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**RURAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION:
THE TASKS OF LEADERSHIP**

Mark Douglas Miller

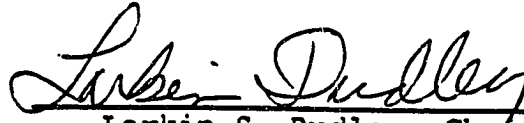
Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY


in

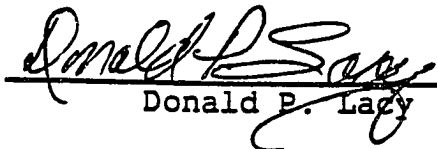
Public Affairs and Public Policy

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by

Mark Douglas Miller

Larkin S. Dudley, Chair

Public Administration and Public Affairs

(ABSTRACT)

This study examines both the urban and rural contexts to determine how context influences the attitudes and perceptions of local officials concerning their participation in the governance of their communities. James Svava's dichotomy/duality model is used to assess and compare the attitudes and perceptions of a total of ninety-three elected and administrative officials from urban and rural localities located within Virginia.

The research indicates that urban elected officials share attitudes and perceptions that lead to patterns of activity similar to those described in Svava's dichotomy/duality model. However, rural elected officials share a set of attitudes and beliefs that is markedly different from their urban counterparts. Rural elected officials indicate higher levels of activity in administration and management than did their urban counterparts. Urban and rural administrative officials are

characterized by similar perceptions that lead to relatively high levels of activity.

The differences in attitudes and perceptions attributable to context in combination with other factors demonstrate the need for both descriptive and normative guides that are sensitive to context. This study proposes a new normative guide for rural officials. This new source of normative guidance promotes the concept and principles of "democratic leadership." This new normative guide directs the rural official to participate in the governance process in such a way as to encourage citizen participation and followership. By encouraging active participation of all interested groups, this new normative guide establishes a means for renewing the public's trust in government through its increased involvement in the creation of a truly "public" policy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge and thank the following people.

The members of my committee, especially the chair, Larkin Dudley, who accepted the challenge, advised, and helped me stay true to the course, and Donald Lacy, who encouraged my interest in local government;

Those local government officials who shared their thoughts and time to participate in my research;

My friends, especially John and Pam, who offered moral support and advice;

My family, particularly my parents and in-laws, who gave their constant motivation and support;

Teresa who knew more about SAS and SPSSx than I did;
and

Dedra, my wife, for her love and who shares responsibility for the successful completion of this dissertation.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to the women in my life, my grand-mother, mother, mother-in-law, and wife; without their support this endeavor would have been impossible.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

There remains an orthodox view of city (local government) management that is at odds with contemporary practice. Consequently, the profession struggles intermittently to find its place in the modern context of democratic governance.¹ This gap between what managers (administrators) actually do and the orthodox view distances them from normative guidance about their roles and responsibilities and also about the values that underpin the decisions they make. Further, this gap creates a barrier to citizens -- the ultimate source of legitimacy in governance -- who might otherwise better understand professionalism in government.²

Government today is subject to increasing criticism and scrutiny. No level of government is immune from this widespread attack on its mission and operations. The general consensus is that government is "out-of-touch," and that its policies reflect neither the desires of the people, nor their needs. These perceptions represent a challenge to the very foundation of popular republican government in the United States. If this crisis of legitimacy is to be remedied, governmental institutions must discover ways to regain the public's trust.

Many remedies have been offered for this particular ailment. A common thread found in the contemporary literature is the claim that governmental legitimacy is predicated upon an active citizen involvement in the public policy-making process. On the surface, these calls for

increased citizen activism appear to be very similar to those of the "grass roots" movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

While the two share several similarities, there is one fundamental difference. A majority of the grass roots movements focused primarily on influencing the public policy process through the power gained through organizing large numbers of citizens. Contemporary proposals take up where many of the earlier grass roots efforts left off. The advantages of an active citizenry are moot unless government is both capable and willing to assimilate them. These new calls for an active citizenry are directed at both the need for organizing the public, and the need to modify government structures and processes to successfully integrate this increased activism and involvement.

The success of these efforts can be improved markedly by directing the initial research towards those governmental entities that currently accommodate high levels of civic participation. Of the three levels of government in the United States, local government best satisfies this requirement. Local governments are commonly referred to as the most democratic level of government. This distinction can be traced to their great numbers and proximity to the people. This distinction is most often used to describe rural localities because of the belief that rural communities have a greater sense of community.

Rural local governments enjoy an unique reputation as the level of government closest to the people, and thus, most responsive to their needs and desires. Urban local governments, while close in physical proximity to their constituents, are perceived as being more distant than their rural counterparts because of characteristics associated with the urban context; e.g., greater social diversity, (heterogeneity), division of labor, professionalization, and bureaucratization.

Because of their great numbers and proximity to the people, local governments are excellent candidates to remedy the current crisis in governmental legitimacy. The present study is designed to assess the differences between the two distinct categories of local governments, urban and rural, in an attempt to improve the dialogue about characteristics which contribute to their democratic reputations, and, indirectly, to better governance. In large part, the local governance process is the foundation upon which any effort to increase civic participation must be constructed.

However, before specific procedures can be developed and undertaken to increase civic participation and government's capacity for its accommodation, it is first necessary to learn as much as possible about the local governance process, its actors, and their roles. The present study examines perceptions of the local decision-

making process in an attempt to identify the major variations that exist between urban and rural local governments. This study will focus upon the roles and patterns of interaction of elected and administrative officials in the decision-making process. These roles are assessed in light of current theory and models. By examining the theoretical and actual interaction of elected and administrative officials in the public policy process, an assessment can be made concerning the potential for increased civic involvement.

The relationship between elected and administrative officials at the local level has been the topic of much research and debate. Much of this interest focuses on the roles assigned to elected and administrative officials as they participate in the local governance process. Our understanding of this relationship is severely restricted by a lack of adequate models and normative guidance allowing for a clear distribution of authority and responsibility and designation of roles among local officials.

While local government officials can look to several sources for guidance in this important area, many of the available sources either "contradict available empirical evidence and/or do harm to democratic theory."³ In addition, most of the available models treat all forms of local government similarly, thereby ignoring the important

influence of the environment, or context. Oftentimes, this context is designated and described in terms of its urban/rural characteristics.

In fact, a vast majority of the research and literature concerning local governments focuses on cities and the demands of governing in an urban environment. As a result, much of the available information concerning the relationship between elected and administrative officials and their roles has an urban bias. The existence of this urban bias suggests that there is a significant void in our knowledge and understanding of the rural context and its effects on the overall character of local government. This deficiency has the effect of causing us to ignore the influence that a locality's environment, or context, can have upon the way that local government's officials interact and define the scope of activity and roles.

Since the majority of available models ignore the unique features and qualities of the rural context, we must question the appropriateness of transferring urban-based research and models directly to rural local governments. This is especially true as local government officials in rural environments seek guidance in the determination of their scope of authority and level of activity, or their proper roles in the governance process.

To find an appropriate source of guidance for rural governmental officials in determining their roles and appropriate scopes of activity, this first section reviews the available theories and models in an effort to assess their suitability and applicability to the rural context. This examination focuses on the spirit of reform that emerged during the late nineteenth century. Also examined are the lasting effects of two of this era's major legacies, the politics/administration dichotomy, and the council-manager plan upon the role definitions of elected and administrative officials.

The Progressive Context of Municipal Reform Movement

Over the past century, local governmental officials have relied upon several sources for guidance in the determination of their proper roles in the governance process. During this period, The Model City Charter, The ICMA Code of Ethics, and The Council-Manager Plan, have emerged as the predominant sources of guidance for local government officials as they determine their role(s) in the governance process.

The theoretical basis for these sources of guidance can be traced to the thoughts and values of those involved in the municipal reform movement. During the later decades of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries,

municipal reformers were caught-up in the spirit of the Progressive Era.

The progressive attitude included an emphasis and faith in the notions of scientific management, the value of expertise and efficiency, and social Darwinism. Accordingly, those interested in improving public administration, both theorists and practitioners, actively searched for the one best solution to the "evils" of urbanization. The solution offered by reformers to meet these challenges was the council-manager plan.

