operate in a particular power structure. At their best, union strategies and tactics in the COG method's **ACT** step rely these power analyses to execute the *Influential* functions of organizing. However, these power analyses are also essential guides for a campaign's *Relational* and *Interpretive* functions.

Together this Resource Document and Resource Document 4 permit unions to apply their power through the kind of well-considered, well-prepared public actions required for a successful organizing campaign.

The Recommended Sequence of Power Analyses

The sequence of analyses described in the following sections is the next step in developing commanding situation awareness. They offer effective, practical progression for extending the awareness organizing teams developed through the methods and analyses detailed in Resource Document 3. Now, these next progression of analyses first identify the power forces which affect the results of an organizing campaign. Then, they identify the power actors who comprise the control group of a union's adversary and the factors that motivate them. These analyses can give organizers a working understanding of the power relations in the organizing environments.

The progression of actions which follow detail the power analyses required to effectively build situation awareness. Together with relational methods detailed in Resource Document 3, they build the foundation for the planning actions detailed in Resource Document 4.

The tools for power revealing power relationships used in an organizing campaign generally involve a progression through the following five (5) actions:

Action 1: **Determine the desired outcome / end-state of the organizing campaign.**

Action 2: **Identify the forces affecting the campaign.**

Action 3: **Identify the power actors.**

Action 4: **Map the power relationships.**

Action 5: **Identify the power actors' Motives and Incentive Structure.**

The sections which follow delineate the concrete steps needed to perform each action.

The actions listed above are logically sequential. However, in organizing practice considerable overlap exists among the actions. Moreover, as unions learn new information, they must update, adjust, and refine previous analyses and earlier findings. Each action permits a successively closer approximation of the power relationships and power dynamics in a union's organizing environments.

It is important to understand function of these analyses. They don't provide unions simple answers or tell organizing teams exactly what to do in a campaign. Rather, they function as Thinking Tools. Their purpose is to stimulate powerful questions rather than deliver pat answers. They provide a means for assessing the range of campaign options and possible directions, rather than providing a single, definite solution and a certain, inflexible course of action. They permit unions to out-think and then out-maneuver their adversaries in order to shape and adapt to the unfolding circumstances of an organizing campaign.

Throughout the process of conducting these actions, organizers should encourage the members of their organizing teams or organizing cadres to rely on open, frank, far-reaching dialogue and permit vigorous discussion or even debate to emerge. Dialogue[3] is crucial to using these analyses as effective Thinking Tools. It may take time to rigorously consider the key issues. Don't be too impatient: Give time to both the initial dialogue and any required subsequent reconsideration and refinement. If these processes are given care and time, organizing teams can identify concerns, problems, and symptoms. From this understanding, they can develop thoughtful, powerful solutions. Record and review these findings and ideas—particularly where a general consensus emerges on an approach, strategy, or other organizing action.

Action 1: Determine the desired outcome of the organizing campaign

Decades ago, Michael Arisman offered one the most important insights about organizing for power. He observed: "The organizer organizes around issues, not around problems."[4] This insight applies throughout an organizing campaign. Certainly, it governs the process of power analysis. The analyses described below build from both the union's Organizing Statement and its validation of the "Problem" as an "Organizing Issue."[5] For current purposes, it is sufficient here to emphasize that framing the issue organizing is essential to understanding the power structure and identifying the appropriate power actors in a particular organizing campaign.

The first and perhaps the most important critical success factor in an organizing campaign is to clearly establish the campaign's focus. Effective organizing campaigns begin at the end. Organizing teams start with the union's desired outcome or the objectives for the campaign (*i.e.,* the campaign's end-state). They then work backward from there.[6] From this point, an organizing team must establish the scope of the campaign by Framing the Problem as an "Organizing Issue." The "Strategic Navigation"[7] process advocated by this GUIDE refers to this planning process using an acronym of the first letter of each of its elements: GOST for *G*oals, *O*bjectives, *S*trategies, and *T*actics. The first two elements of GOST planning—identifying member goals and determining union objectives—are prerequisites for the next two elements and for effective action. These two elements occur during the **LISTEN** and the **PLAN** steps of the COG method. Again, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 discussed these COG method steps. Appendix 4 extends the approach. Resource Document 4 offers the planning tools (*e.g.,* the methods, procedures, and model documents) for making the prerequisite determination and to assist organizers in performing GOST planning tasks.

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[3]The process of "dialogue" involves a collective, collateral, goal-drive approach to both consideration of content and interactions among the members. *See* D. Bohm, Dialogue: A Proposal (N.P: 1991); "The Skills of Dialogue," *in* JOSEPH A. RAELIN, CREATING LEADERFUL ORGANIZATIONS: HOW TO BRING OUT LEADERSHIP IN EVERYONE, pp. 194–200 (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Pub, 2003).

[4]J. Michael Arisman, "Alinsky for Staff Organizers," *in* Appendix 1, *infra.* In many organizing campaigns, the "problem" situation is the need to bargain "more" in order to attain the union's organizing objectives. In these campaigns, framing the problem as an organizing issue is no different than any other situation.

[5]A full exploration of issue framing is beyond the scope of this Resource Document. Resource Document 4 outlines the steps required to frame Organizing Statement, cut the issue from the problem, and formulate an organizing theme. Moreover, in the section "Treatment of Issues," Arisman discusses issue framing and the six (6) conditions for framing or characteristics of an organizing issue. Unions use these six conditions to "validated" an organizing issues and differentiate them from "problems." *See* Arisman, "Alinsky for Staff Organizers," *in* Appendix 1, *infra. See* Framing the problem as an "organizing issue", and Framing Organizing Communications, *in* Resource Document 4, *infra*. This USB drive's "Listen" menu start a presentation on the "issue organizing" concepts discussed in this Chapter.

[6]In Chapter 4, the GUIDE referred to this approach as "reverse planning" and compared it to the "down-board" perspective relied upon by chess masters.

[7]*See* the Introduction to Chapter 4of this GUIDE, *supra*.

The powerful questions relevant to this action involving the outcome / end-state of the organizing campaign include the following:

- ***What are our members' shared goals?***
  1. What do our members want to accomplish over the long term? What ends do we seek?
  2. What are our members' shared goals? Why?
  3. How do our members articulate their goals? How can we conceptualize our members goals?
  4. Are these goals shared by all unit members? If not, why not?
  5. Why are these goals important?
  6. Are these goals realistically obtainable goals?
  7. Will these goals strengthen our union? Weaken our union?
  8. How do we articulate our members' goals? How can we conceptualize these goals?
  9. Can our members' shared goals be formulated in objective, quantifiable, realizable terms?
  10. How can we confirm or validate our understanding of our members' shared goals?
  11. How do we ensure accountability in our effort to learn our members' shared goals?

- ***What are our objectives?***
  1. What are our objectives?
  2. Where are we now? What is our current status?
  3. What are the components or milestones (*i.e.,* objectives) needed to attain our members' goals?
  4. What do we need to achieve in the short term? What milestones must we achieve?
  5. How can our members' goals be broken down and articulated as objectives which can be achieved in the near term?
  6. Are these objectives true to our shared values and desired future?
  7. How will these objectives (and the possible strategies needed to achieve them) strengthen our union? How can we formulate objectives to avoid weakening our union?
  8. How can we formulate these objectives in objective, quantifiable, realizable terms?
  9. Are these objectives realistically obtainable within the time frame set to attain our goals?
  10. How can we confirm or validate that our members' share or agree with the union's formulation of its objectives?
  11. How do we ensure accountability in our effort to formulate objectives?

- ***How do we frame the problem as an "organizing issue"?***
  1. How do we frame the problem as an "organizing issue"?
  2. How do we frame our organizing issue in our organizing statement?
  3. How do we cut and validate the organizing issue?
  4. How do we frame or formulate our organizing theme?

- ***What will be our tactics?***
  1. Where are we now? What is our current status?
  2. What are the components or milestones needed to accomplish our members' goals?
  3. What do we need to achieve in the short term? What milestones must we achieve?
  4. How can our members' goals be broken down and articulated as tactics which can be achieved in the near term?
  5. Are these tactics true to our shared values and desired future?
  6. Are these tactics realistically obtainable within the time frame set to achieve our goals?
  7. Will these tactics strengthen our union?

8. Can our tactics be stated in objective, quantifiable, realizable terms?
9. How can we confirm or validate that our members' share or agree with the union's formulation of its tactics?
10. How do we ensure accountability in our effort to formulate tactics?

- ***What other things do we need to know about our union's desired outcome?***
  1. How can we learn what else we need to know about our union's desired outcome?

In conducting the *Relational* function *public* actions of your organizing campaign, your organizing team and governance body may have already formulated objectives that will attain members' goals. They may have already determined the desired outcome of the organizing campaign. The union members may have already validated the objectives and the frame of the campaign with the union's members either through simple one-on-one conversations, in small group meetings, or in an All Member Canvas.

At this point, however, the purpose of the *public* actions ought to be to deepen the campaign's *Interpretive* functions by reconfirming the members' support the objectives and that members still believe the organizing issue is "100% Right." In particular, questions related to framing of the organizing issue provide an opportunity to extend the *Interpretive* function of the campaign. In addressing these questions, we recommend that your activities include the following actions to begin building solid relationships with rank-and-file union members and learn their stories, interests, and goals:

Action: Hold house meetings with the union's members to revalidate their support for the objectives formulated by the Organizing Team and assess their commitment to organizing to achieve the objectives.

Action: Hold After Action Reviews to assess and adapt these small group meetings and to discern what you have learned about member support for the objectives and commitment to organizing to achieve the objectives.

Tools: In addition to the Thinking Tools referenced above,Directed Active Listening" and Discernment assist organizers to determine the desired outcome of the campaign. Chapter 4 explains why good organizers take the down board perspective to plan using the GOST hierarchy.

Action 2: Identify the forces affecting the campaign

On a preliminary basis, organizing teams can identify the forces (*e.g.,* powerful institutions and groups) with an interest in their union's organizing campaign using a Thinking Tool, Force Field Analysis, *infra*. Force Field Analysis also estimates the "alignment" of particular forces that are likely to support and oppose their union's organizing issue. Force Field analysis also begins the process of assessing the "magnitude" of these forces.

In using power analysis tools unions should consider the following powerful questions. These questions enhance their strategic thinking regarding the *Relational, Interpretive,* and *Influential* functions of their organizing campaigns. Considering these questions—prior the demand time and attention constraints of an campaign—permit unions to out-think, out-plan, out-prepare, and then out-maneuver their adversaries in order to shape and adapt to the unfolding circumstances.

The powerful questions relevant to this action to identify the forces influencing a union's environments include the following:

- ***What social, political, economic, or ideological/cultural forces might have an interest in the union's activities (in economic, political, and ideological/cultural terms)?***
- ***What are the interests of these forces?***
  1. What are the espoused or expressed long-term interests of these forces?
  2. What are the espoused or expressed short-term interests of these forces?
  3. What are the real long-term interests of these forces?
  4. What are the real short-term interests of these forces?
- ***What is the alignment of these forces regarding the specific organizing issue advanced by this campaign?***
  1. What are the forces that are active in or have influence over our union's environments?
     - What forces support our union?
     - What forces oppose our union?
     - What forces are uncommitted or indifferent to our union?
  2. What powerful forces are not currently active in our union's environments?
     - How might the union induce potentially supportive forces to actively support our union?
     - How might the union induce potentially adversarial forces to remain neutral or even support our union?
- ***What is the overall balance of power of these forces?***
- ***How can we confirm or validate our analysis of these forces?***
- ***How do we ensure accountability in our effort to analyze these forces?***
- ***What else do we need to do to identify all the forces affecting our organizing campaign?***

Tools: Force Field Analysis provides organizers a power analytic tool for initially identifying the forces which affect an organizing campaign. Appendix 4 discusses Force Field Analysis and other tools for identifying the power structure and power dynamics that operate in an organizing campaign. This GUIDE provides instructions and model worksheet forms for the procedure, *below*.

Action 3: Identify the power actors

Building from this identification of the forces in play, unions must specifically identify the actual people (*i.e.,* the power actors) who have some self-interest in the organizing campaign or who the union will educate and persuade to take an interest. Simply, identifying the power actors involves determining the names of the people who comprise the forces identified using the union's Force Field Analysis (Action 2, *above*). Here, organizers must identify—by name—the appropriate power actors who can influence the outcome of a campaign. In all organizing campaigns, some of these power actors are the natural leaders in a union's own bargaining unit. In a campaign to support bargaining, power actors also consist of the employer's control group members. These employer control group member power actors are usually a union's primary organizing targets.

The powerful questions relevant to this action to identify the power actors influencing a union's environments include the following:

- ***Who are the power actors that direct or influence these forces?***
  1. What methods can be used to identify the power actors in our union's environments?

- The Positional Method described by Tait, *et al.*?
  - What are the advantages of this method?
  - What are the disadvantages of this method?
  - Overall, why is this method preferable to the other three methods?
- The Reputational Method described by Tait, *et al.*?
  - What are the advantages of this method?
  - What are the disadvantages of this method?
  - Overall, why is this method preferable to the other three methods?
- The Decision-Making Method described by Tait, *et al.*?
  - What are the advantages of this method?
  - What are the disadvantages of this method?
  - Overall, why is this method preferable to the other three methods?
- The Social Participation Method described by Tait, *et al.*?
  - What are the advantages of this method?
  - What are the disadvantages of this method?
  - Overall, why is this method preferable to the other three methods?

2. Who (by name) comprises the control group that has the power or capacity to give us what we want and need? Who controls whether we can achieve our tactics?
   - Who is formally "in charge" of the decision to accede to or deny our tactics?
   - Who actually makes the decisions to accede to or deny our tactics?
     - Are the individuals who actually make the decisions formally "in charge" (e.g., elected public officials, members of the employer's governing board or formal Control Group)?
     - Are the individuals who actually make the decisions "in control" behind the scenes (e.g., members of powerful special interest groups, other governmental official exercising control but not formally "in charge")?
   - Who are the members of the control group?
     - What are the dynamics among individuals comprising the control group?
     - Do they always act or make decisions as a block?
     - What is their position on the union and its members interests and goals?

- ***How can we confirm or validate our power actor identification?***
- ***How do we ensure accountability in our effort to identify the power actors?***
- ***What else do we need to do to identify all the power actors who could influence our organizing campaign?***

Tools: Knowing the power actors is essential for the success of a campaign. Powerful organizers rely on Thinking Tools for identifying the power actors who can and will influence an organizing campaigns. Appendix 4 discusses the importance of Power Mapping. This Resource Document details the use of Power Mapping as an analytic tool. This Resource Document also provides instructions and procedures for identifying power actors. John Tait and his colleagues detail four methods for definitively identifying a community's power actors.

Action 4: Map the power relationships

Power Mapping, below, is another Thinking Tool that graphically illustrates the relationships and connections among specific power actors. Power Mapping also reveals potential avenues of access to and influence over unions' primary organizing targets. To accomplish these tasks, Power Mapping necessarily builds from the identification of power actors (see Action 3, *above*).

In a union's own Internal Environment, Power Mapping identifies the natural leaders who are power actors among a union's members. It also identifies the people who have influence over, or relationship with, these natural leader members. Power Mapping also identifies particular key decision-makers in an Employer Control Group. In its Workplace and Community Environments, these power actors are usually a union's primary organizing targets.

The powerful questions relevant to this action to identify the power relationships influencing a union's environments include the following:

- ***Who (i.e., what individuals or groups) can influence the target decision makers so that we can achieve our tactics?***
  1. Why do the real decision makers support or opposed to our tactics?
     - To what degree do they oppose our tactics? Strongly oppose? Mildly oppose?
     - To what degree do they support our tactics? Strongly support? Mildly support?
  2. Who are the current supporters of the real decision makers?
     - Are they organized in their support for the real decision makers?
     - How can we organize them in to support our tactics?
     - If we can't organize them in support, how can we neutralize their influence?
  3. Who are the current opponents of the real decision makers?
     - Are they organized in their opposition to the real decision makers?
     - How can we organize them in to support our tactics?
     - If we can't organize them in support, how can we neutralize their influence?
  4. Who are the current allies of the real decision makers?
     - What are the issues that make them allies of the real decision makers?
     - Are they organized in their support for the real decision makers?
     - How can we organize them in to support our tactics?
     - If we can't organize them in support, how can we neutralize their influence?
  5. Who are the constituents of the real decision makers?
     - Are they organized in their support of the real decision makers?
     - How can we organize them in to support our tactics?
     - If we can't organize them in support, how can we neutralize their influence?
  6. Who is currently uninvolved with the real decision makers?
  7. How can we organize them in to support our tactics?
- ***What are the power relationships among the target decision-makers and their:***
  1. Currently colleagues?
  2. Currently supporters?
  3. Currently allies?

4. Currently opponents?
5. Currently constituents?

- ***How can we map our Power Structure Analysis? What will make it easier to "see" the power relationships that influence or control our environments?***
- ***How can we confirm or validate our Power Structure Analysis?***
- ***How do we ensure accountability in our effort to analyze the Power Structure?***
- ***What else do we need to do to identify all the relationships and connections among the power actors who could influence our organizing campaign?***

Tools: Knowing the relationships and connections among specific power actors is also essential for the success of a campaign. This Resource Document's Power Mapping instructions and procedures are proven Thinking Tools for illustrating and documenting these relationships and connections.

Action 5: Identify the power actors' motives & incentive structure

Through Incentive Structure Analysis, *below*, organizers move even closer to the degree of situation awareness that assures a successful campaign. Having mapped the power relationships operating in their organizing environments, organizers use Incentive Structure Analysis to estimate what might influence a particular target's incentives or motivations. This information permits organizers to identify actions or pressure tactics that will be effective in influencing their union's organizing targets.

The powerful questions relevant to this action to identify the motives and incentive structure of the power actors influencing a union's environments include the following:

- ***What are their incentive structures of these power actors? What motivates them to act or refrain from acting?***
  1. What is the agenda of these individual target decision makers? *I.e.:*
     - What decisions or policy outcomes does each of the individual targets want to achieve?
     - What decisions or policy outcomes does each of the individual targets want to avoid?
     - Is the agenda of each these individual target decision makers consistent with our tactics? Opposed to our tactics? Indifferent to or unaffected by our tactics?
  2. What really motivates these individual target decision makers? What is their incentive structure? What do they want? What do they want to avoid? What do they fear? *I.e.:*
     - What positive inducements / incentives / rewards can we bring to bear upon the targets to get them to do what we want?
     - What negative inducements / disincentives / sanctions can we bring to bear upon the targets to get them to do what we want? What kind of ridicule do the individual targets wish to avoid?
- ***How can we confirm or validate our analysis power actors' motivations?***
- ***How do we ensure accountability in our effort to analyze power actors' motivations?***
- ***What else do we need to do to identify all the motives & incentives of the power actors who could influence our organizing campaign?***

Tools: Organizers cannot influence power actors' motives and incentives unless they can identify them. Admittedly, really knowing someone's motives and incentives are always difficult. However, union Relational, Interpretive and Influential pubic actions must account for the motivations and incentive structures that drive the power actors in a union's organizing environments. This Resource Document's instructions and procedures for incentives structure analysis help organizers make a "pretty good" estimate of power actors' motives and incentives.

The Recommended Tools for Power Analysis.

The tools that follow support the Recommended Sequence of Power Analysis and related actions described above.

Force Field Analysis:
Instructions and Procedures
[COG LISTEN & PLAN steps]

The Purpose of the Technique

Organizers rely on Force Field Analysis[8] as a first step in developing "situation awareness." It provides a graphic overview of the differing forces which might potentially act on an organizing issue. It also provides an early opportunity for estimating the strength and sources of their power to affect the outcome of a campaign. In effect, it is a specialized method of weighing pros and cons, supporters and opponents.

The foundations and functions of Force Field Analysis are explored as a part of the "Planning Progression" in a union organizing campaign in Appendix 4.

Force Field Analysis is not a comprehensive assessment of the forces that will ultimately determine the outcome of an organizing campaign. Rather, it is a Thinking Tool for initially identifying that terrain through which the union must travel to achieve the campaign's objectives.

Force Field Analysis operates by identifying the forces supporting, opposing, or neutral to the union's organizing issue. Organizers use Force Field Analysis to identify where to begin the assessment that can ultimately strengthen their supporters and reduce the impact of their opposition.

Instructions and Procedures for Using the Technique

Organizers develop a Force Field Analysis through the collective intelligence of a union's organizing team, its officers, and other knowledgeable members or supporters. The Force Field Analysis technique operates best using a relatively small group of six to ten people engaged in a dialogue about the forces that may support or oppose the union's campaign. Figure RD02.01 A Force Field Analysis, below, illustrates the tool.

A Force Field Analysis consists of a three (3) step discussion to develop situation awareness of the forces potentially acting on an organizing issue. A fourth step records what the union learned from this discussion. The steps in the process of Force Field Analysis are:

Step 1: Frame the problem as an "organizing issue."

Step 2: Identify the forces aligned around the campaign's organizing issue.

Step 3: Rate the potential power capability of each of the forces.

Step 4: Systematically record what was learned from the discussion.

The following discussion explores these steps.

Step 1: Frame the organizing issue which is the focus of the campaign.

As with most power analyses, the process of Force Field Analysis begins by framing the "Problem" or the situation as an "organizing issue." Three decades ago, Michael Arisman insightfully observed: "The organizer organizes around issues, not around problems."[9] This same insight applies

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[8]For the original formulation of Force Field Analysis see KURT LEWIN, FIELD THEORY IN SOCIAL SCIENCE (NY: Harper & Row, 1951).

[9]J. Michael Arisman, "Alinsky for Staff Organizers," *in* Appendix 1.

throughout an organizing campaign. Certainly, it governs the process of Force Field Analysis. A full exploration of issue framing is beyond the scope of this section.[10] For current purposes, it is sufficient here to emphasize that framing the issue is essential to understanding the power structure and power dynamics in an organizing campaign.

A Force Field Analysis can only help a union analyze the power relationships present in an organizing campaign if the union clearly frames the purpose for power mapping as an organizing issue (rather than a problem). In a later step we will see that a part of this framing requires unions to personalize the organizing issue by expressly identifying the specific person or institution that can resolve the particular organizing issue. For right now, validating the "organizing issue" is an essential prerequisite.

This step is driven by information obtained from the union's actions during the COG method's LISTEN & PLAN steps.

Action: Effective organizing campaigns begin at the end. Organizing teams start with the union's desired outcome or the objectives for the campaign (*i.e.,* the campaign's end-state). They then work backward from there.[11] Conduct the trio of tasks detailed in Framing the problem as an "organizing issue." Formulate a statement of the organizing issue which is the focus of the campaign. Cut and validate the organizing issue. Then articulate the "100% Right Position." The information required to formulate a statement of the organizing issue originates from:

- Learning the members' goals.
- Establishing the union's objectives.
- Framing the organizing issues (or the union's interests).

For example, the 100% Right Position on a staff workload issue can be framed as:

> "The Association must guarantee that the assignments, workload, and working conditions of all staff consistently provide the Association's Locals the expertise and support required to provide members powerful, effective union representation."

Step 2: Identify the forces aligned around the campaign's issue.

List all the forces with an interest in the campaign's organizing issue according to whether they support, oppose, or are now uncommitted (but might be induced to support the organizing issue).

Action: In one column, list all the forces opposing the union's organizing issue and in the other column list those supporting it. Then, list all the forces whose position is unknown or who may be currently uncommitted either way. (At this stage, your list may consist only of institutions or organizations. Initially, your organizing team

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[10]In the section "Treatment of Issues," Arisman discusses issue framing and the six (6) conditions for framing or characteristics of an organizing issue. Unions use these six conditions to "validated" an organizing issues and differentiate them from "problems." *See* Arisman, "Alinsky for Staff Organizers," *in* Appendix 3. *See* Framing the problem as an "organizing issue" *in* Resource Document 6.

[11]In Chapter 4, the GUIDE referred to this approach as "reverse planning" and compared it to the "down-board" perspective relied upon by chess masters.

may not know the actual identity of the people that determine an organization's positions and policies. Subsequent, analyses will identify them by name.)

It is helpful to differentiate the three positions using different colors. Here, we use red for opposing forces, green for supporting forces, and orange for those who are uncommitted or whose position is currently unknown.

Step 3: Rate the potential power capability of each of the forces.

To effectively allocate their organizing efforts and resources, unions must understand just how influential a particular force in the union's environment might be. This requires union organizers to assess the "magnitude" of a force's power. In practice, this means assigning some rating to their influence. At this stage, organizers' assessments and ratings are essentially rough estimates.

The respective power of the forces supporting and opposing the issue in union campaigns has no inherent magnitude. Currently, some potentially powerful forces may even be undecided, uncommitted, or neutral. The collective power of all forces may be in balance, at equilibrium. If so, the issue remains unresolved. Alternatively, either the forces supporting or those opposing the issue may have more power. Generally, the most powerful alignment of forces will determine the issue and the outcome of a union's campaign. However, the support of currently uncommitted forces might change the power balance. Of course, organizing is all about increasing the power of the union and securing powerful allies: Organizing functions to "re-strike the balance" of power.

To effectively organize around an issue, organizers must gauge the respective power of these opposing forces. Organizers must also identify uncommitted forces that might be induced to support the union's position on the issue.

Action: Rate the magnitude of each supporting, opposing, and uncommitted force using a "1 to 5 scale," where 1 is the least influential and 5 is the most powerful.

Step 4: Systematically record what was learned from the discussion.

To maintain and improve their Force Field Analysis procedures and results, unions must systematically record what their organizers learned. The same is true for the other power analyses discussed in this GUIDE.

Action: Each step in the discussion may be diagramed on a whiteboard, a newsprint flip chart using different color Post-it® notes, or a PowerPoint slide. Figure RD02.01, below, is an example of a Force Field Analysis diagram.

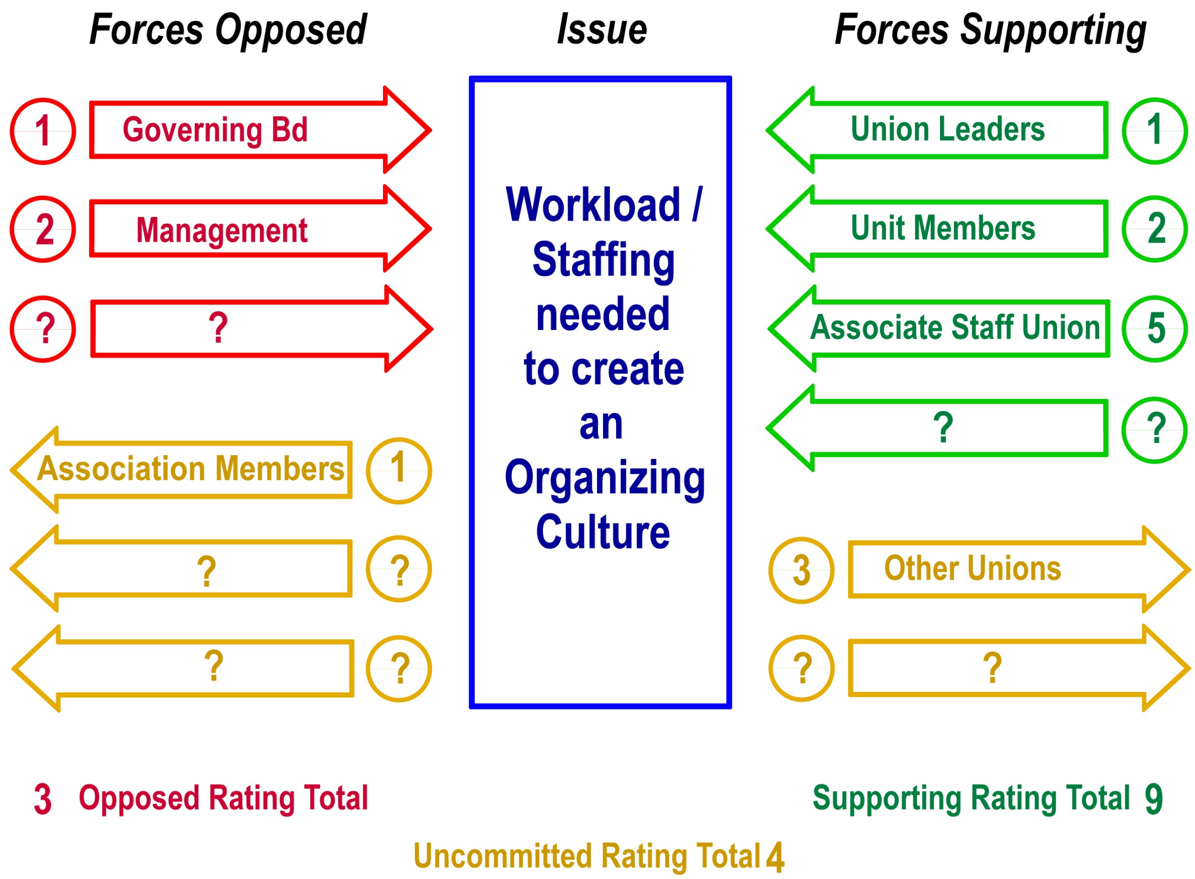
To facilitate your own effort to conduct a Force Field Analysis, this Resource Document includes a sample worksheet. Adapt this worksheet to fit both your union's needs and capabilities and the organizing environment in which the campaign must operate.

Revisit and revise your Force Field Analysis as often as necessary. Actors, positions, and institutions change.

Throughout the process of developing a Force Field analysis, organizers should encourage open, frank, far-reaching dialogue. Dialogue is crucial to an effective Force Field Analysis. Moreover, consideration of key issues should be permitted time. In the process, concerns, problems, symptoms and solutions related to the organizing issue may emerge. Record and review these findings and ideas, particularly where a general consensus emerges.

Figure RD 02.01

A Force Field Analysis



Tips on Force Field (and other Analyses):

- In some situations, identifying and classifying the forces that might affect the outcome of an organizing campaign may not be clear and simple. Your organizing team may need to thoroughly discuss all of the considerations before making judgment about which force may have an interest and how they should be aligned. Even then, your team members may not be absolutely certain or even in complete agreement. However, this dialogue is a valuable Thinking Tool in itself because it applies the collective intelligence of your team. It may broaden and deepen the analysis. In organizing, you need not be 100% correct at every turn. "Pretty good" is usually good enough Successive approximation always gives organizers another opportunity to "get it right" or to accomplish the task.

- In some campaigns, the forces that oppose one of your organizing issues may be allies on other issues or in other campaigns.

- "Uncommitted" forces often include institutions or groups that appear sympathetic to your organizing issue but are unwilling to really commit time, resources, effort, or credibility on your union's behalf. External organizing frequently determines ultimate issue alignment.

- Some forces may support your union on this organizing issue but oppose your union's long-term interests or goals. These forces are "tactical" allies that can be used and relied upon only in the short-term. Remember: "No permanent friends, no permanent enemies" is the first rule of community organizing.

- Your analysis of forces will be more accurate and precise if you think about, identify, and discuss the real people who are actually the forces behind the various institutions and groups under consideration. A focus on individuals often tells you more about the positions and interests of an institution or group than treating it as a blanket abstraction. Identifying named individuals also gives your organizing team a head start on the information required in subsequent power analyses and in choosing your organizing targets.

Force Field Work Sheet

[COG LISTEN & PLAN steps]

The Purpose of the Work Sheet

The Force Field Work Sheet creates a record of the specific, concrete forces that may have an interest in a union's organizing campaign and the power to influence its outcome: Subsequent power analyses build on this initial record. In combination with (or as an alternative to) a Force Field Analysis graphic, the Work Sheet specifically identifies the forces (*i.e.,* institutions and factions) that might be "in play" during the campaign. It also records your organizing team's estimate of the "alignment" of particular forces that are likely to support and oppose the union's organizing issue. Force Field analysis also begins the process of assessing the "magnitude" of these forces.

Instructions and Procedures for Using the Technique

List the information indicated in the work sheet as fully as possible. Where your organizing team doesn't know or needs more information, make a note. Then figure out how the team will acquire the needed information.

The process of power actor logging usually consists of the following five (5) steps:

Step 1: Frame the Problem as an "organizing issue."

Step 2: Identify the forces aligned around the campaign's organizing issue.

Step 3: Rate the Power of the forces.

Step 4: Summarize the interests and positions of the various forces.

Step 5: Estimate the forces' alignment regarding the organizing issue.

Much of this process is identical to that discussed above. The following discussion outlines these steps. We recommend that unions begin this—like all other power analyses—with open, frank, and detailed dialogue. Systematically consider each step. Initially, rely on the collective intelligence of the members of the union's organizing team or organizing cadre. After breaking ground with the organizing team, most unions must expand beyond team members' personal information, knowledge, and experience. At that point, include additional union officials, unit members, and—potentially—even union allies or community group members. Initially, don't be afraid to "guesstimate" based on the results of the organizing team's dialogue. Later, attempt to confirm team members' estimates through discussion with knowledgeable people outside the Team. Update your Force Field Work Sheet as often as necessary.

Step 1: Frame the problem as an "Organizing Issue."

This step is driven by information obtained from the union's actions during the COG method's LISTEN & PLAN steps.

Action: Formulate a statement of the organizing issue which is the focus of the campaign. Frame the statement as an issue and not a problem, so that a "100% Right Position" can be articulated.

Step 2: Identify the forces aligned around the organizing issue.

List all the forces with an interest in the campaign's organizing issue according to whether they support, oppose or are now uncommitted (but might be induced to support the union's organizing issue). These forces may be: employers or other private companies (like your state's NEA affiliate, or a chamber of commerce); other NEA affiliate local associations; state or local government agencies (like a city council or a public employment relations board); *etc.* Alternatively, these forces may be other labor unions or count federations, political, economic, or ideological / cultural institutions in any of a union's four environments.

Action: In the first column, begin by listing all the forces supporting the union on its organizing issue. Continue by listing the forces opposing the union or its organizing issue. Then, list all the forces whose position is unknown or who may be currently uncommitted.

Again, it is helpful to differentiate the three positions using different colors. Here we use red for opposing forces, green for supporting forces, and orange for those who are uncommitted or whose position is currently unknown.

Step 3: Rate the potential power capability of each of the forces.

To effectively allocate their organizing efforts and resources, unions must understand just how influential a particular force in the union's environment might be. This requires union organizers to assess the "magnitude" of a force's power. In practice, this means assigning a rating of their influence. At this stage, the assessments or ratings are essentially rough estimates.

Action: In the second "Pwr rank" column, rate the magnitude of each supporting, opposing, and uncommitted force using a "1 to 5 scale," where 1 is the least influential and 5 is the most powerful.

Step 4: Summarize the interests and positions of the various forces.

Organizers must learn more than just where the various forces "stand" on the campaign's organizing issue. They must also learn the explanation for the position. This means that they have to estimate the interests or objectives of each force that may concern itself with the organizing issue.

Action: In the third "Position – Interest" column, summarize the views of the forces regarding your organizing issue.

Step 5: Estimate the forces' alignment regarding the organizing issue.

After an organizer has identified each force's interest or objectives, it is simple to predict whether they are likely to support, oppose, or be uncommitted at the beginning of the campaign. In other words, account for how they might "line up" on the issue.

Action: In the fourth "Alignment" column, categorize the positions of each force regarding your organizing issue as follows:

- O = Opposed
- S = Supports
- U = Uncommitted
- ? = Don't know

FORCE FIELD WORK SHEET

last updated: ______________

Organizing Issue:

Institutions & Other Forces	Pwr rank	Position – Interest	Align-ment
Supporting Forces within the Union			
			S
			S
			S
			S
Supporting Forces within the Employer			
			S
			S
			S
Other Supporting Forces			
			S
			S
			S
			S
Opposing Forces within the Union			
			O
			O
			O

The Employer & Opposing Forces within the Employer			
			O
			O
			O
			O
			O
Other Opposing Forces			
			O
			O
			O
Currently Uncommitted Forces			
			U
			U
			U
			?
			?
			?