The council-manager plan embraced many key features of the progressive period and its distinctive mindset. At a very basic level, the council-manager plan provided for a corporate business structure, a professional manager to head all administrative activities, a distinct separation between political and administrative decision-making, and a high value placed upon efficiency and the democratic control of the governmental apparatus.

A large portion of the public administration literature addresses the debate and events surrounding the development of the council-manager plan, its promotion as an "ideal" model providing for municipal reform, and concerns about its adoption and implementation. The promotion of the council-manager plan as an "ideal" model provided for the formation of an orthodoxy. This orthodox view held that the council-

manager plan was the best, and only answer to what was wrong with local government. This plan could be applied equally well to all forms of local government, including those existing in an urban as well as a rural environment.

The plan's universal appeal as an ideal model created an overwhelming willingness to apply the council-manager plan to all forms of local government in all contexts. Most applications of the council-manager plan, or a slightly modified form of the plan, in counties and rural environments occurred without assessing the plan's appropriateness for these situations. While a few theorists and practitioners questioned, and even rejected, the wholesale application of the council-manager plan, especially in rural counties, their concerns were quickly overridden by reports of the plan's great success in numerous cities across the nation.

THE THEORETICAL BASIS OF THE MUNICIPAL REFORM MOVEMENT

Since 1887, when Woodrow Wilson published his famous essay, there has been an ongoing debate concerning the roles of those formally involved in the local governance process. Much of this debate centers on the politics / administration dichotomy and its central place in Richard Childs' council-manager plan.

As portrayed in the plan, the politics/administration dichotomy calls for a complete separation of political and administrative responsibility. Under the council-manager plan, the elected council [board] is responsible for making policy decisions, while a professional administrative officer is responsible for their implementation and the day-to-day operation of the local government. This separation of responsibility manifests itself as a separation of roles.

The historic evolution of the municipal reform movement and the council-manager plan can be viewed as an ongoing series of debates. These debates concern the proper distribution of power, authority, and responsibilities, or roles among the various actors involved in the local governance process. The knowledge and understanding gained through these debates tends to ignore the importance of the environment, or context, that permeates all aspects of governmental action.

This general and unashamed willingness to apply an urban reform model to local governments existing in rural environments represents a major weakness and void in the public administration literature. In their enthusiasm, it appears that both theoreticians and practitioners ignored, or at least purposively overlooked and minimized, the distinctive nature and qualities associated with rural and urban environments.

In order to better understand this relationship, it is necessary to review the historic literature that covers the development and evolution of the council-manager plan. This review will address how the structure and form of local government evolved into the contemporary version of the council-manager plan.

THE ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL-MANAGER PLAN

Any study of the power, authority, and responsibility of local government officials as evidenced by their roles in the governance process must include a discussion of Woodrow Wilson's essay "The Study of Public Administration"⁴ and its legacy-the politics/administration dichotomy. Such a study must also examine the work of Richard Childs and his model for municipal reform, the Council-Manager Plan. Together, Wilson and Childs' works have heavily influenced the development of many of the contemporary structural and procedural characteristics associated with local government in the United States.

Woodrow Wilson

Many trace the origins of the academic field of public administration to Wilson's 1887 essay. Wilson found himself in the midst of a widespread governmental reform movement. In response to the corruption and inefficiency characteristic of government activities during the late 19th

century many scholars called for drastic changes in governmental institutions and processes. In response, Wilson felt that public administration should be a self-conscious, professional field. He wanted to refocus political science from the search for the great maxims of lasting political truth, to an emphasis upon how governments are administered. Wilson emphasizes his belief in the importance of administration by writing, "It is getting to be harder to run a constitution than to frame one."

Wilson proposed that a distinction be drawn between political (policy) and administrative decisions. Policy decisions are those that determine what governments do, while administrative decisions pertain to how these things are to be accomplished. His model represents a reaffirmation of the principle of the separation of governmental functions.

Wilson also believed that governmental administration could be viewed as a science. As such, it could be broken down into discrete tasks and separated quite easily from political (policy) decisions. In addition, Wilson's dichotomy met the American requirement for the popular control of government quite nicely. Thus, Wilson's politics / administration dichotomy made theoretical as well as practical sense.

Wilson wanted the study of public administration to focus not only on personnel problems, as other reformers of the time had advocated, but also on organization and management. He criticized the reform movement in general, and the Pendleton Act specifically for their focus upon the merit principle. Wilson felt that the study of public administration should not be limited to the study of the merit principle. Instead, he wanted to extend the study of public management by investigating the "organization and methods of our government offices." Such an analysis would help determine "first, what government can properly and successfully do, and, secondly, how it can do these proper things with the utmost possible efficiency and at the least possible cost either of money or of energy."

Wilson was concerned with the effectiveness and efficiencies of organizations, or their organizational productivity. He advocated the study of the administrative systems employed by European governments in an attempt to identify those administrative elements that could be transferred without threatening or compromising American democratic ideals. He hoped to convince governmental reformers that the study and application of sound administrative principles would improve the quality and efficiency of governmental operations. Calling for the establishment of an administrative system based upon

expertise and political impartiality, Wilson had observed deficiencies associated with governments during the wasteful and politically corrupt pre-reform period.

Wilson is most remembered for his call for a separation between administrative and political activities—a politics / administration dichotomy. He viewed this separation as a method of securing governmental efficiency and productivity. Wilson writes, "... administration lies outside the proper sphere of politics. Administrative questions are not political questions. Although politics sets the tasks for administration, it should not be suffered to manipulate its offices."

Wilson's "politics/administration dichotomy" can be viewed as one of the cornerstones of the municipal reform movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The success and perseverance of Wilson's dichotomy stems from the fact that it satisfied two essential requirements. First, it satisfied the requirements of many commonly held notions concerning democratic theory, especially those pertaining to representation and accountability in democratic governments. It also met the perceived requirements of the municipal reform movement.

The separation of political and administrative roles proposed in Wilson's dichotomy is accomplished through a

formal separation of decision-making roles and responsibilities. Elected officials share the responsibility for making all policy decisions, while the appointed administrative agent (bureaucrat) is responsible for making the administrative decisions required for their implementation. This separation of political and administrative decision-making responsibilities satisfies what is thought to be a major condition of democratic theory--the idea of representativeness.⁵

In the Wilsonian model, elected officials are held directly accountable to the people for making all policy decisions that utilize public resources, e.g., public funds, materials, personnel, etc. According to this model, the responsibility for implementing these policy decisions is placed on the professionally trained administrative agent.

His model satisfies the demands for governmental reform by allowing the administrative agent to use his/her training and best judgement to develop administrative decisions that are "free" from political concerns. Thus, Wilson's dichotomy places the responsibility and accountability for making policy (political) decisions on the elected official, and the responsibility for making decisions concerning their implementation on the professional administrative agent.⁶

The orthodox interpretation of Wilson's appeal for a separation between politics and administration is

misleading. It has come to signify a separation between all forms of politics and administration. To understand Wilson's intent, it is necessary to evaluate his call in the context of his other literary works. A more thoughtful reading of Wilson leads one to conclude that he focused his concern on the negative influence of partisan politics. The conclusion that Wilson meant to insulate governmental administrators from all forms of politics is too restrictive and unrealistic.⁷

Many people hold views that are contrary to the orthodox interpretation associated with his 1887 essay. Many believe that Wilson did not propose an absolute separation of politics from the administrative activities of governmental officials. Instead, they interpret Wilson as envisioning a public administration premised on a science of management. These scientific principles would distinguish, and thus, separate administration from the partisan influence of the traditional spoils system. When interpreted in this context, it becomes apparent that Wilson recognized the essential role that politics plays in determining public policy.

Richard Childs

Wilson and Richard Childs were influenced greatly by the growing acceptance of the principles of scientific

management. By the early 1900s, Childs combined Wilson's dichotomy and the principles of scientific management as the foundation of his council-manager plan of municipal government. Childs relied upon Wilson's reputation and intellect, while he provided the ingenuity and zeal that resulted in the council-manager plan.

Richard Childs, also known as the father of the council-manager plan, constructed an ideal model of municipal government based on his own brand of conventional wisdom. Childs' directs his attention towards "model building and the formal and structural elements of government."⁸ He takes a prescriptive approach built upon his own a priori assumptions.

Over several years, Childs worked to develop a "highly systematic and rationalistic machine model of municipal government."⁹ According to East, both Childs' work and model reflect many of the intellectual currents extant during his early years such as pragmatism, progressivism, scientific management, the principles approach, and the organizational-chart approach.¹⁰

Another crucial characteristic of Childs' model is its "closed" nature. East explains that Childs' "value theories are unaccompanied by causal theories and the subsequent empirical testing that these latter theories entail."¹¹ Childs does not test his ideal model empirically, nor does

he adjust his model to the empirical findings of other reformers. In fact, according to Childs' formal, static, and rationalistic conception of the worlds of politics and administration, there is no need for causal theories to test the "ideal schema's adjustment to political realities."¹²

His model is dissimilar from most municipal reform models in that it does not draw upon the techniques of the emerging behavioralist movement in political science for theoretical and empirical support. The advent of the "behavioralist persuasion" in the discipline of political science created a natural state of tension with the older and more established traditionalist school. Childs' municipal reform model, a product of the traditionalist school, was thus rejected as a pseudo-science by many who were studying municipal and urban reform.¹³

According to Heinz Eulau (1963), the behavioralist school was interested in determining the "realities...the is of the political realm." The behavioral approach would build "a science of politics which deserves the name...[built] from the bottom up...by the slow, modest, and piecemeal accumulation of relevant theories and data."¹⁴ Childs' a priori approach is at odds with the behavioral approach in that his "political theories are constructed from the top down."¹⁵

Childs views the "ideal" and "real" worlds as virtually the same. As a result, evidence that might reveal discrepancies between the ideal and real world are not necessary. Thus, Childs' ideal model is applicable to all political settings regardless of local conditions.

Childs was caught up in the search for principles of government. His short ballot movement and council-manager plan are both based upon the principles approach. As East notes:

Childs constructs his model of municipal government upon a foundation of "sound principles," after having rejected the mayorality and commission forms as violative of these same rules.¹⁶

Childs views these principles as "immutable and of universal application." He is unequivocal in this regard:

"In small cities and large, the period of practical testing is completed. The plan is no longer to be regarded merely as an interesting and sensible looking novelty but as a well-proven fixture destined to become the prevailing form of a municipal government in America. It only remains to extend the plan to the remaining two thousand cities and to perfect ways to apply the same basic principles to state and county governments."¹⁷

This model called for the establishment and increasing acceptance of a professional administrative cadre at the local government level. The council-manager plan rapidly gained popularity throughout the early decades of the twentieth century. In fact, today one can find some of the

basic elements of the council-manager plan in most local governments across the nation.

Evolution of the Council-Manager Plan

The development and evolution of the council-manager plan can be traced through several distinct periods. These periods can be distinguished by referencing changes in the roles advocated for the elected council members and appointed managers in municipal governments as evidenced in the National Municipal League's Model City Charter and the International City Management Association's Code of Ethics.¹⁸

In general, the authority and roles of city council members and managers have undergone three major periods of evolutionary change. Beginning with the period spanning 1890-1919, city managers were described as having a political, or policy-making role. The city manager was described as a "community" leader,¹⁹ responsible for "formulating policies and urging their adoption by the council."²⁰ The manager's role was understood to include an "active and influential" participation in the legislative, or policy-making process.²¹ During this period, local government officials were dedicated to notion of staff accountability to council, and to competence and accomplishment.²²

Beginning around 1920 and extending until the end of World War II, the accepted role of the manager changed dramatically in relation to that of the elected city council. During this period, the council-manager plan was popularized to increase its acceptability and adoption by cities across the nation. Svara refers to this as the "retailing" of the plan, and suggests that efforts to expand the plan many resulted in many of its major tenets being simplified and altered significantly. Two critical events define this period, the Great Depression and World War II.²³

During the Great Depression, Svara notes that the resources available to local governments declined and taxpayer scrutiny increased. The combination of these two factors caused managers to decrease their activism, especially in the policy realm. As a result, an orthodox interpretation of the proper roles of council members and manager developed. This orthodox view called for a separation of political (policy-making) and administrative roles.

The orthodox view's call for clear division of roles between the council and manager is oftentimes referred to as the dichotomy model. The dichotomy model served to focus council authority in the policy-making arena. Likewise, the manager's autonomy in the administrative realm was

reinforced. For both groups, the dichotomy model severely restricted the "appropriate" roles of elected and administrative personnel. During this period, local government officials were dedicated to the values of efficiency, economy, and fairness.²⁴

During the post-World War II era, the role the city manager was recast in response to societal and economic changes that followed the war. City managers were envisioned as a "community leaders" who provide the city council "with facts and advice on matters of policy to give the council a basis for making decisions on community goals."²⁵ Also, city managers continued to enjoy their respective insulation from the encroachment of the city council into their administrative realm.

During the five decades following the conclusion of World War II, the general perceptions and expectations concerning the role of the city manager in council-manager government changed dramatically. These changes have resulted in a situation resembling that initially proposed for the city manager over ninety years ago. Today, the council-manager plan calls for political leadership from several sources. In today's environment, the mayor, the members of the city council, and the city manager are viewed as legitimate sources of political (policy-making) leadership.

Structure of the Council-Manager Plan

The structural development of the council-manager plan has taken place over the past one-hundred years. It began during the 1890s, when the leadership of the national Municipal League realized that the structure of local government blocked political and administrative reforms. This group endeavored to create a governmental structure for municipalities that would minimize the influence of local political machines. In 1897, a committee developed a model* city charter which the league adopted in 1899.

The league's model city charter recommended the concentration of executive power in the mayor. The mayor was to exercise the authority that had formerly been dispersed among councilmanic committees, independent boards and commissions and elected administrative officials. The mayor would have the authority to appoint principal subordinates without council approval and/or interference. This model charter placed the legislative powers in a unicameral council elected at-large.

In 1900, a new form of city government captured nationwide notice when it was adopted by the city of Galveston, Texas after the city was ravaged by a hurricane and tidal surge. The Governor of Texas gave control of the city over to a commission of five prominent local

businessmen. An important component in the development of the commission plan was the notion that municipal government could be improved if the organization and practices of private business were adopted.²⁶

The flaws of the commission form of government soon became apparent to its supporters. According to Nolting, the electoral process seldom resulted in trained administrative personnel being placed in office. While the commission plan concentrated legislative power and authority in the commission, it also dispersed administrative functions and accountability among the several elected commissioners. Since each commissioner was responsible for administering a particular area (department), his/her administrative responsibilities to that area made it difficult to permit unprejudiced joint consideration of legislation.

On April 2, 1908, the city council of Staunton, Virginia appointed Charles E. Ashburner as the city's first "general manager". The Staunton City Council's action represented the first instance of a general administrative officer responsible for local government operations in the history of the nation. The title of "general manager" persisted for several years until a Staunton newspaper began to use the title "city manager" in order to avoid creating

any confusion with general managers working for private enterprises.

Staunton's addition of a city manager to its governmental organization does not constitute the first example of the council-manager plan. The Staunton city council merely added the office of general manager to its bicameral mayor-council arrangement. Nevertheless, Ashburner came to be known as the first city manager in the United States.²⁷

The Staunton plan addressed many of the problems associated with the commission plan. The commission plan imposed administrative responsibilities upon elected representatives who lacked professional training. This burden typically resulted in leadership vacuums and deficient municipal management. In order to remedy this weakness, Childs promoted the idea of having the commission delegate its administrative authority and responsibilities to a single official. The addition of this innovation to the commission plan resulted in the council-manager plan, although it had yet to be established in any city.²⁸

Child's council-manager plan included three major theoretical points: the short ballot, the unification of powers in the council, and the concentration of administrative authority in an official appointed by and responsible to the council. In the summer of 1910, Childs

drafted the first written version of the plan. He submitted his plan to the Board of Trade of Lockport, New York, as they considered a proposed commission-plan charter for the city. Childs offered to provide the board with the "latest thing in a commission charter." He also promised that the National Short Ballot Organization would furnish the city with extensive publicity if it would adopt the new charter.