Power Actors Identification:
Instructions and Procedures
[COG LISTEN & PLAN steps]

The Purpose of the Technique

Unions must specifically identify the power actors who have some self-interest in the organizing campaign or who the union will educate and persuade to take an interest.

By definition, power actors are the people who can influence the outcome of a union organizing campaign. They include influential people who are:

- Foes of the union who oppose the union's interests and position on the organizing issue.
- Friends of the union who support the union or share the union's interests and position on the organizing issue.

Power actors also include potentially influential people who are:

- On the fence and are uninformed, uncommitted, or unconcerned with the union's organizing issue.

This means that in most campaigns, organizers must be concerned with four (4) categories of power actors:

1. ***Member targets*** in a union's internal environment

   These are the union's own members who have a direct self-interest in the campaign's outcome. Starting with the relationships forged within their Internal environment, unions build the power needed for success.

2. ***Member Influentials*** over a union's internal environment

   Influentials are people who can influence or who have relationships with the union's member organizing targets inside a union's own internal environment (*e.g.,* friends & spouses of natural leaders, the uncommitted, or dissidents / opponents). They always include the natural opinion leaders in a union's internal environment. Generally, Member Influentials do not have the capacity to directly build Referent Power between union members and the union, but they have close connections to union members and may influence their opinions and perceptions.

3. ***Control group targets*** — the employer's (or other target's) control group

   In any power structure, the control group consists of the people who run things. These people can accede to a union's campaign objectives. Generally, these people are formal decision-makers (i.e., people allocated the Legitimate Power to determine the outcome of a union's organizing issue). In any particular campaign, a union may or may not have direct access to control group targets, its primary organizing targets.

4. ***Target Influentials*** with the union's primary control group targets

   These are the people that can exert influence over or who have relationships with the union's control group targets in the workplace environment. Generally, Target Influentials do not have the capacity or the Legitimate Power to directly decide the outcome of a union's organizing issue. However, they have close relationships with the power actors who do. Through their connections or Legitimate Power over other arenas, target Influentials may put pressure on or influence the actions, opinions, and perceptions of the union's primary organizing targets. Generally, a union has direct access to its target Influentials. As a result, target Influentials may be thought of as secondary organizing targets.

Appendix 4 explores power actors Identification techniques as one of the foundations of the "Planning Progression" in a union organizing campaign. Particular power actors' roles differ. Recognizing the Power Actors: Friends, Foes, and Those Who Just Don't Care, Yet in Appendix 4explores their influence in a campaign.

Instructions and Procedures for Using the Technique

Power actor Identification techniques vary, but we recommend the following procedure:

Step 1: Select a method for learning the identity of the power actors.

Organizers rely on a variety of methods and techniques to identify power actors, ranging from simple intuition to formal survey methods. John Tait and his colleges[12] developed the most practical methods.

In IDENTIFYING THE COMMUNITY POWER ACTORS, Tait and his colleagues analyzed ways to identify the power actors in a geographic area or community. Depending on the situation, they advanced four (4) methods:

- The Positional Method,
- The Reputational Method,
- The Decision-Making Method, and
- The Social Participation Method.

Tait and his colleagues assessed the assumptions, types of leaders identified, advantages, and limitations of each method. They recognized that the particular method or methods a union ought to employ will vary depending on: (1) the objectives of the union's organizing campaign; (2) the types of power actors the union wants and needs to identify; (3) the union's available resources; and (4) the union's expertise, style, or organizational culture.

Organizers can effectively apply these methods to develop situation awareness in a union organizing environment. Since these methods are not mutually exclusive, union organizing teams can use the combination of these methods that best fits their organizing issue, environment, and capabilities.

Action: Assess the four methods and select one or more that are appropriate to the union's organizing situation.

Step 2: Follow the steps in the method selected.

In IDENTIFYING THE COMMUNITY POWER ACTORS, Tait and his colleagues listed the specific steps each method uses to identify power actors.[13] These steps are not repeated here. Regardless of the method used, unions must specifically identify the power actors who have some self-interest in the organizing campaign or who the union will educate and persuade to take an interest in the issue.

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[12]*See* JOHN L. TAIT, JANET BOKEMEIER, & JOE M. BOHLEN, IDENTIFYING THE COMMUNITY POWER ACTORS: A GUIDE FOR CHANGE AGENTS (North Central Regional Extension Publication 59, *reprinted, by* Iowa City, Ia: Iowa State University Extension, 1988), reprinted in this Resource Document, *infra*.

[13]See IDENTIFYING THE COMMUNITY POWER ACTORS.

Action: Follow the steps in the method selected. Depending on the method or methods selected the number of steps and nature of the procedures may vary.

Step 3: Record what was learned from the method selected.

To maintain and improve their power actor Identification procedures, unions must systematically record what their organizers learned from the methods they select.

Tait and his colleagues offer exemplary questions, sample questionnaires and model forms for recoding the organizational information collected through each method.

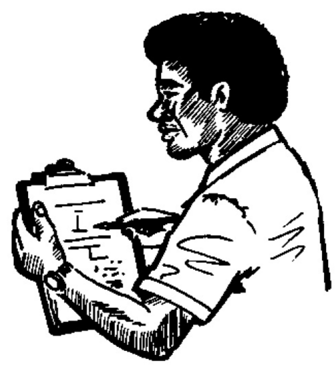
Action: You should adapt these resources to fit your union's needs and capabilities.

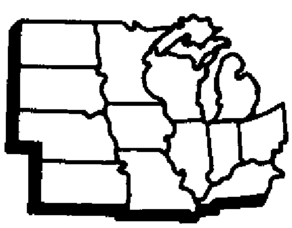
North Central Regional Extension Publication 59

Identifying the Community Power Actors: A Guide for Change Agents[14]

By

John L. Tait
Janet Bokemeier
Joe M Bohlen





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[14]Reprinted courtesy of the Iowa State University, University Extension [page numbers & format vary from original].

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PREFACE

In carrying out most community action programs, change agents will need to consider obtaining support from key community leaders. These leaders often exercise social power to affect the outcomes of community decisions. They are also referred to as community power actors.

Obtaining the support of the community power actors is usually essential to the success of community action programs. Although the community power actors and not become involved in all community issues, and effective change agent needs to have knowledge of the community power actors and how they effect community decisions.

The purpose of this publication is to present for methods that and agents can use to identify that community power actors. These include positional, the reputational, the decision-making and the central participation methods. A description, the assumptions, and the procedures to be used, the types of power actors identified, the advantages and the limitations of each method are discussed.

Because research findings indicate that the four methods to tend to identify different types of power actors, a comparison of methods is presented to assist the change agent in selecting the method or combination of that is most appropriate for that change agent's community action efforts. Finally, the appendix presents suggestions to aid the change agent in applying each method to identify the community power actors. A glossary of key concepts used in the publication and any selected bibliography are also presented for the change ageny's use in enhancing the knowledge and understanding identifying that community power actors.

The publication is intended for use by change agents whose major objectives focus on promoting and stimulating social change in communities. Among such change agents are Extension workers, community development specialists, government agency personnel, school administrators, community planners, ministers, business leaders, union leaders and voluntary association leaders. That the application of the methods as presented in this publication tries on all social science research and experience in identifying that community power actors.

Hollis Hall, Director
Cooperate Extension Service; South Dakota State University, Advisor to North Central Rural Sociology Committee.

Identifying the Community Power Actors: A Guide for Change Agents

INTRODUCTION

The success of a community action program depends on how effectively a program mobilized its human and non-human resources. Community power actors play a predominant role in community action. These individuals had been referred to as key leaders, influential, legitimizers and decision makers. They often that social power to effect the outcomes of community decisions.

Most change agents are concerned with the role that community power actors play in affecting the out-comes of community issues. Research has indicated that power actors may place several key roles than community action programs.

Among these role are (1) giving sanction (the authority, justification, or license to act), (2) suggesting ideas for improving the program, (3) providing resources needed to complete the program, (4) providing access to other resources both inside and outside that community, and (5) promoting the program in the community. Community power actors may also play roles in opposing community action programs. They may prevent the emergence of community action programs or oppose them after they have been initiated.

In some cases, failure to appropriately involve that community power actors at early stage is an action programs has led to their opposition to the program. Considering the appropriate involvement or non-involvement of the community power actors is one important factor that change agents need to consider when developing strategies for community action programs.

Prior to developing strategies for the involvement of the power actors in community action programs, it is essential that the change agent identify the appropriate power actors for the community action program areas of concern. A change agent who is new to a community may not be aware of the identity of the community power actors. Therefore, the change agent who is new to a conveniently often needs to identify and appealed communication linkages to the community power actors who will affect his or her programs.

Research indicates that the power actors are in a community will change over time. Consequently experienced change agents need to be aware of change occurring Among community power actors and the need for the review and revision of late is a identified power actors.

The primary purpose of this publication is to outline for methods that change agents can use to identify that community power actors. They are (1) positional, (2) the reputational, (3) that decision-making, and (4) the social participation methods. in addition, the publication discusses how each method or combination of methods may be applied by change agents. Keep all the methods had been used in both rural and urban communities. The intent of this publication is to present apply to methods based on both research and experience that will assist change agents in enhancing community development work.

Prepared by John L. Tait, Extension Sociologist; Janet L. Bakemeier, Graduate Research Assistant; and Joe M. Bohlen, Professor; Department of Sociology, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa. *Research was funded by the Iowa Cooperative Extension Service and Iowa Agriculture and Home Economics Experiment Station, Ames, Iowa, Project No. 1996.*

IDENTIFICATION METHODS

Regardless of the method selected to identify the community power actors, the change agent needs to consider two factors prior to identifying the power actors. These are the issue area and the geographic area.

Before identifying the power actors, the change agent needs to identify the issue area (or areas) of concern. These issues should include the areas in which the change agent intends to carry out community action programs. Issues may include such areas as education, agriculture, industrial development, transportation, energy, environment, health, social services, cultural affairs, politics, youth services, recreation and urban renewal.

In addition to selecting issue areas of primary concern, the change agent should collect information to determine who has social power in the general affairs of the community. These general power actors may have social power to influence decision-making in many different issue areas in the community.

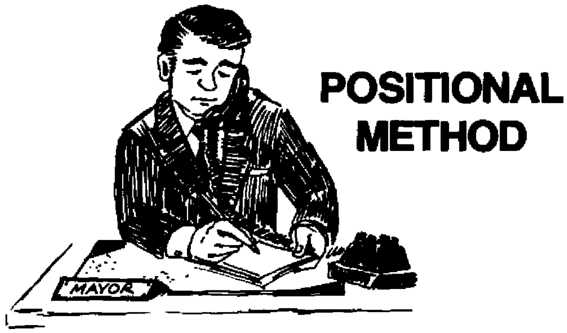
Another factor to consider, regardless of the method selected, is the relevant geographic area. The change agent needs to identify the approximate geographic area that will be affected by community action efforts. The relevant geographic area may be an unincorporated village, an incorporated town, a town and the outlying trade area, an urban community, a county or a multi-county region.

In determining the relevant geographic area, the change agent should consider the issue areas selected and the scope of his or her programs. Research indicates that the relevant geographic area changes depending upon the issue area being considered. For example, educational issues in rural areas are likely to include the town and the outlying rural areas included in the school district. On the other hand, the issue of passing a bond issue for a new town facility may include only the incorporated town as the relevant geographic area.

The change agent should consider the relevant geographic areas for the issue areas in which he or she intends to identify the community power actors. The broadest geographic area should be selected that includes the specific geographic areas related to each issue area of concern. In rural areas, this generally includes the population center and the out-lying rural area. This area will include either the primary retail trade area, or the school district, or, possibly, both of these areas.

If the change agent desires to identify the power structure for a county, the power actors for each community probably will have to be identified. Although only a limited number of research studies of county-wide power structures have been conducted, the findings suggest that a unified county power structure doesn't exist, except in the case of a county-based institution such as political party organizations or where the community and county have common boundaries.

Determining the issue areas and the geographic area as a first step will prepare the change agent for the selection of an appropriate method for identifying the community power actors. The next four sub-sections will present four methods for identifying the community power actors.



Description

The oldest method used to identify community power actors is the positional method. The individuals who occupy key formal authority positions in the major social, economic, political, governmental, cultural, and religious institutions and in related formal voluntary associations are considered the community power actors.

Assumptions

The first major assumption is that the power to affect community decisions rests in the important positions of formal organizations in the community. The second major assumption is that those holding positions of authority actually make key decisions, while those who do not occupy such positions do not make key decisions. The success or failure of the positional method in identification of community power actors depends upon the degree to which this second basic assumption is valid. It is also assumed that positional power actors often have control over important re-sources sometimes needed for community action programs.

Procedures

The procedures for using the positional method focus on selecting power actors on the basis of important positions occupied in formal organizations and in the community. The change agent must determine what positions within the community are relevant for community action. The relevant positions might include: 1) the local elected officials, 2) appointed civil servants, 3) business and financial leaders, 4) elected officials of key voluntary associations, 5) agency directors, and 6) others. (See Appendix, p. 24 for Sample List).

The change agent might develop a generalized list of relevant positions whose incumbents may likely participate in several community issue areas. Certain authority positions (e.g., the mayor and city council) will likely have power to affect several or most community issues.

Other formal positions may be primarily oriented to single issue areas. The superintendent of schools may be a relevant position for educational issue areas but not for other issue areas such as health, industrialization, energy, the environment, and culture. If the change agent is primarily concerned with one or two issue areas, such as health and recreation, then it may be desirable to develop a list of relevant positions for these specific issue areas.

The change agent must establish some criteria as to which formal positions are relevant for the community action programs being planned. These criteria will depend on the size and type of community. Examples of some criteria are to include: 1) all elected positions, 2) managers of companies with a certain number (for example, 100 or more) employees, 3) presidents of banks with a given dollar amount of assets, and/or 4) all business proprietors with stores on the community's downtown square.

Next, the change agent should collect the names, addresses, occupations, and telephone numbers for the incumbents fulfilling the selected relevant positions. With changes in officers and the mobility of people, lists can readily become outdated. Therefore, this list of names should be reviewed and revised on a yearly basis. Also, as new relevant positions are created within the community, they should be added to the positional lists.

Although this may seem to require considerable time on the part of the change agent, directories of officers are often published on a yearly basis by the chamber of commerce, the city government, planning associations, and voluntary association bureaus. The change agent might check out these sources to determine if lists are already available.

If directories are not available, the change agent will need to develop a directory. The development of a directory may be considered as a community action project. In one Iowa community of approximately 30,000, a small group of women identified nearly all the voluntary associations, their purposes, and their officers. Approximately 215 voluntary associations were identified. The information was supplied to the chamber of commerce, which made plans to update it on a yearly basis.

Positional method lists can be used to screen for potential legitimizers, obtain potential board and committee members, secure access to resources, and recruit action persons for community development efforts. Also, these lists might be used for two-way communications. They could be used as mailing lists for community development messages, but they may also become a mechanism for feedback information and evaluation of community development efforts.

Procedures—Positional Method

Step 1: Determine relevant positions.
Step 2: Collect incumbents' names.
Step 3: Review and update lists yearly.

Types of Power Actors Identified

The positional method identifies the visible leaders in the community who are involved in both public and private organizations. Change agents may wish to distinguish between private organizations that are more service-oriented (*e.g.,* chamber of commerce) and those that are member-oriented (*e.g.,* bridge club).

Examples of public position holders at city, county, state, or federal levels that may be included are:

a. Elected government leaders-mayor, city council members, judges, school board members, legislators, etc.

b. Appointed political officers and higher civil servants-heads of departments and agencies, appointed board members, chairpersons of political parties.

Examples of private and voluntary position holders that would also be identified are:

a. Corporation executives and directors-heads of the major corporations, business and financial institutions,

b. Officeholders in service-oriented voluntary associations-presidents of chambers of commerce, parent-teacher associations, service clubs, hospital auxiliaries, industrial development corporations,

c. Formal officeholders in member-oriented organizations—presidents of sports associations, church organizations, paternal orders, labor unions.

Advantages

- The major advantage to the positional method is that these community power actors are visible, thus easily identified.
- A second major advantage is that there is little cost involved in developing a list of community power actors by using the positional method.
- A third advantage is that, from knowledge about the formal position, such as the amount of authority and responsibility vested in the position, the change agent will be able to gain insight into the incumbent's potential role in community development programs.
- A fourth advantage is that change agents who maintain more extensive lists (organizations in many different community sectors) will have a good cross-section of community leaders.

Limitations

There are several limitations of the positional method.

- The first limitation is the difficulty of determining which positions hold power and which ones do not hold power to affect various community decisions.
- Second, some positional power actors do not exercise their potential. For example, the mayor may be a figurehead and not use the power invested in his office to affect community affairs. Or, the local head of an absentee-owned corporation may limit exercise of power in community affairs only to issues where corporation interests are at stake.
- Third, the positional method generally tends to identify power actors who are in formal positions and who function in community affairs on the basis of authority. It does not identify those power actors who operate behind the scenes, are not informal positions, and function on the basis of personal influence. For example, a very influential power actor in a key voluntary association may not be in an office within that association.

REPUTATIONAL METHOD

Description

In the 1950's, the reputational method developed as an approach to identifying community power actors. This procedure involves selecting knowledgeable community citizens who provide a list of power actors and then rank them according to their reputation for social power in community affairs.

Assumptions

The reputational method is based on the notion that power is present and involved in all social relationships. It is assumed that power to affect community decisions both influences and is a consequence of reputation. Reputation is an indicator of a power actor's potential to affect community issues and of the resources that a power actor controls. These reputations are an index of the distribution of influence in the community.

Another assumption is that knowledgeables know power actors by their reputations. Power is intangible and, therefore, measured indirectly by knowledgeables' opinions and estimations of the amount of influence that community power actors possess. The final major assumption is that community power actors cannot be identified by just observing who holds offices or participates in public meetings, board meetings, etc. Some power actors are more concealed and operate behind the scenes to affect community actions and decisions.

Procedures

Identifying the community power actors through the use of the reputational method involves interviewing knowledgeables within the community. Knowledgeables are persons who are perceived to be well-informed concerning the power structure and decision-making in the community. They are individuals who can identify those actors who have the power to affect a number of community issue areas.