The board decided to sponsor the charter provided by Childs, the first municipal charter that provided for a city manager. In 1911, the measure was introduced into the New York legislature where it was defeated when the legislature refused to allow the citizens of Lockport to vote on the plan.

While the Lockwood effort was unsuccessful, there was a positive outcome from the attempt, Child's council-manager plan had taken on a definite legal form. The council-manager plan became a viable alternative for the organization of municipal governments, when Charles A. Beard included the Lockport plan in the National Municipal League's publication entitled Loose-leaf Digest of Short Ballot Charters.

By referendum, Sumter, South Carolina became the first city to adopt the commission-manager plan in 1912. Childs persuaded Sumter to advertise for a city manager shortly after its adoption of the plan. He promoted Sumter as having

"the first actual combination of the idea of the short ballot with that of expert administration." He refused to recognize Staunton with its general manager under a mayor and bicameral council as a commission-manager city. Childs believed that it would be wrong to identify Staunton as the first example of the commission-manager form of government since it lacked a short ballot and the concentration of powers into a single elective body.

The National Municipal League monitored the continuing development of the council-manager plan through its committee on commission government. In 1911, the committee reported that the commission plan brought about demographic control of municipal government by promoting four distinct components: an unification of powers, a nonpartisan ballot, a short ballot, and at-large elections. In 1913, the committee, influenced greatly by the Lockport plan and by Childs, reported favorably on the council-manager plan at the Toronto conference of the League.

In response to this favorable review, the League created a committee committed to revising the original municipal program of 1900 which had included a model charter that recommended the strong-mayor form of municipal government. Between 1913-15, a National Municipal League committee consisting of academics and municipal reformers, led by A. Lawrence Lowell, President of Harvard University,

worked to develop the League's second Model City Charter. This committee drafted a revised charter promoting the council-manager plan. The National Municipal League adopted this revised charter during its 1915 convention in Dayton, Ohio.²⁹

In all, the Model City Charter has undergone a total of seven revisions. Each of the successive renditions have consistently adhered to the following basic principles:

1. All the powers of the city are vested in a single small board of elected representatives, usually called the Council, with five or seven members.
2. The Council hires from anywhere in the country a City Manager who holds office at the Council's pleasure. The Council can replace him at any time and for any reason.
3. The City Manager, serving full-time, appoints and supervises the heads of all operating departments, prepares and submits the annual budget, attends council meetings without a vote and brings in much of the business. Like a superintendent of schools under an elective school board!
4. There is no mayor, in the old sense as chief administrator. The Council selects its chairman from its own membership. The chairman retains his vote but has no veto or other powers and is commonly called "Mayor."
5. Elections of Council are non-partisan and preferably at-large rather than by wards, so that every voter has the right to vote for all of the governing board.
6. There are no other elective officers, since separate election of treasurer, attorney, city clerk, etc., would impair the discipline and teamwork of the administration by the Manager.

7. Post-audit is provided by the appointment of an auditor or a firm of professional auditors by the Council.³⁰

In 1914, the City Managers Association, later to become the International City Manager's Association (ICMA), was founded. This organization has played a major role in municipal reform and the evolution of the council manager plan. Over the years, the ICMA has identified the major criteria associated with the council-manager plan. In 1962, after several revisions, the ICMA recognized a municipality as having the council-manager plan if its charter or originating ordinance satisfies the general principles listed below:

1. The council shall appoint a manager who has responsibility for and authority over the administrative affairs of the city. If the charter offers the alternative to the council not to appoint a manager, the city will be excluded from the list until the council does appoint a manager and fulfills the other requirements detailed below.
2. The manager should be vested with full authority for the appointment, supervision, and direction of the department heads and personnel of at least most of the principal departments and functions of the municipal government. Appointments of other municipal positions under his supervision shall be made only upon his recommendation.
3. The duties and authority of a manager should be clearly specified and should include not only the appointment and removal of department heads but also the preparation and presentation of the budget to council, attending council meetings, preparation of the agenda for the regular meetings of the council, making recommendations to the

council on any municipal matter, preparing such reports as may be required by the council or by law, and being responsible for the enforcement of all the laws and ordinances of the city.

4. The council or any committee of the council should deal with the administrative service solely through the manager. In the case of an investigation of the manager or administration, the council may officially designate one or more members of the council to conduct the inquiry in any manner suitable to obtaining all necessary information.

* A local jurisdiction that does not meet all the conditions contained in the above criteria may still be considered to have a council-manager form of government if it is found that the principles and spirit of the council-manager plan are actually observed.³¹

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN THE COUNCIL-MANAGER PLAN

In theory, the council-manager plan represented a simple model that satisfied the expectations of both political theorists and political reformers. In practice, it created an immediate tension between elected officials and professional administrative agents concerning the proper role of the chief administrative officer in the decision-making process.

The debate stems from the difficulties and conflict associated with preserving various democratic values on a theoretical level, and providing efficient government in an increasingly complex social and political system on a practical level. Discrepancies between theory and practice

created a crisis for local government theorists in their attempts to both accurately describe the decision-making process and to avoid a crisis of legitimacy. This debate developed almost immediately as the plan was put into practice.

Most practitioners accepted the council-manager plan as the means for achieving good, efficient government. The plan's simplicity and common-sense approach appealed to the mindset and expectations of most governmental officials who had been socialized during the Progressive Era. Almost immediately after its formal debut in 1912, questions began to arise concerning the proper roles of elected and administrative officials under the plan.

In 1915, Henry Toulmin, described these "spheres of action" as "wholly distinct and separate."³² The manager was also viewed as an advisor to the council who could recommend "any measures that he may think expedient."³³ Any limits to the manager's level of contribution have always been ambiguous. The manager's responsibility of running a city, while also exercising discretion in policy execution has thwarted attempts at clearly delineating the managers' authority and role.³⁴ A few early managers, "given virtually a free hand in both the initiation and execution of public policy," not only reorganized their

governments but also attacked the social problems of the community.³⁵

During the 1916 meeting of the manager's association, managers affirmed the prerogatives of the council, although their active involvement in efforts to persuade the council and community of the need for action to meet pressing problems "revealed clearly" to Leonard White "that the managers were far from practicing the doctrine" they had supported.³⁶ In 1917, Richard Childs suggested that the "great managers of tomorrow will be those whose ideals stopped at no line of dogma or tradition, but who pushed beyond the old horizons and discovered new worlds of service."³⁷ In 1918, Childs advocacy of broad managerial leadership became even clearer:

Some day we shall have managers here who have achieved national reputation, not by saving taxes or by running their cities for a freakishly low expense per capita, but managers who have successfully led their commissions into great new enterprises of service...³⁸

Despite these sentiments, Childs was always a strict adherent to the doctrine of separation. His view was that the manager's job was to "administer" and not to "govern" and he should not seek to impose his values on the council.³⁹ Separation would be preserved if the council decided to follow the manager's lead. The role assigned to the manager and the relationship ascribed to the manager and

council can probably best be described as "elusive," and his comment is most likely apt for other early observers of council-manager government.⁴⁰

There were several differing views concerning the proper role of the manager in the governance process. Leonard White identified two schools of thought concerning the manager's involvement in policy and the extent to which the manager was a community leader, as opposed to an administrative technician.⁴¹ White argued that one of the "hazards" to the manager movement is the "adventuresome spirit of many managers, especially those new to the game."⁴²

This issue was addressed, but not settled in the 1924 adoption of the International City Manager Association's first Code of Ethics. Provisions in this document prohibited managers from taking an "active part in politics." Additional provisions allowed managers to make a contribution to determining policy and supporting and promoting policies adopted by the council. Martin J. Schiesl concludes that in the early 1920s managers already viewed themselves as participants in resolving community issues and conflicts: "managers continued to participate in the making of public policy with little immunity from political considerations."⁴³