Having identified a number of community knowledgeables, the change agent then interviews the knowledgeables with a questionnaire to determine the reputed community power actors. This may involve any of the following modifications:

a. One-Step Process—
Knowledgeables are asked to provide a list of community power actors. The types of questions asked vary.

b. Two-Step Process—
The two-step procedure differs in that lists of power actors in various institutions or community sectors are first compiled by the change agent. The second step involves giving the lists of power actors to a panel of knowledgeables in the community who select from the list those who are reputed to have the most power to affect decisions.

c. External-knowledgeable Process—
This modification is especially useful to the change agent with few contacts within the community. In the first step of this method, knowledgeables from outside the community are interviewed. Although these knowledgeables live outside the community of interest, they should have information and awareness of who is "in the know" in the community. These external knowledgeables are interviewed and asked to list the names of internal knowledgeables, that is, individuals living in the community who they believe have a broad, general knowledge of the community decision-making processes. In the second step of this approach, the internal knowledgeables are interviewed and asked to list the names of the community power actors.

The following guidelines are suggested when using the reputational method. These major steps are based on research experiences with the application of the reputational method (see also, Powers, 1965). Some suggestions are:

1. Defining Issue Areas.
The first step involves identifying the issue areas of concern to community development organizations and change agents. In addition to specific issue areas, questions should be asked to determine who has power in the general affairs of the community.

2. DEFINING THE GEOGRAPHIC AREA.

The next step is identifying the geographic area in which community development issues are to be resolved. The relevant geographic area may be a single community, a county, or a region. The relevant geographic area may change depending upon the issue.

3. SELECTING KNOWLEDGEABLES.

After selecting the issue areas, change agents need to select a number of knowledgeables to be interviewed. Knowledgeables may include:

- Bankers
- Newspaper editors and radio station managers
- Extension staff
- Secretaries of chambers of commerce
- Local government officials—city clerk, long time office holder
- Utility company personnel
- Ministers
- Union leaders

The methods described in this publication have been used in rural and urban communities. Some adjustments may be required with different sizes of communities. As a working guideline, Powers (1965) suggested the following number of interviews by size of community:

Size of Community	Number of Knowledgeables To Interview
250 – 1,000	5
1001 – 2500	7
2501 – 5000	8
5001 – 10000	10
10001 – 100000	15

If the list of persons named as power actors is not duplicated several times after the suggested number of knowledgeables has been interviewed, it will be necessary to identify and interview more knowledgeables.

4. DEVELOPING A QUESTIONNAIRE.

Before interviewing the knowledgeables, the change agent should develop questions about each of the selected issue areas and about the community decision-making process. For example, one researcher asked the following question (Gamson, 1968):

> In many communities, relatively few people are able to affect the outcome of issues, sometimes because they are in a position to make key decisions or because they have the ability to persuade others to follow their leadership. Would you tell me the names of the most important and influential leaders in this community even if they do not hold public office?

Another example of a question asked in a research project is (Blankenship, 1970):

> Suppose a major project were before the community, one that required a decision by a group of leaders whom nearly everyone would accept. Which people would you choose to make up this group-regardless of whether or not you know them personally?

To speed up interviewing, the change agent may want to limit the number of issue areas to four or less, including the area of general affairs. The decision of how many issue areas to include is important.

Several aspects need consideration in deciding the number of issues to be studied. First, the decision needs to be made concerning whether the change agent wants to explore the general power structure of the community, determining if it's elitist, pluralistic or perhaps of a sovereignty type. Or, the change agent may be interested in only a specific issue area related to the proposed community programs. Second, the size of the community might influence the number of issue areas to study. That is, with large communities the change agent would need to study more issues to get a broader spectrum of who has power. Third, the practical question of time and resources should be considered.

As a guideline, the following table suggests the number of issues to study in communities of different sizes:

Size of Community	Number of Knowledgeables To Study
250 – 1,500	3
1,501 – 5000	4
5001 – 10,000	6
More than 10,000	8 or more

In the Appendix (p.24) is a sample questionnaire. lt is similar to one that has been used by change agents interested in development of various sectors of the community (for example, school principals, ministers, Extension directors, community charitable groups, and health groups). The questionnaire is intended only as a model for possible use in a community to illustrate how these methods have been put into action in change agents' programs. The change agent may want to make several changes. For example, he may want to change the number of individuals mentioned as influential from five to ten.

No hard and fast rules exist concerning what questions to include or how to phrase them. Questions should be phrased so they are clear, to the point, and easily read (try it out loud). These questions should be developed into a questionnaire with appropriate space to record the responses given. Before interviewing knowledgeables, the change agent should write down his own perceptions of the persons likely to be the power actors in each issue area being suggested. After this step, the knowledgeables should be interviewed.

5. Interviewing Knowledgeables.

After identifying the knowledgeables, the change agent must develop the approach to be used in interviewing them. It is important for the change agent to:

a. tell the prospective knowledgeable who you are,

b. establish the objective of your interview,

c state the reasons you desire this information, and

d tell the person how the information will be used.

It is important for the change agent to assure the knowledgeables that the information they provide will not be published or released in any way that would identify them as the source. (See sample introduction in Appendix p.24.)

6. SUMMARIZING.

Once the knowledgeables have been interviewed, the change agent should summarize the names of the reputed power actors for each issue area. This can be done by counting up how many times the knowledgeables mentioned each individual as a power actor. For instance, Mayor Clark was mentioned by three knowledgeables in the area of general affairs and by four knowledgeables in the area of politics.

In any of the reputational procedures, the change agent must then decide on a "cutting off point." That is, the change agent must decide how many power actors to include in the power actor pool. Criteria that may be used include the number of times an individual is named by knowledgeables or the number of power actors that represent a certain proportion of all nominations.

In the final decision, including too many individuals in the power actor pool is preferable to including too few and possibly not including someone who is a power actor. The pool of power actors is made up of those individuals named several times. The assumption is made that the individuals with the most "votes" in each issue area are the top power actors of the community for that issue area. The list of top power actors for all issue areas constitutes the power actor pool for the community.

7. Checking Reliability.

Once the pool of power actors has been identified, the change agent should check the reliability of the lists. One method for checking reliability is to go to the two or three persons named most frequently and ask these people the same questions the change agents asked the knowledgeables. If the information from the knowledgeables has been accurate, the answers obtained from these persons should closely duplicate the list already made. If additional names are suggested by more than one of these persons, the change agent should include them in the power actor pool, particularly if they have been previously mentioned by at least one knowledgeable.

At this point, the change agent has identified the pool of community power actors. It is suggested that the entire process be repeated at intervals of two or three years.

Procedures-Reputational Method

Step 1: Determine list of knowledgeables.
Step 2: Develop interview questions.
Step 3: Interview knowledgeables.
Step 4: Decide criteria to be in power actor pool.
Step 5: Repeat process regularly.

Types of Power Actors identified

The reputational method tends to identify general power actors who are "behind the scenes" as well as power actors who are visible to the general public. "Behind the scenes" power actors are community power actors who may not participate in the public forum but may play major roles in formulating policies and decisions and exerting influence through informal processes. Generally, this approach identifies the economic dominants (executives of major corporations, businessmen, bankers, financial leaders), elected officials who are reputed to be power holders, professionals (lawyers, doctors, dentists), and political leaders.

Advantages

There are several advantages of the reputational method.

- This method identifies a wide scope of community power actors. Those who operate "behind the scenes" are identified as well as power actors who hold formal positions and/ or who are visible. Power actors who can exercise influence to prevent some problem areas from becoming community issues or to block decisions and programs also are identified.
- Another advantage of the reputational method is that one can determine the reputed community power actors for a number of community issue areas if these issue areas are built into the questionnaire design used by the change agent. This issue-specific modification is used in the questionnaire in the Appendix (p.24) around the issue areas of government affairs, business and industry, human services and education.
- Another advantage is the relative ease with which the reputational method may be used to identify power actors. Interviews can be conducted with a reasonable number of community knowledgeables. In addition, the reputational method is relatively easy to repeat at certain intervals.

Limitations

- The question often arises about whether the knowledgeables selected are in fact knowledgeable about community affairs. This limitation can be reduced to some extent by (1) selecting knowledgeables from as many institutional sectors of the community as possible (that is, from government, health, recreation, politics, education, etc.) and (2) checking for reliability as previously discussed.
- Another limitation of the reputational method is that the reputed community power actors may or may not actually exercise power to affect community decisions. The criticism has been made, particularly by some political scientists, that the reputed power holders may not actually participate in making community decisions. The critics claim that the reputational method identifies community power actors who have social status in the community, but not necessarily those who participate in actual decision-making.
- Finally, some claim this method tends to identify an "elitist" structure of generalized social status but fails to recognize the specialization by issue areas in community affairs. Thus, it fails to identify the specialized power holders, for example, the school superintendent who participates only in school issues or the recreational power holder who only participates in recreational issues facing the community.

Some of these limitations may be minimized by development and refinement of the research design and questionnaire construction or by combining the reputational method with other methods in identifying community power actors.

DECISION-MAKING METHOD

Description

In response to the reputational method, Dahl (1961) developed the decision-making method (also called event analysis). This method involves tracing the history of a collective decision concerning at least one issue area. Power actors are those identified as actually participating in the concrete decision and whose suggestions and demands are incorporated in the final outcome.

Assumptions

The basic assumption underlying this method is that social power to affect decisions is made through participation in decision-making processes. This participation is an index of the distribution of power. Actual participation in decisions is established as the criterion for identifying the community power actors.

Procedures

When using the decision-making method to identify the community power actors, the change agent selects a number of decisions representative of all community decisions. The community decisions investigated may have occurred in the past, or the change agent may select some current issues that have just been initiated and for which decisions have not yet been made. Examples of community decisions are; obtaining a new industry, establishment of a mental health clinic, passing a school bond issue, creating a citizen action council and passing bond issues to improve hospitals, libraries and other community facilities.

As in the reputational method, the change agent should select community decision areas highly relevant to community development or to the issue areas in which the change agent will likely be initiating action efforts in the future. To help decide which decisions to select for study, the change agent may want to interview a knowledgeable in the issue area. For example, if the change agent is trying to improve the quality of health care in a county, the administrator of the county hospital could be interviewed concerning recent collective decisions in the health issue area. Through studying these decisions or issues, the change agent should be able to identify those power actors who actually participated in making decisions and who may likely participate in making future decisions in those issue areas.

In the decision-making method, the change agent studies the issue from its initiation through its completion to determine the decision makers at each of the stages. Although this process is time consuming, it does provide the opportunity to determine who the legitimizers were and whether or not they became involved in the more action-oriented phases of the issue.

Action-oriented leaders are also identified in the decision-making method. The roles of these leaders and the resources they contributed to the community action program can be determined.

There are several techniques that the change agent might use to determine the decision makers. Through interviews with actual participants in completed action programs, the change agent can re-construct the steps of the action program and ask questions to determine who made decisions at each step. (See Appendix p. 26 for sample interview questionnaire). In addition to interviews, the change agent might study any documents related to the resolution of the issue to determine who the decision makers were. This might involve reading minutes of meetings, special reports, committee reports, newspaper accounts, and other written documents pertaining to the issue.

In areas where the issue is just emerging, the change agent might attempt to attend all formal meetings related to the issue and then through observation determine who the decision makers are. Also, personal interviews and informal contacts can be sources for additional information on issues that are in process or are just emerging as relevant issues.

After determining the decision makers for several issue areas, the change agent can then determine a pool of power actors. One criteria that can be used to determine the pool of power actors is the number of successes that each power actor has had in supporting or blocking proposals and decisions.

The number of actual decisions that the researcher traces is arbitrary. A general guideline is to trace decisions representing several different community issue areas, with at least one decision in the specific area of interest to the change agent.

As with the reputational method, the change agent needs to study several decisions in different issue areas to determine whether a generalized power structure exists that affects most issue areas or whether specialized power structures exist that deal with single issues. Finally, as new community issues emerge, the change agent can follow these issues to identify the key decision makers. As with the other methods, lists of power actors identified by the decision-making method should be reviewed and up-dated at regular intervals.

Procedures-Decision-Making Method

Step 1: Select representative community decisions.

Step 2: Include relevant decision areas.

Step 3: Trace decision-making process.

Step 4: Determine leaders in decision.

Step 5: Review new community decisions of interest.

Types of Power Actors Identified

The community power actors identified by this method are those who are or were active or instrumental in the resolution of community issues or problems. If several community decisions are studied, one can establish whether the community power actors are: (1) general power actors, that is, those who participate as decision makers on several community issues, or (2) specialized power actors, that is, those who appear as decision makers on only one major community decision. Because this method studies actual behavior rather than reputed power, the community power actors are visible leaders.

Advantages

- Through the decision-making method, the change agent can determine the actual possession and use of resources, not just the reputation for having and using them.
- If the actual behavior of community power actors who participate in several issue areas is determined, one can identify general power actors by the actual overlap of power from one issue to another.
- Through analyzing several issue areas, the specialized community power actors who affect only one issue area can be traced and their actual role determined.
- By tracing a number of community decisions from the initiation through the execution and final stages of the decision, the roles of the participants can be determined at each stage of the issue. This permits the change agent to delineate the extent to which the community power actors who make the policy decisions on each issue also actively participate in the action or implementation phases to execute the policy decisions.

Limitations

- Studying a number of representative community decisions is rather time consuming and costly. If one is to determine whether one power structure affects the decisions in all major issues before the community or whether several power structures, each varying from one major issue to the next, are in operation, then several issues must be studied.
- Since the decision-making method assumes that actual behavior is a measure of leadership, it fails to determine whether some community power actors operated "behind the scenes" to affect the decisions.
- The decision-making method also ignores power actors who may be able to keep latent issues from emerging into open controversy.

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION METHOD

Description

The social participation method (also called social activity method) involves the listing of participants in voluntary associations in the community. Power actors are those who are holding formal positions in voluntary associations and those who are participating in their activities. They are the community members with the highest degree of social participation in voluntary associations.

Assumptions

In the social participation method, the major assumption is that power to affect community decisions is acquired through participation and holding offices in the community's voluntary associations. Those who are active in community decisions and affairs are also assumed to be community members who actively participate as members, officers, or committee members and in other formal activities in voluntary associations.

Procedures

The social participation method involves determining which members of the community have the highest social participation in voluntary associations. Different criteria may be used to determine social participation. A number of studies have developed rough indexes of memberships in voluntary associations. Other studies have included the offices held and memberships in various committees. Through developing an index or score for each member in the voluntary associations, it can be determined which community members have the highest levels of participation.

Because time and financial constraints make it virtually impossible for change agents to study all the voluntary associations within a community, the change agent should select a number of key community voluntary associations. The criteria for selecting relevant community voluntary associations might be the extent to which the voluntary associations are oriented to community affairs, their resource base, and/or the perceived relevancy of the voluntary associations to the change agent's action program. (See Appendix p. 29 for sample list of voluntary organizations).

Having identified the key community voluntary associations, the change agent would obtain lists of the membership, officers, board of directors, and committees for each key voluntary association. This data might be gathered by making a personal contact with one of the voluntary association's officers and asking for a membership list and a listing of the officers, board of directors, and committees.

After the collection of data from the selected voluntary associations, the change agent would compare and determine the overlaps in membership, officers, board of directors, and committees. The change agent might arbitrarily assign weights to the various types of participation in voluntary associations. For example, membership in a voluntary association might be assigned 1 point; serving on a committee or board, 2 points; serving as a committee chairman or board chairman, 3 points; and serving as an officer, 4 points.

Once scores for each individual for the various types of participation in each voluntary association in which he or she had membership are assigned, a total participation score for each individual can be determined. Those with the highest participation scores would be defined as the pool of community power actors. Like the other methods, it is essential to update this list on a regular basis, preferably each year or every other year.

Procedures—Social Participation Method

Step 1: Select key voluntary associations.

Step 2: Obtain list of association participants.

Step 3: Compare and determine overlaps.

Step 4: List power actors with most participation.

Step 5: Update regularly.

Types of Power Actors Identified

This method identifies visible participants in various activities of voluntary associations. If a number of voluntary associations are studied, one can determine the overlap of memberships among the various voluntary associations. This approach tends to identify "effectors," that is, community members who become highly involved in action phases of voluntary associations.

Advantages

- The major advantage of this method is that it identifies power actors who are active in community affairs.
- Research studies of community leadership have found that key community power actors had been active in voluntary associations often prior to becoming key community power actors. The social participation method may, therefore, be used to identify younger members of the community who aspire to becoming key power actors.
- Also, an advantage of the social participation method is that it identifies community members who are likely to participate in the action phases of community issues.

Limitations

There are several limitations to the social participation method.

- First, this procedure is time consuming and costly for the change agent. Study of several major voluntary associations in the community requires the collection of data on membership, officers, committees, and other activities for each voluntary association.
- This method also identifies only the active power actors in community affairs and not the power actors who operate behind the scenes.
- The question comes up as to whether indexes based on membership and offices in voluntary associations are necessarily indicative of involvement on projects in the voluntary association.
- Also, there is the question of the extent to which the power actors identified through the social participation method are in fact the decision makers on key community issues. Research findings tend to support the idea that many of those who formulate community policies and participate in community decision-making, while holding memberships in key voluntary associations in the community, are not currently officers or active participants in voluntary associations. When one analyzes the past behavior of key community power actors, they have often held memberships (and continue to), served as officers, and participated actively in voluntary associations. Participation in voluntary associations may be perceived as the training ground for developing key community power actors.
- Finally, the study of social participation in the voluntary associations fails to identify the specific issues in which the high-score participators are likely to be decision makers or active participants.

Tables 1 and 2 summarize the advantages, disadvantages, assumptions, types of leaders identified, and procedures used with each of the four methods discussed in this publication.

Comparison of Methods

One question facing change agents is which method to use to identify community power actors. If each method would identify a similar pool of community power actors, the change agent could select that method that uses the least resources in terms of time and cost. If, on the other hand, each of the four methods identifies a different pool of community power actors, then the selection of a method becomes more complex.

A limited number of comparative studies of the four methods have been conducted to determine if the four methods identify the same power actor pool. The findings from these studies are not conclusive, but tend to indicate the various methods select different types of leaders.

One comparative study was conducted by Freeman *et al.* (1970) in the Syracuse, New York, metropolitan area. The basic objective of their study was to determine the extent to which these four methods would identify the same persons as being in the top leadership category. In the Freeman study, procedures in using each method were similar to those described in this publication.

Tait- Table 1. Summary table: Four methods of identifying power actors

Method	Assumptions	Type of Leader Identified	Advantages	Limitations
POSITIONAL	Power rests in important positions of formal organizations. Position holders make decisions and control resources.	Higher civil servants, corporation executives, elected and appointed formal office holders, voluntary association officers.	Leaders are visible, thus easily identified. Less costly. Insight into potential role. Good cross-section of leaders.	Positional leaders may not exercise their potential. Fails to identify informal leaders. Difficult to determine which positions do or do not have power.
REPUTATIONAL	Power is reflected in reputation. Knowledgeables know power actors by reputation. Some power actors are concealed.	General leaders that are concealed as well as those visible to the public.	Identifies visible and concealed leaders. Determines leaders in several issue areas. Relative ease in carrying out technique.	Determining who is or is not knowledgeable. Reputed power may not be exercised power. Fails to identify specialized power holders.
DECISION-MAKING	Power is acquired through participation in decision-making processes.	Instrumental leaders in the resolution of community issues.	Determines actual behavior rather than reputation. Reveals overlap of power in issue areas. Identifies specialized power holders. Identifies roles of power actors.	Time consuming and costly. Fails to identify leaders who are “behind the scenes” or in “non decisions.”
SOCIAL PARTICIPATION	Power is acquired through participation in activities and offices in voluntary associations.	Visible participants in activities of voluntary associations.	Identifies active community leaders and those likely to be active in action programs.	Time consuming and costly. Fails to identify concealed leaders or specific area of participation.

In comparing the research findings (the list of power actors identified with each method), Freeman *et al.* (1970) found little agreement in the top 32 leaders identified by each method, with the exception of the comparison of the reputational and positional methods. If there had been a perfect overlap between the two methods, the lists of power actors would agree 100 percent. The comparison of the two methods indicated a 74 percent overlap. Table 3 shows the percentage of overlap in using the different methods to identify power actors. Notice that the percentage overlap is usually low, that is, between 20 and 40 percent. Freeman concluded that reputation for leadership seems to derive primarily from position, not from participation.

Tait- Table 2. Summary of procedures.

1. Positional Method

Determine relevant positions for your community action effort.

Collect names, addresses, and telephone numbers for the incumbents of these positions.

Maintain and update yearly lists of these position holders.

As new relevant positions are created, add them to the list.

2. Reputational Method

Select relevant issue areas.

Select an appropriate number of knowledgeables.

Select appropriate kind of knowledgeables.

Develop approach to use with knowledgeables.

Develop interview questions and questionnaire.

Write down your own perceptions of who has power.

Interview each knowledgeable.

Decide criteria to be in power actor pool.

Check reliability.

Make any adjustments based on reliability check.

Repeat the process every two or three years.

3. Decision-Making Method

Select a number of decisions representative of all selected issue areas.

Include decisions that are highly relevant for your programs.

Trace the decision-making process in each decision from its initiation to completion by interviews, documents, newspapers, attending meetings, and personal contacts.

Determine who the leaders are for each decision and issue area.

Review new decisions of interest, determining who the power actors are.

4. Social Participation Method

Select a number of key community voluntary associations.

Obtain lists of members, officers, directors, and committees for each selected voluntary association.

Compare and determine overlaps in membership, officers, board of directors, and committees.

Define those as having the greatest participation as a pool of community leaders.

Update on a regular basis.

Tait- Table 3. Comparison of methods: Percentage of agreement in power actors identified.*

Method:	Decision-Making	Social participation	Reputational	Positional
Decision-making	100%	25%	33%	39%
Social participation		100%	25%	22%
Reputational			100%	74%
Positional				100%

* Freeman *et al.* (19 70: p. 345)

Another comparative study was conducted by Blankenship (1970) in two New York communities. Blankenship compared the reputational and decision-making methods. The procedures used were similar to those outlined for these two methods in this publication. In both communities, the top 14 leaders as identified through the reputational method were compared with the top 14 leaders in each of five community issue areas as determined by the decision-making method.

A number of power actors in both communities were identified by the decision-making method as playing roles in one or another of the five decisions. For the most part, these power actors who tended to specialize in only one or two issue areas were not identified through the reputational method. Power actors who participated in three or more of the five decisions as determined by the decision-making procedure tended to be identified through the reputational procedure as having a general reputation for power in community affairs.

Blankenship (1970) concluded that there was considerable overlap in the results produced by the two methods. The power actors who participate in making decisions in several issue areas are also generally recognized as having a reputation for power. The reputational method as used in the Blankenship study generally failed to identify the power actors who participated as decision makers in only one issue area. In comparison with the Freeman *et al.* (1970) study, Blankenship did not find as great a discrepancy between the power actors identified through the reputational and decision-making methods.

A general conclusion is that in terms of types of leaders identified, the positional method will likely identify the institutional leaders, the office holders and the visible leaders. The reputational method will tend to identify the reputed leaders, the generalized leaders and both visible and non-visible leaders. Through using the decision-making method, generalized and specialized activists, actual leaders and visible leaders are likely to be identified. The social participation method will likely identify the effectors, the voluntary association leaders and visible leaders.

In summary, the four methods have some tendency to identify different power actor pools and different types of leaders. Because research findings are inconclusive at this stage, it would seem desirable for change agents to consider several factors in selecting a method.

SELECTING A METHOD

The particular method which the change agent selects will vary depending upon (1) the objectives for the change agent's action programs, (2) the types of power actors one desires to identify, (3) the resources available to identify the power actors and (4) the change agent's style. Each of these factors will be briefly discussed below.

• Objectives

If the objective is to carry out action programs in several community issue areas, the change agent will likely want to identify the power actors for each specific issue area. Considering that the positional and social participation methods do not identify power actors by specific issue areas, more appropriate methods to achieve this objective are the reputational and decision-making methods. These two methods also can determine whether there is a generalized power structure that affects decisions in several community issue areas, or whether the power structure varies among issue areas.

In the situation where the change agent perceives a continuing involvement in community action pro-grams over many years, rather than a short, single action program, a combination of methods is suggested. The positional method and either the reputational or decision-making method may be combined. Combining methods will be discussed in the next section of this publication.

• Types of Power Actors

Another criterion to consider is the type of power actors that the change agent desires to identify. Before selecting a method, the change agent should consider the types of power actors to be identified and select the appropriate method(s) to identify them. Table 1 (p. 17) presents a summary of the types of power actors identified by each method.

In deciding on the appropriate type of power actor, the change agent should consider questions such as the following. Does the change agent desire to identify the power actors who formulate the policies and directions of community issues? Or does the change agent desire to identify the action-oriented power actors? In some cases, the objective may be to identify both types of power actors. The change agent may also want to identify the visible power actors, the non-visible power actors who operate "behind the scenes" or both.

If the change agent is interested in identifying the action-oriented power actors within the community, the most appropriate methods to achieve this objective are the decision-making and social participation methods. Generally, the positional and reputational methods, unless designed differently than described, do not identify action-oriented leaders.

• Resources Available

The resources available for identifying the community power actors is another important criterion in selecting a method. Most change agents have limited time and financial resources with which to identify the community power actors.

Generally, the methods that require the least resources in terms of time and finances are the positional and reputational. The time and cost of using the decision-making method is higher if the power actors are to be identified in several community issue areas. Resources needed for the social participation method depend upon how many community organizations are selected for the study.

One strategy for identifying the community power actors is to involve several members of the change agency in the identification process. This can minimize the time that any one change agent needs to allocate to the project. For example, the members of a social service agency might design a group project for identifying the community power actors which involves several staff members.

• Expertise of the Change Agent

The style of the change agent also will affect the selection of the method. Change agents with limited experience in conducting interviews may be hesitant to select a method that involves interviewing. Skills in conducting interviews can be developed through practice sessions and pre-testing the questionnaire.

Change agents new to a community may feel hesitant to conduct interviews. Prior to conducting interviews, they should visit with other change agents who can provide background information regarding the community. In some cases, the change agent may decide not to do the interviewing, but involve other change agents in conducting the interviews.

COMBINING METHODS

As the four methods have some tendency to identify different types of power actors, another alternative for change agents is to use a combination of methods or combine elements from the various methods into one method. For change agents with primary roles in community development, it is suggested that, at a minimum, the positional methods be used to maintain an updated list of power actors.

The positional method should identify those power actors who are in positions of authority. In addition to identifying persons who are in elected positions, this method may identify many of the power actors in non-elected positions if these positions, (for example, corporation executives, business heads, board members, and appointed officials) are included in the positional lists. The major disadvantage with relying solely on the positional method is, however, its limitations in identifying key power actors who may operate "behind the scenes" and, thus, lack visibility in community affairs. The positional method has often been supplemented by combining elements from the other three methods to identify those power actors who are not in authoritative positions.

Another approach the change agent could use is a combination of elements from the reputational and decision-making methods. Under the basic technique of interviewing knowledgeables with a questionnaire, as in the reputational method, the questionnaire might be designed to gather two types of data.

First, a few questions might be asked to gather perceptions from the knowledgeables about the reputation for power. An example of this is the question that asks who has the most power to affect decisions within the community when you think of all the activities of the community.

The second type of questions relate to participants in decisions in specific issue areas that have already been supported or blocked in the community. For example, a question might be asked to determine the actual decision makers for a bond issue to build a new community hospital. Also, questions can be asked to determine who was successful in blocking community issues that have been defeated by the community. Asking the knowledgeables about actual decisions that have been made is combining elements from the decision-making method with the reputational method. This can overcome some of the limitations often mentioned about the use of these methods.

SUMMARY

The major purposes of this publication are to (1) present four different methods for identifying the community power actors, (2) provide a description of how change agents might use each of the four methods, (3) compare the methods for identifying the community power actors, (4) suggest ways to use a combination of methods or combine elements from the various methods into one method, and (5) suggest factors for the change agent to consider in selecting an appropriate method.

In conclusion, the authors believe it is essential for change agents, particularly those concerned with community development issues, to have a knowledge and understanding of community decision makers and how they affect community decisions. Because legitimation with power actors is an important step in the process of community action programs, failure to obtain legitimation may result in the defeat of the change agent's program (Beal, 1964). The allocation of some time and resources to identifying power actors, maintaining updated lists, and building linkages and relationships with community power actors will enhance most community action efforts.

APPENDIX

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POSITIONAL METHOD

Suggested List of Formal Positions

- Mayor or city manager
- City or town council
- Other local governmental positions:
  - City clerk
  - City attorney
  - Sheriff
  - Police chief
  - Assessor-building inspector
  - Zoning commissioner
  - Board of supervisors
- Elected board members (examples: hospital, park, fair or utility)
- Local judges, justice of the peace
- Political party precinct and county chairpersons
- Presidents of voluntary associations in community
- Presidents of chambers of commerce or industrial development corporations
- Presidents of service clubs and auxiliaries
- Heads of fraternal orders, patriotic organizations, or private clubs
- Presidents of country clubs
- Presidents of women's organizations
- Presidents of religious organizations
  (examples: United Christian Women's Club, ministerial association)
- Presidents of farm organizations or co-ops
- Presidents of labor unions
- Presidents and directors of banks, savings and loans associations
- Heads of major corporations, companies or industries
- Heads of departments or agencies (examples: social services, farmer's home admin., conserv-ation, recreation)
- Presidents of charitable organizations
- Superintendent of schools
- School principals
- Hospital administrator
- Chief of staff at local hospital
- Director of county bar association
- Professional specialists in community
  (example: only veterinarian in a farm community, only accountant)
- Children and youth recreation programs
  (scouts, baseball)
- Managers and editors of mass media.

REPUTATIONAL METHOD

Sample Questionnaire to Use to Identify The Power Structure of a Community

Suggested Introduction and Question Format to Use in Interviewing Knowledgeables

I. Suggested Introduction

A. Introduce yourself and position (if you do not personally know the knowledgeable).

B. Discuss the rationale for the interview (develop your own style). An example of an introduction rationale that might be used by change agents. . . in an interview is:

> *"As you may know, . . .*
> [for organizers, describe the union & the meeting's purpose].
>
> "*We know that successful community efforts (school bond issues, park facilities, industrial development, preventative health) are the results of effective leadership by key people. Our success is related to our knowledge of the total community, identification of the key people and our capacity to meet the informational needs that they and other community members have.*
>
> *"Because of this desire to be even more effective, we are asking several persons like yourself to describe the way people work together to make decisions and plans in this community for several kinds of issues."*

C. Use of data (Make sure they understand this, put it in your own words).

> *"We expect to use the information we get on community organizations and leadership to help us do a more effective job in the Extension Service. None of the information which you give us will be published or re-leased in any way which would identify you as the source.*
>
> *"Are there any questions you would like to ask before I begin?"*

(At this point try to find a quiet, comfortable place to answer questions. Be sure you have pencils and a lap board to use to write on in case there isn't a table or desk.)

II. Community Organizations

A. ORGANIZATIONAL INFORMATION

"As I indicated, I would like to ask several questions about community influentials and groups. Just so we understand what we are talking about, COMMUNITY means the city of ________________

1. "There are many organizations in every community.
   a. "In your opinion, which are the five most influential organizations in this community?
   b. "In your opinion, who are the two most influential people in each of the organizations you have named?
   (If the knowledgeable has not mentioned a women's organization, you might want to probe further with this question.)
   ** c. "I notice that you have not mentioned any women's organizations, what are the most influential women's organizations in this community (if any)?
   d. "Please rank the top five of the organizations that you have mentioned from 1 (most influential) to 5 (fifth most influential)."

Name of Organization	Rank	Persons Most Influential

III. General Community Influentials

A. COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS

Many individuals play an important role in community decisions and issues. Some people can influence community members to support a project while others may be able to influence people to reject a proposal.

1. Considering the general affairs of this community; that is, all of the issues and community decision areas where influence is exercised in this community:
   a. Who are five people you believe to be the *most influential* (carry the most weight) in: ________________ that is, who can make a project go, or if opposed, probably stop it?
   b. What are their occupations?
   c. What is the major reason you named each of these persons?
   d. Would you please rank the top five of them 1-5? (1 is most influential, 2 is second most influential, etc.)

Name	Rank	Occupation	Major Reasons

B. SPECIFIC ISSUE AREA INFLUENTIAL

1. In relation to educational affairs in this community:
   a. Who are five people you believe to be the *most influential* (carry the most weight) in blocking or supporting educational decisions?
   b. What are their occupations?
   c. What is the major reason you named each of these persons?
   d. Please indicate whether each of those named is involved primarily in a private or public education area.
   e. Would you please rank the top five of them from 1-5?

Name	Rank	Occupation	Major Reasons

2. Considering the human services of this community:
   a. Who are five people you believe to be the *most influential* (carry the most weight) in affecting community human services decisions?
   b. What are their occupations?
   c. What is the major reason you named each of these persons?
   d. Would you please rank the top five of them from 1-5?

Name	Rank	Occupation	Major Reasons

These questions and response format could be used to identify and rank power actors in other specific issue areas such as business, industry, politics or local government.

3. Considering other community issues and concerns, who are the five people you believe to be most influential regarding each of these issues?

ISSUE OR CONCERN MOST INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE

Education: ______________________

Health Care: ______________________

Housing: ______________________

Youth: ______________________

IV. Other Questions:

A. What role do the newspaper, local TV and radio stations play in community affairs? How do they help form opinions on salient community issues?

B. What effect do business people have on civic issues in contrast to nonbusiness people (professionals, labor leaders, government officials)? For example, do barbers, restaurant owners, etc., tend to take advantage of a captive audience to promote their personal views on community projects?

C. Are there any informal groups or "closed" organizations (non public) that tend to shape and determine the destiny of community projects?

D. Are most decisions made concerning community issues brought to the attention of the public by one individual or by a group? Who are they?

E. Information on the Person being Interviewed:

Name ______________________

Address ______________________

Occupation ______________________

Years lived in community ______________________

What community organizations do you belong to now? How many years have you been a member? Have you been an officer in the past five years? Have you been active beyond the local level (that is, district, state, national)?

Name of Organization	Years	Local Officer	Active Beyond Local	In What Way
		Yes No	Yes No	
		Yes No	Yes No	
		Yes No	Yes No	

F. Interview Conclusion

Ask if the participant has any final questions. Then thank the respondent by expressing your appreciation and gratitude for respondent's time, cooperation and thoughtful comments.

DECISION-MAKING METHOD

Decision-Making Method
Sample Questionnaire to Use to Identify the Power Structure of a Community

Suggested Introduction and Question Format to Use in Interviewing Issue Participants

I. Suggested Introduction

A. Introduce yourself and position (if you do not personally know the participants).

B. Discuss the rationale for the interview (develop your own style). An example of an introduction rationale that might be used by change agents in Extension Service is in an interview is:

[in union organizing, describe the union and its purpose for the meeting].

As you may know, the Extension Service is interested in providing services for all the people in this county. We've been known for many years for our work with agricultural development, home economics, and 4-H and youth and community development and public affairs.

"We know that successful community efforts (school bond issues, park facilities, industrial development, preventative health) are the results of effective leadership by key people. Our success is related to our knowledge of the total community, identification of the key people and our capacity to meet the

informational needs that they and other community members have.

Because of this desire to be even more effective, we are asking several persons like yourself to describe the way people work together to make decisions and plans in this community for several kinds of issues."

C. Use of data (Make sure they understand this, put it in your own words).

"We expect to use the information we get on community organizations and leadership to help us do a more effective job in the Extension Service. None of the information which you give us will be published or re-leased in any way which would identify you as the source.

"Are there any questions you would like to ask before I begin?"

(At this point try to find a quiet, comfortable place to answer questions. Be sure you have pencils and a lap board to use to write on in case there isn't a table or desk.)