In 1926, H.G. Otis indicated that "one of the most delicate tasks of the city manager is to educate his council without their knowledge."⁴⁴ Leonard White observed that "the office of the city manager has become the great center of initiating and proposing (but not deciding) public policies as well as the sole responsible center of administration. White did conclude, however, that "the behavior of most managers, most of the time, is not the behavior of the community leader."⁴⁵

The matter of the appropriate relationship between the manager and council, as well as the extent of the manager's authority was settled for a time with Ridley and Nolting's The City Manager Profession and the ICMA's 1938 Code of Ethics. Richard J. Stillman characterizes Ridley and Nolting's research as summarizing "the orthodox scientific management ideology as it applied to city managers."⁴⁶

Stillman points out that not only was a clear separation between policy and administration asserted by Ridley and Nolting, but even the manager's advisory relationship was carefully circumscribed. The manager provides facts and technical assessment of consequences only: "at the request of the council, the manager may make his recommendation, but he urges the council to decide upon the policy in the light of the facts and the needs of the people."⁴⁷ The manager should not "let himself be driven

or led into taking the leadership or responsibility in matters of policy" nor is the manager expected to take criticism for decisions of the council. In general, the manager should stay "out of the limelight as much as possible."⁴⁶

Leonard White applauded the politics-administration dichotomy principle in his 1927 book entitled The City Manager when he stated:

It ought to be possible in this country to separate politics from administration. Sound administration can develop and continue only if this separation can be achieved.⁴⁹

Agreement with White's view was shared by both academics and practitioners.

Additional support for the dichotomy appeared in 1924 when the ICMA published its original code of ethics. The code contained the following provision:

Loyalty to his (the city manager) employment recognizes that it is the council, the elected representatives of the people, who primarily determine the municipal policies and are entitled to the credit for their fulfillment.

The ICMA's 1938 Code of Ethics seemingly closed the door on a policy role: "the city manager is in no sense a political leader." The continued commitment to the ideal of separating politics and administration appears in the 1938 revised code of ethics. The notion of a dichotomy is reaffirmed as a statement describing the council-manager

form of government as one which "provides that municipal policy shall be determined exclusively by a legislative body elected by the people and that the administration of policy shall be vested in the city manager..."

Even as recently as 1962, H.G. Pope, the Executive Director of the Public Administration Service who previously served as city manager in two Michigan communities, took the position that there are distinctions "...between policy determination on the one hand and policy execution on the other. Clearly the two require different kinds of judgements and actions, arrived at differently and employing different kinds of resources and considerations... The council-manager plan was developed to eliminate the intermingling of administration and political leadership."⁵⁰

Some indication of the fundamental change that the city manager profession has undergone can be seen in the revisions made to the International City Managers' Association Code of Ethics. The original code of ethics which was adopted in 1924 contained the provision:

Loyalty to his employment recognizes that it is the council, the elected representatives of the people, who primarily determine the municipal policies and are entitled to the credit for their fulfillment.

The continued devotion to the ideal of separating politics and administration appears in a statement contained

in the 1938 revised code of ethics that describes the council-manager form of government as one which "provides that municipal policy shall be determined exclusively by a legislative body elected by the people and that the administration of policy shall be vested in the city manager..."

When the code of ethics underwent its second revision in 1952, a statement from the 1938 code that the city manager "is in no sense a political leader..." no longer appeared. Instead, the new code contained the following principle:

The city manager...submits policy proposals to the council and provides the council with facts and advice on matters of policy to give the council a basis for making decisions on community goals.

The International City Management Association through its Institute for Training in Municipal Administration which was established in 1934 has published the Municipal Management Series (ICMA Green Books). The 1983 edition of the handbook for managers, recognizes an active role for managers in the mainstream of politics. According to the 1983 Green Book, being an effective public manager involves performing as the "economic entrepreneurial leader," the "mobilizer of community resources," the "principal planner promoting the community's future" and the "administrative innovator."⁵¹ The most recent edition of

the Green Book (1994) continues to advocate an active policy role for managers.

Empirical Evidence of City Manager's Role

While the ICMA was slow to acknowledge the prominent role that city managers play in policy initiation, major empirical studies documented that city managers are actively involved in the process of public policy-making. Analysis of data collected from 76 city manager in Florida concluded, "We found no managers...who were not involved in the making, shaping or vetoing of policy proposals."⁵²

Ronald Loverage, based on interviews in which he asked fifty-nine city managers in the greater San Francisco Bay region questions about their policy role orientation, concluded that they:

reject...the dichotomy between politics and administration; for they see participation in the policy process as required and, more important, necessary. And beyond participation, managers do not view their policy goals as those of scientific management but instead those directed toward policy formulation, program development, and other broad aspects of governing a city.⁵³

David Booth in a 1968 study involving city managers from 140 small cities (population 2,500 to 10,000) reports that a total of 115 managers out of 132 (82%) either agreed strongly (# 58, or 41%) with the statement that "A city manager should play a leading role in policy making in his community."⁵⁴ Closer examination of the figures provided

by Booth and a recalculation of them reveals that actually 87 percent either agreed strongly (44 percent) or agreed (43 percent) with the statement.

Deil Wright, in his analysis of data obtained in 1965 from forty-five managers and their staffs working in cities with populations over 100,000 found that 69 percent of the managers reported that they set the agenda of their city councils.⁵⁵ Some indication of the dramatic expansion of managers into policy-making leadership roles can be found when comparing the percentage of managers who reported in data collected by Wright that the policy role was most important to successful performance of their job (22 percent)⁵⁶ with the percentage that Newell and Ammons found in their 1985 study of 527 managers who designated that the policy role was the most important to achieving job success (55.8 percent).⁵⁷

Nalbandian observed that, contrary to the public administration orthodox view that there is a dichotomy between politics and policy:

Today, the idea of the local government professional as a formally insulated administrative expert whose policy involvement is limited to advising a governing body has given way to the role of broker and negotiator of community interests and a builder of policy consensus. In short, contemporary managers are involved in community political leadership even though they avoid formal involvement in electoral processes.⁵⁸

Recognition of the changing role of city managers is not confined to empirical research. Statements made by managers themselves show a considerable shift away from viewing themselves as mere technicians employing neutral competence and toward regarding themselves as having a key role to play in policy matters. One such statement may be found in the following comment made by Thomas W. Fletcher who at the time was a city manager in California:

What is the manager of today? Is he an administrator? Professional? Technician? Or a politician? In all probability the modern city manager has elements of all of these. Certainly the old image of the manager as the professional administrator dealing with the techniques of engineering and finance, is gone. The human problems that now have the highest priority have removed the manager from the cloisters of his office in city hall and [have] required him to become a modern political animal...⁵⁹

Even as recently as 1962, H.G. Pope, the Executive Director of the Public Administration Service who previously served as city manager in two Michigan communities, took the position that distinctions do exist between these activities. Popes states that there are differences

...between policy determination on the one hand and policy execution on the other. Clearly the two require different kinds of judgements and actions, arrived at differently and employing different kinds of resources and considerations... The council-manager plan was developed to eliminate the intermingling of administration and political leadership.⁶⁰

RECONCEPTUALIZING THE POLITICS/ADMINISTRATION DICHOTOMY

In 1985, James H. Svvara published an article entitled "Dichotomy and Duality: Reconceptualizing the Relationship Between Policy and Administration in Council-Manager Cities," in the Public Administration Review.⁶¹ This model of decision-making represents a valuable step forward in the examination of the intricacies of local government decision-making, and settling the debate over roles.

Svvara cites the inability of past and contemporary decision-making models to adequately reconcile the differences between the anticipated levels of involvement by those participating in the local decision-making process and the actual levels of activity reported by participants as the motivation for developing his dichotomy/duality model.

Svvara cites Woodrow Wilson's 1887 essay "The Study of Administration" as the basis of much of our thought concerning the rightful distribution of authority and responsibility in regards to governmental action and decision-making. Most of us are familiar with Wilson's essay through its simplified and condensed form known as the Politics / Administration Dichotomy. The Wilsonian model has had a lasting influence on the way we envision and study governmental decision-making.