1. What major community development issues has the community faced in the last five years?

ISSUE	DATE INITIATED	DATE CONCLUDED OR DECIDED

2. What was the major, key issue in the community that created the greatest amount of concern and community-wide interest?

____

3. When a really tough issue comes up in 'this community, who are the people you would expect to get or be involved?

____

I am aware that you have been involved in a recent community development project in this community (clearly indicate what project you are referring to). In the next several questions I would like to discuss how the community and its leaders worked together on this project.

4. First, please tell me how you first became aware of the need for this project.

____

(The following are additional questions to ask if you still want more information concerning the participants first awareness of problem).

When exactly were you first aware of the need?

____

Who brought this need to your attention?

____

Was there a crises or turning point that aroused your interest?

____

5. This need had existed for some time, what was there about the situation at this point that made the community leaders decide to get involved or to do something about this problem?

____

6. Who was involved in the early, initiating stage in this community development issue? What was each of their roles?

NAME	ROLE

7. Who had the expert knowledge that was needed in the initial planning stages of this project? (for example, was there any legal, monetary, social welfare, zoning, or governmental information needed and who provided it?)

____

8. In relation to this community issue, what alternatives were proposed? Who suggested each one and/or tried to persuade others to try it? How did "others" respond to these alternatives?

Alternative	Proposer	Other Respones

9. After the initial discussions of the problem and the possible alternatives for action, who was responsible for really getting the action started? Who else supported this action?

ACTION INITIATOR	SUPPORTERS

10. In regards to this point in the program (the mobilization of resources and launching of the project), would you out-line explicitly what was needed to be done to get the project really in action?

____

11. Who did the program organizers check with for legitimation or a final okay? Was it formal or informal?

____

12. Who was contacted to gain support or approval of project plans? (Include name even if person is not in a formal position.)

____

13. In most small communities there is some reluctance to accept changes. Was there anyone who was in opposition to certain plans or alternatives? At some time, were any of them ever successful in vetoing or changing a suggested plan? Describe how they made their opposition known?

____

14. Often the initial group involved in a community issue is relatively small. Please tell me how this group persuaded others to get involved after the initial stages?

____

15. In response to this question, I would like you to focus on your personal involvement in this project. Describe the events that you were involved in and the role that you played in each.

____

16. It has been suggested that in the course of a community development program, there are different stages and activities such as those listed here. As I refer to each step, would you please indicate who was most involved in this?

a. Initiation of interest

____

b. Planning for needs and alternatives

____

c. Informal legitimation

____

d. Formal legitimation

____

e. Staffing project

____

f. Publicity and communication

____

g. Financing

____

h. Getting public support or approval

____

i. Setting up goals

____

j. Putting plan into action

____

k. Seeing program through to conclusion

____

l. Evaluating outcome

____

17. Community leaders often support community programs by donating or investing needed

resources for the program. Alist of some resources which may be needed in a program follows. For each individual whom you indicated as a participant in this community decision, select the resources that were important in their leadership.

(Hand the participant a separate list of resources.)

RESOURCES NEEDED FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

- Contacts with others in the community
- Contacts with others outside of the community Control over creditor funding
- Control over jobs
- Esteem
- Ethnic solidarity
- Human relations skills
- Knowledge or expertness
- Officiation or legitimacy
- Personal energy
- Personal wealth
- Popularity or charisma
- Right to vote
- Skills of their profession
- Social standing
- Time

NAME OF INFLUENTIAL	RESOURCES

18. As you think about all the areas in which decisions are made concerning community affairs, are there any people who are influential or who would generally be most actively involved in these decisions of general affairs of the community?

    OR

    Who are the people who have influence and are actively involved in many issue areas and are important in making decisions in the community?

NAME OF GENERAL POWER ACTORS

____

____

19. Information on the Participant interviewed.

    Name: ____________________

    Address: ____________________

    Occupation: ____________________

INTERVIEW CONCLUSION

Express your appreciation and gratitude for respondent's time, cooperation and thoughtful comments. You may want to leave a professional card with name and address. Ask if the participant has any final questions. Thank the respondent again.

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Examples of Voluntary Organizations In Different Issue Areas:

Health

Hospital auxiliaries
American Red Cross
American Cancer Society
County heart association

Economic (Business, Industry)

Industrial development corporation
Chamber of commerce
Junior chamber of commerce
Business and professional women's organizations

Politics

League of Women Voters
Republican Party
Democratic Party

Religion

Inner-church activities committee
Church women or men fellowship
Church youth fellowship
Ministerial association

Education

- Adult education council
- Extension council
- School teachers association
- Parent-Teachers Association
- Booster club

Service and Recreation

- Kiwanis
- Lions
- Boy Scouts
- Country club
- Community women clubs
- Newcomers club

Agriculture

- Farm Bureau
- Farmers Home Administration
- Fair board
- 4-H extension leaders

Fraternal or Patriotic

- Shriners
- Daughters of American Revolution
- American Legion
- Masons

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GLOSSARY

Activists Community leaders who work at implementing a program after it is judged as needed in that community (also called participants).

Authority A source of social power based on formal, legitimate rights of an office to act or make decisions as determined by the members of the social system. Authority is a property of the office not of the individual.

Behind the scenes leaders General power actors who have low visibility in the community, yet play a key role as an informal leader in decision-making.

Change agent Persons whose behavior and objectives focus on promoting and stimulating social action.

Community action programs Activities in a community, organized by a change agent, for the purpose of promoting desired social change.

Community decision A choice between alternative lines of action which is made by powerful persons or groups within the community and of which the goals are either change or maintenance of the community.

Decision-making method Procedure for identifying power actors that involves tracing the history of a collective decision concerning the community (also called event analysis).

Diffused power structure Power structure in which no discernable pattern of decision makers is evident.

Effectors Power actors who may act as activity leaders, organizing and administrating community programs and activities.

Elitist power structure Power structure in which the same power actors have the most social power regardless of the issue area.

External community knowledgeables Persons who do not live in the locality of interest, yet, who are perceived to be well-informed of the power structure and decision-making in the community.

Formal organization A group of people whose activities are explicitly coordinated, conventional and purposive toward a specific goal.

General power actors Power actors who have social power to affect community decisions regardless of their related issue area.

Influence A source of social power that resides in the individual power actor and his/ her resources.

Influential organizations Formal groups in the locality of interest which have more social power and have a greater effect on community decisions than other organizations.

Influentials Power actors and key decision makers who have social power based on informal sources, personal characteristics, and influence.

Institutional sectors Areas of human activity centered around specific community functions such as politics, education or religion.

Internal community knowledgeables Persons who live in the locality of interest, and, who are perceived to be well-informed concerning the power structure and decision-making in the community.

Issue A local problem or "happening" that is perceived to involve community resources that are important to the community, to involve choices of action, to involve individuals and groups in the community, and to have the potential for disagreement.

Latent issues A community issue that has the potential to affect some aspect of the status quo but it is covertly blocked and doesn't develop into an open community issue.

Legitimation The process in social action in which community leaders and power actors are advised about the program in order to encourage their sanctioning of the planned action.

Legitimizes Those individuals (populace or power actors) who play the role of gatekeepers and who can rightfully give the approval, acceptance or support to an action program.

Pluralist power structure Power structure in which different power actors have the most social power in different issue areas.

Positional method Procedure for selecting power actors based on whether they occupy important positions in formal organizations.

Power actors Individuals who have the reputation of 1) a larger amount of social power than others in the locality, 2) the ability to decide issues, 3) the control of access to needed resources, and/or 4) the ability to legitimize final decisions.

Power actor pool The group of power actors who have the most social power in the community.

Power cliques Informal groups of power actors organized by a network of informal, interpersonal relationships.

Power structure A pattern of relationships among individuals which enables these individuals possessing social power to act in concert to affect community decisions on a given issue.

Reputational method Procedure of identifying power actors that involves a selected panel of knowledgeables who are asked to give a list of power actors in the locality.

Social action	A group process including the strategies and tactics necessary to define the problem, plan, mobilize resources and put the plan into action in creating social change and attaining a desired goal.
Social participation method	Procedure for identifying power actors that involves the listing of participants in voluntary associations in the community (also called social activity method).
Social power	The capability to control the behavior of others.
Social power model	An analytical model or framework that a change agent may use in analyzing the power structure of a community.
Specialized power actors	Power actors who have social power to affect community decision in only one or two distinct issue areas in the community.
Visible leaders	Prominent community leaders whose influence and participation in community decisions is direct and readily observable.
Voluntary association	A group of people who are organized to promote some shared interest of its members and who participate on a voluntary basis.

The Power Actor Information Management Technique

Throughout the sequence of power analyses described in this Resource Document, organizing teams learn about the power structures and relationships operating in their organizing environment. They also learn equally essential information about the motives and incentive structures of the power actors. Unions require a systematic means of recording this information on an ongoing basis.

The situation awareness required for success in a campaign requires organizers to manage the relevant information about each influential force and power actor. This GUIDE offers a tool the Power Actor Information Management process. Each of its individual power actor worksheets functions as an independent data collection tool. To provide organizers an overview of the power relations in a campaign, the Master Power Information Management worksheet consolidate this information in one place.

The process of managing power actor information usually consists of the following five steps:

- Step 1: Plan, prepare for, and conduct each of the power analyses.
- Step 2: Collect and record the information learned on the worksheet.
- Step 3: Review the data on worksheet for completeness, coherence, and further investigation.
- Step 4: Record the data on the Master Power Information Management log.
- Step 5: Periodically repeat the analyses and update the data as needed.

The following discussion explores these steps.

Step 1: Plan, prepare for, and conduct each of the power analyses.

Effective implementation of the power analyses described in this Resource Document requires planning and preparation. Absent a very good reason to the contrary, conduct each of the power analyses in the order suggested below.

Step 2: Collect and record the information learned on the worksheet.

Each of the individual worksheets accompanying the progression of power analysesprovides a place to record relevant data. Enter the information indicated in each work sheet as fully as possible. If your organizing team doesn't know or needs more information, make a note. Then figure out how the team will acquire the needed information.

For each power actor, code the current (or most recent) information on the Individual Power Actor Information Work Sheet. Where applicable, use summary coding designations. For example, in the "Power Actor's Influence Summary" section:

"Issue Alignment" should be coded as "**S**," for ***S***upportive of the union's organizing issue; "**O**" for ***O***pposed to the union's organizing issue; "**U**" for ***U***ncommitted on the union's organizing issue. Also code the intensity of the power actor's level of interest use a "–" for low-level and a "+" for high-level.

"Power Ranking" (Pwr Rank) should be coded on a 1 to 5 scale, where 1 = the least powerful and 5 = the most powerful.

"Power Source" refers to French and Raven's five source taxonomy discussed in Chapter 2.

Step 3: Review the Data on Worksheet.

your organizing team should fill out each individual worksheets as complete as possible, both in collecting all suggested information and in ensuring that power relations are adequately investigated. Review the data on the worksheet for completeness and coherence. Also indicate if further investigation is needed.

Step 4: Record the data on the Master Power Information Management log.

As your organizing team completes each power analysis, record the data on an Individual Power Actor Information Work Sheet. Also, transfer the information to the Master Power Information Management log. Then, your organizing team can reviewed in one place at one time. This permits the information for all power actors to be reviewed in one place at one time.

Code the information from each Individual Power Actor Information Work Sheet to the Master Power Information Management Log, below, using summary designations. For example,

In the "Power Ranking" [Pwr Rank] column, code on a 1 to 5 scale, where **1** = the least powerful and **5** = the most powerful.

In the "Power Source" [Pwr Source] column, identify the power actor's primary power source(s). Code Legitimate Power as an "**L**"; Reward Power as an "**Rw**"; Coercive Power as a "**C**"; Expert Power as an "**E**"; and/or Referent Power as an "**Rf**."

In the "Issue Alignment" [Alignment] column, code the power actor's position on the union's organizing issue as: "**S**," for ***S***upportive of the union's organizing issue; "**O**" for ***O***pposed to the union's organizing issue; or "**U**" for ***U***ncommitted on the union's organizing issue. Also code the intensity of the power actor's level of interest use a "–" for low-level and a "+" for high-level. To illustrate, an "**S** +" would designate a highly interested supporter. Conversely, an "**O** –" would designate an opponent that is only slightly interested in the union's organizing issue.

Step 5: Periodically repeat the analyses and update the data as needed.

By nature, good union organizing is a developing, progressing, ever-evolving process. The organizing environment—"the situation"—ought to constantly change as a result of the union's organizing efforts. Again to paraphrase Alinsky, "the action is in the reaction." This means that power relationships are constantly unfolding in response to organizing influences. Power structure alignments and alliances change with them. So do the essential facts evidencing the power actors' motives and incentive structures.

Effective organizing is built on good situation awareness. The purpose of these analyses is strategic: "To improve our ability to shape and adapt to unfolding circumstances, so that we . . . can survive [and progress] on our own terms."[15] The dynamic motion of the unfolding situation requires that unions constantly observe and re-observe their environments. It requires them to constantly orient and reorient their organizing efforts to the changing environments. Simply, this requires union organizing teams to continually update their power analyses so their situation awareness is accurate and up-to-date.

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[15]John R. Boyd, "The Strategic Game of ? And ?" at slide 58 (Unpublished briefing slides, June 1987 & July 1989); Boyd, "Patterns of Conflict" (ed. by Chet Richards & Chuck Spinney).

Individual Power Actor Information Work Sheet

[COG LISTEN & PLAN steps]

(If needed, use additional pages)

Power Actor's directory information:

Power Actor's name: ______________________________ Marital status: _____ Age (approx.): ____

Power Actor's role / position: ____

Spouse's / partner's name: ____ Age (approx.): _____

Home address: ___________________________________ Home phone Nº: ____________________

____ Cell Phone: ______________________

____ Office Phone: ______________________

Power Actor's Influence Summary:

Issue alignment: Pro (S) ❑ Con (O) ❑ Uncommitted (U) ❑ Power rank (1 = low to 5 = high): ____

Primary power source(s): Legitimate (L) ❑ Reward (Rw) ❑ Coercive (C) ❑ Expert (E) ❑ Referent (Rf) ❑

Issue position summary: ____

____

Power Actor's Education:

B.A. Degree ____ College/University ____ Year _____

Adv. Degree ____ College/University ____ Year _____

Adv. Degree ____ College/University ________________________________ ________ Year _____

Power Actor's Employment Information:

Employer: ____

Power actor's position / Job title: ____

Employment address: __________________________________ Office phone Nº: ________________

____

____

Previous employer: ____

Previous position / Job title: ____

Power Actor's Affiliation, Community Involvement, & Activity Information:

Political party affiliation: ________________________________ Active? Yes ❑ No ❑

Spouse's political affiliation: ____________________________ Active? Yes ❑ No ❑

Community organization & Clubs involvements:

________________________________ Active? Yes ❑ No ❑

________________________________ Active? Yes ❑ No ❑

________________________________ Active? Yes ❑ No ❑

Religious affiliation: ______________________ Name of pastor, priest, rabbi, *etc.:* ______________________

Place of worship: ____________________________ Phone: ______________

Power Actor's Possible Ambitions, Motives, & Incentive Structures (use addition sheets if needed):

Estimate and summarize the evidence for their motivation base(s) [*e.g.,* rational / affective / norm-based]?

____

____

Estimate and summarize the evidence for their representation view(s) [*e.g.,* trustee / delegate / politico]?

____

____

Suspected personal, self-interested ambitions? Summarize the evidence why?

____

____

Suspected ambitions for the employer association? Summarize the evidence why?

____

____

What does the power actor fear? Summarize the evidence why?

____

____

What does the Power Actor want or need? Summarize the evidence why?

____

____

Other potentially important information about the Power Actor's motivation:

____

____

MASTER POWER ACTOR INFORMATION MANAGEMENT LOG

last updated: __________________

Organizing Issue:

Institutions	Power Actors (by name)	Pwr rank	Pwr source	Align-ment	Position – Interest Summary	Influencers (by name)
1. Internal Union: Member Targets & Member Influentials						
Site						
2. Employers: Control Group Targets & Target Influentials						
State Affiliate Assoc.						
Local Associations.						
3. Other Influential Groups						

Coding Instructions

Code the information from each individual power actor as follows:

In the "Power Ranking" [Pwr Rank] column, code on a 1 to 5 scale, where **1** = the least powerful and **5** = the most powerful.

In the "Power Source" [Pwr Source] column, identify the power actor's primary power source(s). Code Legitimate Power as an "**L**"; Reward Power as an "**Rw**"; Coercive Power as a "**C**"; Expert Power as an "**E**"; and/or Referent Power as an "**Rf**."

In the "Issue Alignment" [Alignment] column, code the power actor's position on the union's organizing issue as: "**S**," for ***S***upportive of the union's organizing issue; "**O**" for ***O***pposed to the union's organizing issue; or "**U**" for ***U*** ncommitted on the union's organizing issue. Also code the intensity of the power actor's level of interest use a "**–**" for low-level and a "**+**" for high-level. To illustrate, an "**S +**" would designate a highly interested supporter. Conversely, an "**O –**" would designate an opponent that is only slightly interested in the union's organizing issue.

Power Mapping:

Instructions and Procedures

[COG LISTEN & PLAN steps]

The Purpose of the Technique

To effectively design and execute *Interpretive* and *Influential* organizing actions, organizers must understand the power relationships that connect control group targets, target Influentials, and other people in the union's organizing environment.

Power Mapping[16] permits unions to graphically identify connections among the institutions, groups, and individual power actors with both power and an interest in the union's organizing issue. By identifying the public and private positions of these power actors, the union can identify adversaries, allies, and uncommitted actors. It may also suggest the alignment and motives of each power actor and the best channels through which to communicate with them. Power Mapping is one highly effective way to learn about and understand these connections.

As a critical part of a union's "Planning Progression," Appendix 4 explores the functions of Power Mapping in a union organizing campaign.

Instructions and Procedures for Using the Technique

Power Mapping is also developed through the collective intelligence of a union's organizing team, its officers, and other knowledgeable members or supporters.

The process of Power Mapping is linear and sequential. However, power mapping is really more of an art, than a science. Moreover, in an organizing campaign, things do and ought to change. So when using power mapping in a particular organizing campaign, begin by thinking about the steps and criteria listed here. Recognize that power relationships and the Thinking Tools which assess them are flexible (for example, the steps in power-mapping, graphically representing a power map, power-mapping work sheets, *etc.*). They can vary from one organizing situation or one whole campaign to another and from one time to another. Adapt the power mapping process. Use a process that fits your organizing situation. Then, be flexible and be ready to shift your targets and reestablish your allies as the situation changes.

The process of power mapping usually consists of the following six steps:

Step 1: Frame the problem as an "organizing issue"

Step 2: Map the major institutions related to the organizing issue

Step 3: Map the power actors associated with the institutions

Step 4: Map all the other people having associations with the power actors

Step 5: Determine and draw the relational power lines

Step 6: Estimate target priority relationships

The following discussion explores these steps. We recommend that unions begin power mapping by going through each step in the power mapping process only with members of their union's organizing

[16] The approach has also been referred to as "Stakeholder Influence Mapping," "Influence Mapping" or "the Arena of influence."

team or organizing cadre. After a first run, most unions will be required to expand beyond organizing teams to include additional union officials, unit members, and—potentially— even union allies or community group members.

Step 1: Frame the Problem as an "Organizing Issue."

Power mapping can only be accurate and effective if unions clearly frame the purpose for power mapping as an organizing issue (rather than a problem). Part of this framing requires unions to personalize the organizing issue by expressly identifying the specific person or institution that can resolve the particular organizing issue.

Action: Effective organizing campaigns begin at the end. Organizing teams start with the union's desired Endgame outcome and work backward from there.[17] Conduct the trio of tasks detailed in Framing the problem as an "organizing issue." Refine or reconfirm and then focus on framing your "organizing statement."

Step 2: Map the major institutions related to the organizing issue.

The process of power mapping recognizes that organizing targets are always real people, not abstract institutions. Unions cannot effectively target unaccountable abstractions, like government agencies or districts, employers, boards of directors. Unions cannot effectively create a relationship with, educate, or put pressure on an institution. Unions can only organize with real people on real people. Consequently, emphasize named people over abstract institutions whenever possible in an organizing campaign as a whole and in the process of power mapping in particular. Everyone can understand that abstract institutions do not make decisions or exercise power. However, most people—union members, union officers, and the general public alike—general fail to carefully distinguish the institution from the power actors. They routinely use the institutional designation as a shortcut for identifying the people who actually make decisions or exercise power in its name.

In organizing, unions have to start where their members are. Organizing team and rank-and-file members usually don't know "power actors." They do know institutions. They are often able to identify the institution (or institutions) that caused the problem, or that can do something about it, or that is otherwise at the heart of the situation. As a practical matter, union members have to identify the institution in authority before they can recognize the living, breathing individuals who really make the decisions and exercise the power.

As a result, the second step in the power mapping process is to identify the institution or institutions that caused the problem and can be induced to remedy the organizing issue. This step is driven by information obtained from the Force Field Analysis and Work Sheet prepared earlier.

Action: On the graphic power map, begin with the organizing issue at the center of the newsprint. Work out from there. Using another color (*e.g.,* purple), write the names of each formal institution with at least some Legitimate Power over the organizing issue and draw a rectangle around each formal institution. Use the results of your Force Field Analysis to provide information by listing the institutions (*e.g.*, an NEA state affiliate employer, union locals, *etc.*) that are associated with each force. The left column of the Map of A Power Actor's Relationships, in Figure RD02.02 A Simplified Power Map illustrates the formal institutions in a power structure.

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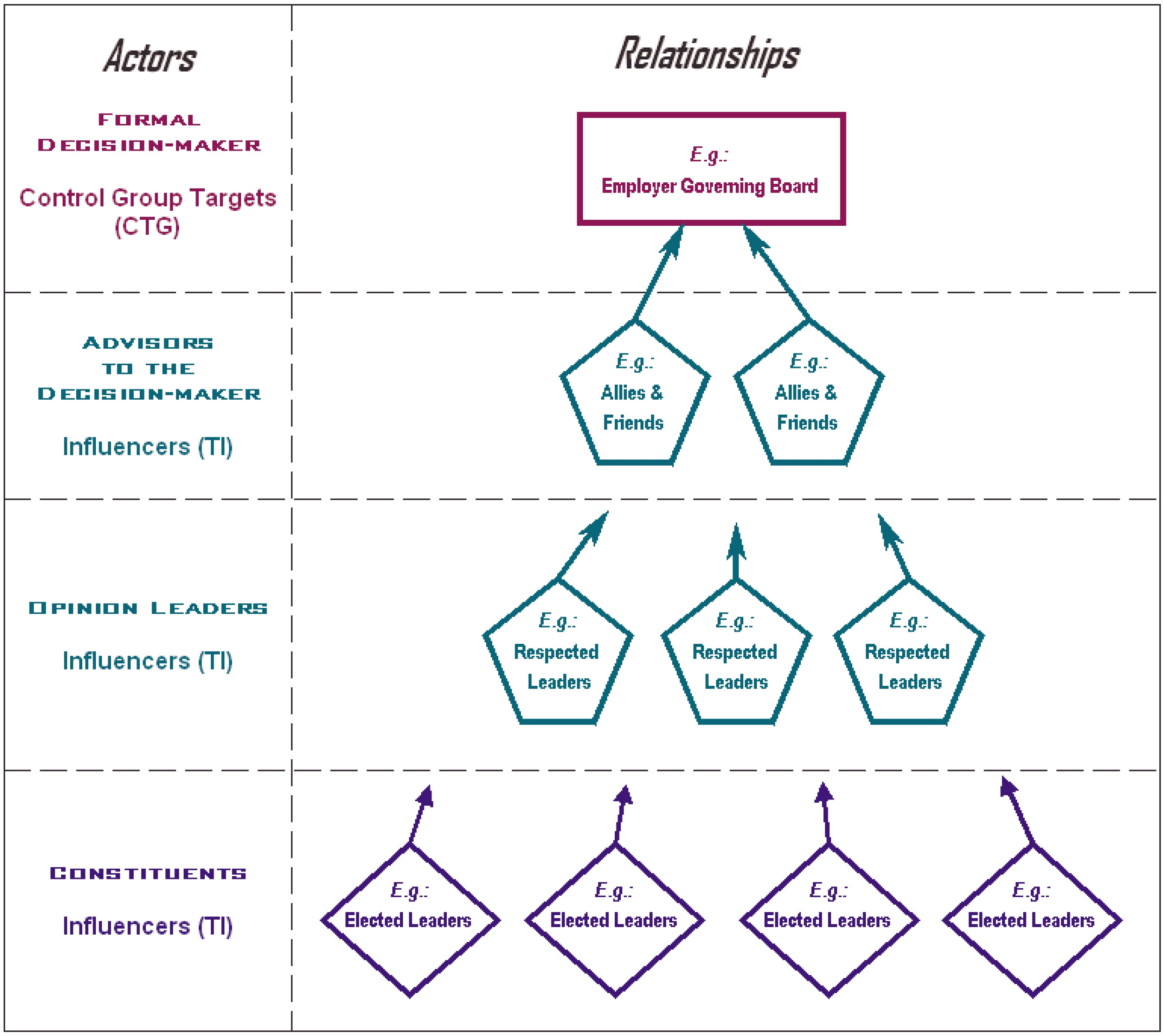
[17] In Chapter 4, the GUIDE referred to this approach as "reverse planning" and compared it to the "down-board" perspective relied upon by chess masters.

Figure RD02.02
A Simplified Map of a Power Actor's Relationships



Step 3: Map the power actors associated with the institutions.

To effectively power-map an organizing issue, unions must also identify the decision-makers in each of the institutions which were allocated formal authority (*i.e.,* the Legitimate Power) to decide the outcome of the organizing issue. These are the people associated with each institution who may function as its control group or who have at least potential decision-making authority. Based on further investigation and confirmation, some of these decision-makers may be selected as primary control group targets. This step is driven by information obtained from the identification of community power actors, conducted earlier.

Action: On the graphic power map, work around the rectangle for each formal institution and list the formal decision-makers (*i.e.,* the Legitimate power actors) who can decide some aspect of the organizing issue. Write the names of each decision-maker using another color (*e.g.,* dark purple) to clearly identify them as authorized Legitimate power actors and draw an oval around each name. Then draw a line from each name back to the formal institution to which they belong.

In the "Power Actor Individuals" column of the Power Map Work Sheet, list each of the each power actors and their titles or positions. The right column of A Power Relations Map, in Figure RD02.03 illustrates the people in a power structure. The second row from the top illustrates the power actors that comprise a control group.

Step 4: Map all the other people associated with the power actors.

To effectively power-map an issue, unions must also identify the people who can influence the authorized institutions' decision-makers. While the Legitimate power actors (mapped above in step 3) have been assigned the authority to make a decision, they may not be the people who really determine the outcome of the organizing issue. Other power actors may actually determine or at least heavily influence outcomes. This may occur either as a function of their higher formal authority or status or as a consequence of their informal relationships with the authorized Legitimate power actors. These influencers may have potential to be secondary *target Influentials*.

Action: Ask members to think of people they know who have some significant connection to or relationship with the formal decision-makers identified in step 3. This effort helps identify people with access to the formal decision-makers. These people may permit the union to tap into existing relationships between potential influencers and formal decision-makers. These relationships between potential influencers and formal decision-makers can be illustrated graphically as in A Map of a Power Actor's Relationships, Figure RD02.02.

On the graphic power map, work out from each of the rectangles representing the formal decision-makers (*i.e.,* the Legitimate power actors). With another color (*e.g.,* orange), write the names of each person that has a relationship with an authorized Legitimate power actor, then surround their name with a colored oval. The purpose of this step is to identify the individuals who might be able to help or oppose the union. The bottom three (3) rows in the right column of A Sample Power Map, Figure RD02.03,below, illustrate the people in a power structure who can influence the control group.

Step 5: Determine and draw the relational power lines.

Next the union must assess the relationships that connect people and institutions. You may be able to identify several people that have a relationship to the decision-makers of authorized institutions. With other Legitimate power actors, your sources may not be able to identify many of their connections.

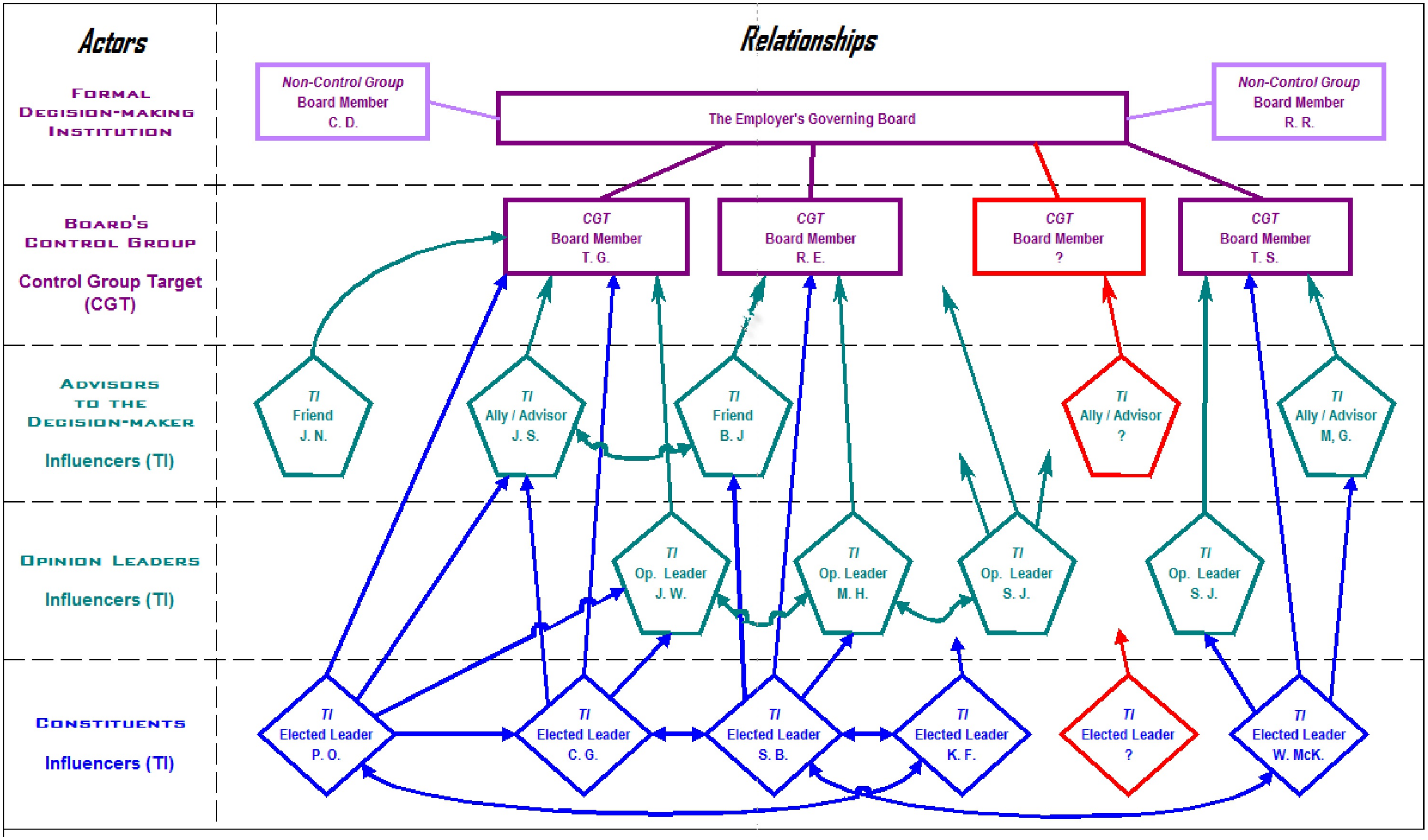
Action: Next, step back and review the networks of relationships that are represented on the map conceptually. Again think about power, influence, relationships, and connections. Assess what is here on the map and what may be missing. Then try to fill in as many "blanks" as possible.

One you have filled in the blanks, actually connect potential influencers to their respective formal decision-makers. The purpose of this step is to expressly identify existing relationships and illuminate the individuals that might help or oppose the union.

On the graphic power map, do this by drawing "relational lines" of another color (*e.g.,* red), between rectangles representing each of the formal decision-makers and the ovals representing potential influencers who have some relationship or connection to the decision-maker. Some people may have many of these connections while others may have only one. (It is often helpful to map the information as a pyramid of actors and influences). The arrows in A Sample Power Map, Figure RD02.03 illustrate the networks of relationships in a power structure.

Figure RD02.03

A Power Relationships Map



Step 6: Estimate target priority relationships.

Next the union must analyze and assess the operation of power (or degree of influence) among these relationships and connections. Then it must make preliminary decisions about who can help and who would likely impede the union's efforts to resolve the Organizing Issue.

Action: One way to do this is to simply count the number of relational lines between people. The potential influencers that have the most relational power lines are likely to be more influential than those that have only one connection.

If the union cannot identify a connection to each of the formal decision-makers, then it must expand its search beyond the organizing team by contacting other union officials and members to learn more about the decision-makers. It does, however, create a record that can be searched, repeated reviewed, and updated through time.

Tips on Power Mapping (and other Analyses)

- When a potential influencer or influencer group seems to be directly connected to an organizing target, your organizing team may need to go deeper and directly create another Power Map around each of the potential organizing targets.
- Some people or institutions may have numerous relational lines to a number of other institutions and power actors. The sheer numbers of these relational lines are indicative of the power and influence exercised by such a person.
- Other people or institutions may have only one or two relational lines connecting them together. However, these few connections may be critically important for a number of reasons related to their actual influence, openness or availability of access, *etc.* Numerous indicate power and influence, but they don't direct organizing priority.
- Your Power Map may reveal that no relational lines connect essential control group targets to influencers with whom the union enjoys a relationship. This situation presents the alternatives:
  - Your organizing team may not know enough about the essential control group target's relationships to identify critical connections to potentially influential friends, advisors, constituents, or others that might be able to assist the union. If so, organizing teams may need to identify the people who can influence the essential control group target. At the very least, the organizing team needs to find out more about this essential control group target.
  - Your organizing team may command all the information available about the essential control group target's relationships. All the essential control group target's associates may be fundamentally opposed to the union and its organizing issue. The essential control group target's influencers may be outside of any reasonable access by the union. If so, the organizing team still needs to learn the essential control group target's motivations and identify incentive structures that the union could use in selecting effective *Relational, Interpretive,* and *Influential* organizing actions.

Power Mapping
Work Sheet

[COG LISTEN & PLAN steps]

The Purpose of the Work Sheet

The Power Mapping Work Sheet specifically identifies the power actors (i.e., individuals and groups) with the power to influence the outcome of an organizing campaign. It may also suggest the alignment and motives of each power actor and the best channels through which to communicate with them.

Instructions and Procedures for Using the Technique

List the information indicated in the work sheet as fully as possible. If your organizing team has already prepared a Power Map, you will already have much of the information necessary to complete this Work Sheet. Where your organizing team doesn't know or needs more information, make a note. Then figure out how the team will acquire the needed information.

The process of power mapping usually consists of the following seven (7) steps:

Step 1: Frame the problem as an "organizing issue."

Step 2: Identify the major institutions related to the organizing issue.

Step 3: Identify the power actors associated with the institutions.

Step 4: Rate the power of the power actors.

Step 5: Summarize the interests and positions of the various forces.

Step 6: Estimate the power actors' alignment regarding the organizing issue.

Step 7: Identify all the other people having associations with the power actors.

The following discussion explores these steps. We recommend that unions begin power mapping by going through each step in the power mapping process only with members of their union's organizing team or organizing cadre. After a first run, most unions will be required to expand beyond organizing teams to include additional union officials, unit members, and—potentially— even union allies or community group members.

Step 1: Frame the Problem as an "Organizing Issue."

Power mapping can only be accurate and effective if unions clearly frame the purpose for power mapping as an organizing issue (rather than a problem).

Action: After validating the problem as Organizing Issue, formulate a statement of the organizing issue which is the focus of the campaign. Then, frame the 100% Right Position.