Svvara recognizes the Wilsonian model as representing the mainstream of thought through the 1930s. Since that

time, many scholars of governmental decision-making and activity have discredited Wilson's model as naive and unrepresentative of reality. In his research, Svvara identifies three additional decision-making models that describe how responsibility for policy and administration is divided between elected officials and professional administrators.

Svvara identifies these models as: the "mixture in policy" model; the "mixture in administration" model; and the "elected official/administrator as co-equal" model. Each of these three models describes a different mixture and level of responsibility and activity by elected officials and professional administrators in each of these decisional areas.

The "mixture in policy" model evolved from the post-WWII behavioral revolution that occurred in political science. During this period, politics came to be viewed as a distributional process in which administrators, among others, make value choices and allocate resources. Concurrent with this new and enlarging view of what action constituted policy behavior, the scale of governmental activity and the size of the bureaucracy were also expanding greatly.

This model describes a shared responsibility for policy formulation by elected officials and administrative staff,

with administrators sometimes dominating the process. In keeping with the "politics/administration" model, the administrative sphere of decision-making is insulated from legislative meddling.

This model provides administrators extensive opportunities to set policy. For instance, according to this model, administrators initiate proposals, exercise discretion, manipulate expertise, create budgets, determine service delivery levels, and through implementation shape the policy formulated by elected officials. Thus, this model proposes a complete intermixture of roles in the policy area, while insuring the virtual autonomy of administrators within their sphere.

The "mixture in administration" model has developed over the past two decades in response to concerns over the presumed excesses of an "uncontrolled bureaucracy". It calls for a legislative body that is actively involved in administrative affairs. The relationship between elected and administrative officials is characterized by legislative probes into the depths of administration, such as influence over hiring or the award of contracts.

This model describes legislators as taking on a proactive role in the decision-making and governance processes. Elected officials actively reassert their

legislative prerogatives through oversight and by becoming more involved across the board.

The "elected official-administrator as co-equals in policy" model shares many similarities with the "policy mixture" model, with the addition of a normative dimension. This model had its beginning in the New Public Administration movement. It portrays the administrator as a legitimate actor of equal status with the elected official in the decision-making process. The administrator has an ethical obligation to promote the values of equality, participation, and to protect the interests of the politically powerless.

This movement sought to remedy the deficiencies of the policy process that result from unrepresentative legislative bodies and the uneven level of political organization and participation among various segment of society by expanding the role of professional administrators. This model represents a "radical break" from traditional democratic theory. By proposing a proactive policy-making role for administrators, this model stands in stark contrast to the dichotomy model with respect to where the responsibility over policy should be assigned.

Each of these models, along with the "politics / administration dichotomy" model, has its strong points and weaknesses. Svava assesses these models in terms of their

consistency with evidence gathered from studies and their ability to address normative questions concerning the division of decision-making authority and responsibilities between elected and administrative officials.⁶²

The "politics/administration dichotomy" model has been dismissed as naive and overly simplistic in light of the accumulation of evidence suggesting that administrators make policy and value choices of great consequence. The "mixture in policy" model argues greater administrative input and control in policy formulation than is warranted. The "elected official-administrator as co-equals in policy" model shares the same weaknesses of the "mixture in policy" model. It does provide some normative guidance to administrators, but the role that it suggests for administrators does violence to democratic theory and the rule of law by suggesting that the manager enjoys a separate source of authority that is separate from the elected council. Furthermore, it trivializes the significance and extent of the formal authority of the elected official.

Svara asserts that all four of these decision-making models are deficient because they are based upon an overly simplistic and incomplete understanding of the decision-making process. Each of these models is flawed by the persistence and influence of Woodrow Wilson's "politics/administration" dichotomy model. While Wilson's

model has been rejected, it continues to influence how we think about decision-making.

Each of Svvara's three unique models share several basic characteristics with Wilson's model. Each relies upon the same understanding of decision-making, its basic design and the linkages between its participants. In each of these models, Svvara focuses attention on the two distinct groups of participants who are formally involved in the decision-making process, elected officials (politicians) and administrative officials. Also, there are two distinct categories of decisions, policy decisions and administrative decisions. Differences between these four models can be traced to the distribution of power and authority between the two categories of participants to make various types of decision.

Svvara proposes that we adopt a new, more sophisticated view of the decision-making process. Most contemporary decision-making models separate the process into several distinct phases and/or types of decisions based upon a continuum or hierarchy of decisions. The general premise of these contemporary models is that general decisions can be found at one extreme of the continuum and specific decisions can be found at the other end. The whole decision-making process consists of four or more distinct types of decisions

classified according to the inherent level of generality and/or specificity.

Svara asks that we refine our current view of decision-making by including two additional categories of decisions, mission and management decisions. By adding these two categories of decisions, Svara proposes a continuum consisting of mission, policy, administration, and management decisions. Svara draws a clear relationship between the governance process and the decision-making process. Governance as a process involves problem/issue identification (mission), goal setting and the broad strategies developed for addressing them (policy), specific decisions employed for the explicit purpose of achieving policy objectives (administration), and specific decisions taken in support of the policy and administrative functions (management).

In 1985, Svara first applied his "dichotomy/duality" model to five cities in North Carolina with populations of 100,000 or more. The basic assumptions of his model were verified. The relationship between elected and administrative officials did follow the general pattern predicted in his model. There was extensive sharing of responsibilities in the area of policy and administrative decision-making. City council members took on the bulk of responsibility for mission-type decisions, but not exclusive

control. Professional city managers held similar responsibility over management-type decisions.

Since 1987, Svvara's model has been used as a research device in Virginia, Ohio, and Minnesota. It has been used to study the decision-making process of various state and quasi-public agencies. Svvara has applied his model to all cities in North Carolina regardless of size and population. Recently, he applied an abbreviated form of his research instrument to all localities in North Carolina, counties, cities and towns. The findings from these studies support the validity of his initial research and decision-making model.

Svvara's model offers a solution that addresses and reconciles many of the deficiencies associated with the council-manager plan. By expanding our understanding of governmental activities beyond the simplistic politics / administration dichotomy, and by eliminating the requirement of a strict dichotomous relationship, Svvara is able to reconcile many of the concerns associated with the long-standing debate over democratic control and governmental efficiency.

While Svvara's dichotomy/duality model offers an answer to over seventy years of debate over the proper roles of governmental officials, it does not address the issue of context. In fact, a vast majority of the research and

literature developed during the municipal reform movement and the evolution of the council-manager plan largely ignores the importance of context for local government.

STUDY DESIGN

Having reviewed the major theories and models governing the roles of elected and administrative officials in the local governing process, it is necessary to layout the remaining structure of this study. To better illustrate the importance of context to the interactions and role definition process of local government officials, a section of this study will be dedicated to identifying the major characteristics associated with the urban and rural contexts.

The purpose of this review is to improve our knowledge and understanding of context and its relevance to local government. This section will develop our understanding of context by drawing from three distinct literature streams-- political philosophy, sociology, and public administration.

After establishing the deficiencies of current theory and the importance of context to local government, I will assess the impact of context upon the role definition of elected and administrative officials in selected local governments from urban and rural settings. The first goal of this analysis is to determine if context has an impact

upon the role definition of local governmental officials. Second, I will describe how the urban/rural context influences the attitudes and perceptions of local government officials in regards to their actual and preferred roles in the governance process. Third, the results of this analysis and other research will provide an indication of the need to address context in prescription and description of the local governing process. The fourth, and final goal of this study is to determine how context should be addressed when attempts are made to increase civic participation in the public policy-making process and to improve government's ability to accommodate such increased participation.

Each of the above tasks is the focus of an individual chapter in this dissertation. Chapter One had three general objectives. First, the theories and models available to local government officials concerning the distribution of power, authority, and responsibility among governmental officials were identified. Of particular importance to this effort were Woodrow Wilson's politics/administration dichotomy and Richard Childs' Council-Manager Plan. The thought and work of these two men have been the foundation for over ninety years of continuous debate concerning the proper relationship between elected and administrative officials.