On the Power Map Work Sheet, write your formulation of the issue in the "Organizing Issue" box.

Step 2: Identify the major institutions related to the organizing issue.

Remember organizing targets are always real people, not abstract institutions. Unions cannot effectively target unaccountable abstractions. However, in this step identify the institution (or institutions) that caused the problem, or that can do something about it, or that is otherwise at the heart of the situation. Again, this step is driven by information obtained from the Force Field Analysis and Work Sheet prepared earlier.

Action: In the first "Institutions" column of the Power Map Work Sheet, list the organization or agencies in authority that have an interest affected by the union's organizing issue. Use the results of your Force Field Analysis to provide information. Then, list the institutions (e.g., NEA state affiliate employer, union locals, etc.) that are associated with each force.

Step 3: Identify the power actors associated with the institutions.

To effectively power-map an organizing issue, unions must also identify the decision-makers in each of the institutions which were allocated formal authority (*i.e.,* the Legitimate Power) to decide the outcome of the organizing issue. These individual power actors influence the positions of relevant forces and institutions. Your list should identify the current Control Group members that determine the institution's positions and it should also include key individuals who could also act as leaders and decision-makers in those institutions. This step is driven by information obtained from the identification of community power actors conducted earlier.

Action: In the second "Power Actor Individuals" column of the Power Map Work Sheet, list each power actor and their title.

Step 4: Rate the potential power capability of each of the power actors.

To effectively allocate their organizing efforts and resources, unions must understand just how influential a specific named power actor in the union's environment might be. This requires union organizers to assess the "magnitude" of a power actor's power. In practice, this means assigning a rating of their influence. At this stage, the assessments or rating are essentially rough estimates.

Action: In the third "Pwr rank" column, rate the magnitude of each supporting, opposing, and uncommitted power actor using a "1 to 5 scale," where 1 is the least influential and 5 is the most powerful.

Step 5: Summarize the interests and positions of the various forces.

Organizers must learn more than just where the various power actors "stand" on the campaign's organizing issue. They must also learn the explanation for the position. This means that they have to estimate the interests or objectives of each power actor that may concern itself with the organizing issue.

Action: In the fourth "Position – Interest" column, summarize the views of the power actors regarding your organizing issue. If the formal position of the institution and one or more of its power actors diverge, enter both. If the publically articulated positions of particular power actors regarding to your organizing issue are different from their private views, enter both.

Step 6: Estimate the power actors' alignment on the organizing issue.

After an organizer has identified each power actor's interest or objectives it is simple to predict whether they are likely to support, oppose, or be uncommitted at the beginning of the campaign. In other words, account for how they might "line up" on the issue.

Action: In the fifth "Alignment" column, categorize the positions of each force regarding your organizing issue as follows:

- O = Opposed
- S = Supports
- U = Uncommitted
- ? = Don't know

Step 7: Identify all the other people associated with the power actors.

To effectively target and apply power, unions must also identify the people who can influence the authorized institutions' decision-makers. While the Legitimate power actors (identified above in step 3) have been assigned the authority to make a decision, they may not be the people who really determine the outcome of the organizing issue. Other power actors may actually determine or at least heavily influence outcomes, either as a function of their higher formal authority or status or as a consequence of their informal relationships with the authorized Legitimate power actors. These influencers may have potential to be secondary *target Influentials*.

Action: Ask members to think of people they know who have some significant connection to or relationship with the formal decision-makers identified in step 3. This effort helps identify people with access to the formal decision-makers. These people may permit the union to tap into existing relationships between potential influencers and formal decision-makers. The purpose of this step is to identify the individuals who might be able to help or oppose the union.

In the "Influencers" column of the Power Map Work Sheet, list each potential influencer next to their respective formal decision-maker and summarize the nature of their relationship or basis for connection.

On a graphic power map, it is possible to visualize the connections between power actors and those who might be able to influence them. Organizers do this by drawing "relational lines" between each formal decision-maker and the potential influencers who have some relationship or connection to the decision-maker. A Power Map Work Sheet does not offer the same opportunity to see lines of relationship or influence between formal decision-makers and potential influencers. These connections have to be explained using words.

POWER MAPPING WORK SHEET

last updated: ___________________

Organizing Issue:

Institutions	Power Actor Individuals	Pwr rank	Position – Interest	Align- ment	Influencers
1. Internal Union: Member Targets & Member Influentials					
Site					
2. Employers: Control Group Targets & Target Influentials					
State Affiliate Assoc.					
Local Associations.					
3. Other Influential Groups					

Power Actors' Incentives Structure Analysis:
Instructions and Procedures
[COG LISTEN & PLAN steps]

The Purpose of the Technique

To effectively design and execute organizing strategies and tactics, organizers must understand the motivations of the power actors in a union's organizing environment. Organizers must accurately identify—or at least make a pretty good estimate—of their incentive structures. To be effective, union *Relational, Interpretive* and *Influential* pubic actions must account for the motivations and incentive structures that drive control group targets, target Influentials, and even the natural opinion leaders in the union's own internal environment. The Power Actor Information Work Sheet used previously in the Power Actor Information Management instructions and Procedures is the Thinking Tool we suggest to begin identifying and collecting this information. (For ease of use, we have included another copy of the Worksheet here).

The foundations and functions of Power Actors' Incentives Structure Analysis are explored as a part of the "Planning Progression" in a union organizing campaign in Appendix 4.

Instructions and Procedures for Using the Technique

Identification of the motives and incentive structures which drive relevant power actors is another area of information developed through the collective intelligence of a union's organizing team, its officers, and other knowledgeable union members or supporters.

Obtain as much evidence for the information indicated in the worksheet as possible. However, don't delay your organizing in an attempt to "know everything" about or to "be certain" of the motives and incentive structures of a particular power actor.

The process of power mapping usually consists of the following five (5) steps:

Step 1: Frame the problem as an "organizing issue."

Step 2: Confer with the knowledgeable people about the power actors.

Step 3: Analyze the content of the conversations about the power actors.

Step 4: Estimate the power actors' representation view.

Step 5: Estimate the power actors' motives.

The following discussion explores these steps.

Step 1: Frame the Problem as an "Organizing Issue."

As with all the other power analyses discussed here, keep the organizing issue in mind when attempting to determine a power actor's motives and incentive structures. Refine or reconfirm and then focus on framing your "organizing Statement." The union needs to understand the motives and incentive structures that are material to this particular organizing issue.

Step 2: Confer with the knowledgeable people about the power actors.

Find people who know the power actor. Often these people include a power actor's friends, relatives, and longtime work associates. In particular, try to confer with other elected leaders that have served with, supported, or opposed the power actor. Hold one-on-one conversations the with the knowledgeable people. Engage in Directed Active Listening about the power actor's thinking and positions on the Organizing Issue. Importantly, don't exclude the power actor. Even if the power actor is an introverted or suspicious adversary, direct conversations with the power actor can be very revealing.

Immediately after conferring with a source, stop and make thorough notes of the conversation. Memorialize your notes of each conversation with a knowledgeable person in one document or worksheet. Maintain complete records of the conversations. Something that may not seem relevant after you confer with a particular source may later prove very valuable.

By their very nature, the motives and incentive structures of a particular power actor can never be known with certainty. The object in using this technique is to obtain "pretty good" information from sources in a position to know a particular power actor. Conferring with several sources may add to the information base, confirm information from one of your sources, or validate a suspicion. However, remember the purpose of knowledge and information is to guide organizing for direct action, not knowledge for its own sake.

Step 3: Analyze the content of the conversations about the power actors.

Analyze what your knowledgeable sources tell you about the motives and incentive structures of a particular power actor. Social scientists call the applicable technique "content analysis."[18] In the context of organizers' analyses to identify power actors' motives and incentive structures, content analysis is a conscious effort to collect and think about the content of power actors' own statements—about themselves, about their positions on "things," about their hopes, about what they want to "do," about what they don't want to see happen, *etc.* Frequently the pressure tactics that power actors believe to be effective at inducing the compliance of others offers an insight into what they fear under their own incentive structure. The material for the analysis comes from studying the content of communications related to the power actor and their incentive structures.

One way or another, most of these communications are memorialized as written documents. In its organizing application, documents for content analysis include anything that may be relevant to the motives and incentive structures of a power actor. Most commonly these written documents come from one-on-one meeting notes, governing board meeting reports, campaign materials, *etc.* Potentially, these communications may even originate in written media or transcripts of broadcast media coverage. Organizers use Content Analysis to: describe the contents of one or more documents; analyze changes in document contents over time or intentional differences in content from one document to another; and estimate the motivation of a document's author.

The process of content analysis of a document or group of documents is straightforward:

- Determine the ***unit of analysis*** (*e.g.,* a whole document itself, relevant portions of a document or documents) which establishes the scope of the analysis.
- Define the ***categories of analysis,*** or the criteria which the organizing team will use to identify and summarize the contents of the document(s).
- ***Conduct*** the analysis to find the relevant information in the document(s). Ideally, more than one reader (referred to as a "coder") should analyze the document(s). This permits some measure of objectivity when the organizing team compares their analyses.

[18] Content analysis is defined as "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages." OLE R. HOLSTI, CONTENT ANALYSIS FOR THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1969).

- Summarize the ***results*** to put the analysis in a comprehensible form. In content analysis, the primary consideration is the appropriateness and clarity of the categories of analysis and the extent of agreement among coders.

Step 4: Estimate the power actors' representation view.

Review the summary of the three representation views discussed in the Motives and Incentive Structures in Organizing: Environmental Situation Awareness section of Appendix 4. Based on your summary of the three representation views, marshal the evidence supporting a judgment that the power actor's performance and motivation reflects the Trustee, Delegate, or Politico representation view or some combination. Don't expect or require absolutely consistent evidence and judgments. Ultimately, the necessary judgment is merely an estimate that can be updated or changed.

Step 5: Estimate the power actors' motives.

Review the summary of the three motivation categories posited by Perry and Wise, discussed in the Motives and Incentive Structures in Organizing: Environmental Situation Awareness section of Appendix 4. Based on the summary of the Perry and Wise motivation categories, marshal the evidence supporting a judgment that the power actor's conduct reflects Rational, Affective, or Normative motives or some combination. Don't expect or require absolutely consistent evidence and judgments. Ultimately, the necessary judgment is merely an estimate that can be updated or changed.

Your judgments about whether a power actor's performance and motivation reflects the Trustee, Delegate, or Politico representation view and whether a power actor's conduct reflects Rational, Affective, or Normative motives should match. For example, power actors whose representation views appear to be that of a Politico should also appear to be driven largely by Rational motives. Power actors who appear to act as a Delegate should also appear to be driven by either Rational or Affective motives. Similarly, a Trustee should appear to be driven largely by Norm-based motives.

The evidence and judgments about power actors' representation view and their Perry and Wise motivation categories may assist you in estimating their personal and institutional ambitions. Informed supposition regarding power actors' specific fears and wants may also help your organizing team appraise their personal and institutional ambitions.

Power Actor Incentives Structure Work Sheet

last updated: ____________________

Power Rank:	Alignment:	Power Rank: Organizing Issue:
Power actor (Name, Institutional affiliation, & Title):		
Suspected Personal, Self-interested Ambitions?		
Suspected Ambitions of the Employer Control Group?		
What does the power actor fear?		
What does the power actor want?		

Representation View			Motives & Incentive Structures
Trustee	Delegate	Politico	*Evidence of:*

Motives			Motives & Incentive Structures
Norm-Based	Affective	Rational	*Evidence of:*

Other Potentially Important Information About the power actor:

A Note About the Power Tools Progression

Organizers require power tools and procedures to identify the key power actors and institutions that can influence the outcome of an organizing campaign or change the organizing environments. These power tools and procedures must enable organizers to identify relationships and leverage points to influence the select organizing targets. . These targets are the people and institutions that can accede to a union's organizing objectives(s). These power tools and procedures must enable organizers to glean the potential incentives and motivations that might drive key power actors.

The Power Actions Progression described in this Resource Document provides the tools and procedures to do the job for union organizers. Simply, the Power Actions Progression does what it takes to develop the needed information. Other tools provide different or alterative ways to identify potential organizing targets, the incentives, and the relationships that can influence the outcomes of organizing campaigns. The following section offers a sample of a few of the alternatives. Some of these alternatives may be better suited to your working style or organizing environments.

Alternative Power Tools & Actions

Many organizers and numerous writers about organizing have advocated other power tools and power actions. Some of theses tools and actions differ from the Power Actions Progression we provide here.[19] The differences are often the result of organizer' personal orientation or style. They can also reflect differences in particular organizer's campaign environments. Perhaps, you may find a specific tool or action better suited to your organizing environment or you own style.

We acknowledge that the Power Actions Progression is not the only means to learn the information about power needed to win an organizing campaign. It does not present the only analyses, tools and actions organizers might use effectively.

An Alternative Power Actions Progression

Organizers and writers about organizing advance multiple formulations of the steps required for a power analysis.[20] Our five-step process works well. But some organizations advocate more steps. The following POWER TOOLS version is an excellent alternative. If for no other reason, POWER TOOLS version expressly leads from power analysis to planning and revisiting and revising. Of course, our A Power Actions Progression implies these two additional steps. Evaluation is an integral step in the COG method.

The steps in the POWER TOOLS power analysis:[21]

Step 1: Identify the Problem — Frame the Problem as an "Organizing Issue"

Identify the problem you are trying to fix. Organizers understand this step as framing the problem as an "organizing issue."

Organizers organize around issues, not problems. So extend your knowledge until you have a firm comprehensive understanding of the issue and the power forces involved. Then, frame the problem as an organizing issue.

Step 2: Identify the power actors (stakeholders)

Identify the main power actors that hold a stake in the issue, both formal and informal. The power actors (or stakeholders) may include: organizations, powerful people, and other individuals. Do not forget the media, which often has invested in one orientation on the organizing issue. The power actors (or stakeholders) identified should include the people:

- Responsible for controlling or influencing organizing issue (or creating the problem);
- Who have the power to accede to the union's objective(s) (or fixing the problem) but are not doing so;

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[19]See, e.g., DEEPAK PATERIYA AND PATRICIA CASTELLANOS, eds., POWER TOOLS: A MANUAL FOR ORGANIZATIONS FIGHTING FOR JUSTICE (Los Angeles, Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Public Education [SCOPE], 2003); JASON MACLEOD & JAMES WHELAN, eds., CAMPAIGN STRATEGY GUIDE: THE PEOPLE POWER MANUAL (3rd, Australia, the Change Agency & Pasifika, 2020); JAMES WHELAN & JASON MACLEOD, eds., COMMUNITY ORGANISING GUIDE: THE PEOPLE POWER MANUAL (Australia, the Change Agency & Pasifika,, 2016); National Academy of Community Organizing, *A Guide to Power Analysis in Community Organizing* (N.D.); J. "Whelan, Power Mapping and Analysis," the Change Agency; J. Mayers, *Stakeholder Power Analysis,* International Institute for Environment and Development (Mar. 2005); Union of Concerned Scientists, *Power Mapping your Way to Success,* in, Scientist Advocacy Toolkit (Feb 16, 2017). (www.ucsusa.org/resources/scientist-advocacy-toolkit).

[20]See, e.g., Pateriya & Casellanos, Power Tools*, supra*.

[21]Id.

- Who are within geographically scope of the problem;
- Who are working to achieve the union's objective(s) (or fix the problem); and,
- Your organizing team and your members, too.

The will produce a long list of interested power actors (or stakeholders), organizations, other influential people, media, and assorted individuals that may be able to assert influence on your issue. Rely on the list.

Step 3: Research the power actors (stakeholders)

Research the power actors (or stakeholders). There are some institutions on your list, but institutions don't make decisions. People make decisions and take actions. So, you must find out who makes the decisions in those institutions. And then, you must try to determine the influence of these people:

- Do they agree or disagree with the union on this issue?
- How much power do they have over this issue?
- Who influences them? On this issue? On other issues?

Step 4: Illustrate the position of power actors (stakeholders)

Plot the position of all the power actors (or stakeholders) to illustrate their support or opposition to the union's organizing issue. This can be done several ways:

- Various organizers suggest drawing "power mapping axes" on a white board or on a large sheet chart paper. Write the name of each stakeholder on a Post-It note. Then attach the Post-It notes, depending on how supportive the stakeholders are, and how much power the stakeholders have over the issue.
- Other organizers use world processing, PowerPoint, other computer graphics
- As you will see below, the position of the power actors can be represented in several graphical forms. These representation can illustrate: whether the power actors agree or disagree with the union; How much power do they may have to influence the campaign; the relationships between and among the power actors, *etc*.

Step 5: Identify your primary organizing target(s)

Based on their positions, identify your primary organizing target(s). At this step, you determine which power actor or group of power actor(s) has the most influence and who is most likely to accede to the union's objective(s). Ideally, a great target would be both very powerful and already supportive (or at least be accessible and willing to support the union on this issue). The most difficult target to influence—the kind you often confront) is an powerful actor who strongly disagrees with the union on this issue.

Step 6: Map the power relationships around your primary organizing target(s)

Map the power relationships around your primary target(s). The Power Relationship Circles illustration offers the most intuitive representation of power relationships.

Step 7: Map the power relationships around the secondary organizing target(s)

Map the power relationships around your secondary targets. You may not be able to move your primary target directly. Perhaps, the only way to influence the your primary targets is to get other power actors to exert their influence on the organizing issue. These other power actors are your secondary targets. you must try to determine the influence of these people:

- Do they agree or disagree with the union on this issue?
- How much power do they have over this issue?
- Who influences them? On this issue? On other issues?

Again, the Power Relationship Circles illustration offers the most intuitive representation of these power relationships. It is often useful to make a separate power map for each of these secondary organizing target(s).

Step 8: Plan your organizing campaign based on your power analysis

Use your power analysis to plan your campaign. Your power analysis identifies plan the primary target(s) that must be influenced by your plan. Your power analysis also identifies other power actors that may be essential for winning the campaign.

Step 9: Revisit and revise your power analysis

Revisit and revise. Power shifts, relationships change, or you learn more about who holds power. At key campaign junctures, revisit and revise your power analyses.