Second, this exercise provided ample evidence that a majority of literature concerning local government largely ignores the important influence of context upon the overall character of local government. By accomplishing these two tasks, chapter one demonstrates how contemporary theory and practice ignore the importance of the urban/rural context in normative guidelines for local government officials.

Third, the chapter addressed the debate that has continued for most of the last century concerning the roles of elected and administrative officials under the guidelines of the council-manager plan. This section addressed the inherent tension that results from attempts to apply the plan's formal theory and guidelines governing these roles to real world situations. Over the past seventy years, this tension has been the cause of an ongoing debate between local government theorists and practitioners. This section chronicles this debate and reveals some of the inherent weaknesses of the council-manager plan.

To summarize, it was the goal of the current chapter to provide a general overview and assessment of the major theories and models of local government. This effort supported the argument that a majority of local government theory and models are preoccupied with urban reform. Generally, as a result of this urban bias, the rural context has been neglected. By establishing this weakness and void

in the literature, we are compelled to consider and examine the rural context.

Chapter Two establishes the relevance of context as an ongoing issue and concern as man has contemplated social and governmental organizations over the centuries. This chapter will chronicle the significance of context to political theorists, sociologists, and public administrators. A historic approach will be used to demonstrate how our attitudes and understanding have changed over time concerning the characteristics of various forms of urban and rural social arrangements.

The purpose of Chapter Two is to establish the importance of the environment, or context of a local government, for the actions of its leadership or citizens. This chapter will establish some of the more notable and distinctive characteristics associated with urban and rural contexts. By identifying these distinctive characteristics, it will become apparent that tangible differences do exist between urban and rural, and that measures developed for one context, may not be transferrable to the other.

Chapter Three outlines a methodology for testing the importance of the urban/rural context upon the role definition of local governmental officials. It will include a research plan that draws upon the work of Svava and his Dichotomy / Duality Model to assess the effects of context

upon how local government officials define their roles in the governance process.

This chapter will also discuss the selection of several local governments from across the Commonwealth of Virginia to serve as a sample group. Finally, this chapter will describe the statistical techniques that will be used to assess the influence of context upon how local government officials define their roles in the local governance process.

The major purpose of this chapter is to establish a methodology that assesses the influence of a locality's urban/rural context upon the roles of its elected and administrative officials in the governance process. By providing a study methodology that can assess and demonstrate these differences, I can determine if our current knowledge, understanding and models of local government are valid for all local governments in all contexts.

Chapter Four assesses the results of the survey. The effect of the urban/rural context upon the role perceptions of elected and administrative officials is the focus. Chapter four will determine the extent of these differences and focus on any major similarities and variations. I will assess the attitudes of the officials concerning their actual and preferred levels of activity in seventeen

distinct decision-making activities spread across four general categories of governmental decisions.

The purpose of this chapter is to establish if the urban/rural context influences how local government officials determine their roles in the governance process. By answering this question, we can either dismiss context as a factor worthy of consideration, or we can continue by assessing the magnitude and significance of its influence. Also, by assessing the official's actual and preferred levels of activity, this study reflects both the "is" and "ought" of governing in an urban or rural context. By examining differences between the actual and preferred levels of activity, we can identify potential problem areas in the relationship between elected and administrative officials.

Chapter Five will summarize and place the research findings in perspective. This chapter will include a series of suggestions for dealing with the differences attributable to the urban/rural context. Here, I begin to develop a normative model that reflects the sentiments of the officials who must react to the context of their respective local governments. The purpose of this chapter is to provide governmental officials with a realistic source of guidance that is sensitive to the influences of context upon

a locality's character and operations, as well as its ability to accommodate increased civic participation.

End Notes for Chapter One

1. John C. Bollens and John C. Ries. The City Manager Profession: Myths and Realities. (Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1969), 1-5; and Richard J. Stillman II, The Rise of the City Manager (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), 109-112.
2. John Nalbandian, Professionalism in Local Government: Transformations in the Roles, Responsibilities, and Values of City Managers (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1991), xi.
3. James H. Svara. "Dichotomy/Duality: Reconceptualizing the Relationship Between Policy and Administration in Council-Manager Cities," Public Administration Review 45. (January/February 1985): 221-232.
4. Woodrow Wilson, "The Study of Administration" Political Science Quarterly 2 (June 1887) [reprinted with an Introduction by Ralph Purcell in The Study of Public Administration (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1955): 1-23].
5. This view differs from that espoused by John Rohr in his book To Run a Constitution.
6. Much of what people know and remember about Woodrow Wilson's contribution to public administration is limited to his call for a separation of politics and administration in governmental affairs, or a politics/administration dichotomy. Assessments of Wilson's contribution both overlook many of his more significant contributions and are based upon a critical misinterpretation of what Wilson meant by "politics" in his 1887 essay. On the first count, the extent of Wilson's contributions help shift the attention of students and practitioners away from a consideration of the nature of the state and the purpose of government to an emphasis on "government in action." In accomplishing this, Wilson was one of the first to promote the study and practice of public administration in a truly democratic setting. Wilson also helped establish the field of comparative administration. Wilson promoted the study of the more experienced "ways and means" which foreign governments used in conducting public business as a way to improve the fledgling administrative system in United States. Wilson's exceptional career is characterized by several notable distinctions. He served with distinction as a member of the United States House of Representatives and as President of the United States. Wilson also served as the President of the Short Ballot Organization. His association with this organization had its basis in several of the concerns he shared with the

progressive governmental reformers. He shared the belief that political bosses and machines were usurping the people's rightful control over government. His efforts on behalf of this cause were directed towards simplifying the structure, or "mechanisms of democracy." In 1909 during a speech, Wilson stated, "I believe that the short ballot is the key to the whole question of the restoration of government by the people." The next year Wilson stated that, "this process of simplification [through the short ballot] is our only salvation." He served as president for several distinguished institutions of higher education - Bryn Mawr College and Princeton University. It was at such academic institutions that Wilson activity began efforts in support of the fledgling academic field of public administration.

7. James H. Svara. "Dichotomy/Duality: Reconceptualizing the Relationship Between Policy and Administration in Council-Manager Cities," Public Administration Review 45. (January/February 1985): 222.

8. John Porter East, Council-Manager Government: The Political Thought of Its Founder, Richard S. Childs (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 6.

9. Ibid., 6.

10. It should be noted that Childs drew upon several diverse sources while conceptualizing his "ideal" model of municipal government. Childs identified Woodrow Wilson as a major source from which he drew material to construct his council-manager plan. While it is clear that Childs drew heavily from the work and reputation of Wilson, there is little evidence beyond Childs' personal accounts as to the extent of their professional collaboration.

11. Ibid., 6.

12. Ibid., 6.

13. The author realizes that Childs cannot be taken to task for his lack of recognition and non-reliance upon the behavioralist approach and its techniques. The early work of Childs predates the widespread acceptance of the behavioralist approach in the social sciences.

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23. Ibid., 341.
24. Ibid., 341.
25. Edward W. Weidner, "Municipal Highlights of 1952," The Municipal Yearbook, 1953 (Washington, D.C.: International City Management Association, 1953), 3.
26. Harold A. Stone, Don K. Price; and Kathryn H. Stone, City Manager Government in the United States (Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1940), 5.
27. This recognition is commemorated by a bronze plaque placed on the front of city hall at Staunton in 1933 by the International City Manager's Association to honor Ashburner who had died the previous year.

28. The idea of an appointed executive in local government was not new, however. The school board of Buffalo had appointed a superintendent of schools as early as 1837. Haven A. Mason, one of the founders and first secretary of the League of California Cities, in an editorial in California Municipalities for August, 1899, proposed the creation of the post of business manager for cities. In 1904, Ukiah, California, created by ordinance the post of executive officer selected by the council. Professor Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago, as a member of the Chicago Charter Convention in 1905-06, unsuccessfully advocated the appointed of a executive by the council.

29. There have been seven revisions made to the National Municipal League's Model City Charter. Revisions occurred in 1915, 1925, 1933, 1941, 1964, 1979, and 1989.

30. Richard S. Childs, The First 50 Years of the Council-Manager Plan of Municipal Government. (New York: National Municipal League, 1965), 4-5.

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CHAPTER TWO

Public administration in a rural area is not, nor can it be, exactly the same as public administration in an urban area. Many of the problems are different. The needs are quite different. Solutions therefore must be different. That is why the field of public administration is challenged to train and educate ruralists and to search for more appropriate ways of meeting the public service needs of rural areas.¹

Our understanding of local government, its character and processes, is greatly influenced by its environment or context. Two concepts frequently used to describe the local context are urban and rural. These concepts have played an important role in determining how we perceive most forms of social organization. From the small, isolated hometown to the large, metropolis, these two concepts provide a rich medium for describing and analyzing local government.

As seen in the previous chapter, the influence of the urban/rural context has generally been ignored in the research and literature concerning local government. This deficiency is especially evident in regard to the issue of role definition among local government officials. In response to these deficiencies, the goal of the present chapter is to lay a foundation for an improved understanding of these two concepts and their importance for the study of local government.

To facilitate our understanding of these concepts, the present chapter will begin by reviewing the relevant literature to determine how these concepts have been used in reference to government and society. This review will draw heavily from the work of political philosophers and the academic discipline of political science. Urban and rural have been used to describe various attributes of government since Plato first described the ideal size and character of the polis. Within this very rich and diverse literature stream, consideration of the urban/rural context is limited to a discussion of size and its impact upon democracy. The interests of the classical political philosopher were focused on the democratic form of government and how it could be secured best in relatively small communities.

Having establishing the general importance and relevance of the urban/rural context to the study of government, this chapter will proceed to develop a comprehensive definition and description of both the urban and rural contexts. The basis for this improved understanding of context can be found in the American sociology literature.

Much of the relevant sociological literature is replete with exhaustive descriptions of the urban and/or rural contexts, their characteristics, and implications for various social organizations. By reviewing the relevant

sociological literature, a more precise understanding of the nature of the urban and rural contexts can be developed. These efforts will provide the conceptual basis for a research design capable of assessing the impact of the urban/rural context upon the role definitions and activity levels of local government officials. Also, the conceptual distinctions will assist in the identification of a suitable research sample. Thus, our understanding of the distinctive nature of the urban and rural contexts will be enriched by this comprehensive definition.

In the first two sections of this chapter, knowledge of the important role that context played in the historical dialogue concerning democracy is coupled with an expanded definition of the concept and its characteristics gleaned from the sociological literature. The third section of this chapter will review how context is addressed in the Public Administration literature. This section will serve as evidence that the public administration literature generally disregards the importance of context except in the very limited scope of governmental economy and efficiency.

Most public administration literature has focused upon service delivery and the adoption of structural and procedural schemes to improve governmental economy and efficiency. As an academic field, public administration has generally ignored the comprehensive effects of context upon

local governments. When this lack of attention is coupled with a similar deficiency in the reform models and theories discussed in Chapter One, it becomes apparent that context should be studied to determine its place in local governmental research.²

The Effects of Context Upon Democratic Systems

The effect of context, as operationalized by size, upon the character of a political system has been a topic of great interest and debate since it was discussed by Plato. Plato argued that the ideal political system, the Polis, should be small enough so that citizens would all know each other and would be as friendly as possible toward one another. He even calculated the ideal size of the Polis as having 5040 citizens (male citizens).³

Similarly, Aristotle advocated a relatively small political system. He believed that the optimum size of the polis should lie between a population so small that it could not be self-sufficient, and so large that the citizens could not know of each other's characters. He also restricted the ideal size of his political system by specifying that all citizens should be able to meet together in one place and still hear a speaker. Thus, the audible range of an unamplified voice limited the size of the political system.⁴

Common to most classical political philosophy is the notion that the ideal political system should be small both geographically (in area) and in population. According to Dahl and Tufte (1973):

smallness was believed to strengthen the opportunities for participation in and control of the government by allowing for an increased likelihood for service, made if possible for every citizen to know every other, to estimate his qualities, to understand his problems, to develop friendly feeling toward him, to analyze and discuss with comprehension the problems facing the polity.

According to classical political theory, the success of the small democratic polity depended upon its citizenry making great sacrifices. First, in order for the system to be completely autonomous, its citizens would have to be completely self-sufficient. Also, the citizens of the small democratic polity must be frugal. This frugal spirit helped insure the autonomy of the system by decreasing inequalities and jealousies among citizens. It also worked to toughen the citizens for the rigors of military service. Military service was viewed as a necessary requirement which every citizen must endure in order to preserve the autonomy of the political system.⁵

For over two thousand years, this view greatly influenced how we think about the relationship between size and government. It had a profound effect upon the political philosophy of Baron de Montesquieu and Jean Jacques

Rousseau, and thus, upon those responsible for writing our Constitution and founding our nation. Rousseau believed that:

the larger the number of citizens, the smaller the average citizen's share in the decision. Equality, participation, effective control over government, political rationality, friendliness, and civic consensus all must decline as the population and the territory of the state increase.⁶

Similarly, Montesquieu believed that a political system should be both small in territory and population. As seen in his book, The Spirit of the Laws, Montesquieu proclaims that the requirements of a republican government -- virtue, self-restraint, obedience to law, dedication to common good, loyalty, equality, frugality -- are best met in a republic of small territory.

It is in the nature of a republic that it should have a small territory; without that, it could scarcely exist. In a large republic, there are large fortunes, and consequently little moderation of spirit; there are trusts too great to be placed in the hands of any single citizen; interests become particularized; a man begins to feel that he can be happy, great and glorious without his country; and then, that he can become great upon the ruins of his county.

In a large republic, the common good is sacrificed to a thousand considerations; it is subordinated to various exceptions; it depends on accidents. In a small republic, the public good is more strongly felt, better known, and closer to each citizen; abuses are less extensive, and consequently less protected.⁷

Montesquieu took his argument one step further by arguing that "the form of government adopted by any state is closely related to its size." Montesquieu maintains that:

If it is the natural property of small states to be governed as republics, of middling ones to be governed by monarchs, and of large empires to be ruled by despots, it follows that in order to preserve the principles of any established government, it is necessary to maintain the existing size of the state; and that the nature [l'esprit] of the state will change to the extent that the state constricts or extends its limits.⁸

The political philosophers of this era had to contend with the advent of the nation-state and the possible implications of this new form of political unit for small democratic state. Montesquieu realized that "if a republic is small, it is destroyed by an outside force; if it is large, it is destroyed by an internal vice."⁹

The rise of nationalism, the emergence of representative legislatures, and the expanding appeal of popular government "encouraged philosophers and ideologues to adapt classical democratic doctrines, implicitly or explicitly, to the grander scale of the nation-state." This shift marked a general rebuttal of classical value and essential quality of small units of democratic government.

An example of this rebuttal can be seen in the work of Destutt de Tracy. Tracy, a Frenchman who criticized Montesquieu's requirement for a small republic, believed that direct democracy was feasible only in "primitive

societies" such as the ancient Greek city-state. In such examples, "direct democracy was short-lived and not really democratic."¹⁰ De Tracy wrote that:

Representation, or representative government, may be considered as a new invention, unknown in Montesquieu's time. . . Representative democracy. . . is democracy rendered practicable for a long time and over a great extent of territory.¹¹

The founders of the American Republic faced similar concerns about the relationship between the size of government and its democratic character. James Madison and Thomas Jefferson were greatly influenced by classical political philosophy and the thoughts of Rousseau and Montesquieu. Thomas Jefferson held to the classical view that there was something virtuous about living in small communities in a rural environment. Jefferson remarked:

those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God. . . the mobs of the great cities add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body.¹²

James Madison addressed the potential evils of large government in Federalist 10. Instead of lamenting the evils associated with large government, Madison turned the argument on its head by claiming that size was actually an advantage, "indeed a necessity" for republican government. Madison wrote:

. . . that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens; or if

such a common motive exists, it will be more difficult for all who feel it to discover their own strength, and to act in unison with each other. . . Hence, it clearly appears, that the same advantages which a republic has over a democracy, in controlling the effects of faction, is enjoyed by a large over a small republic,-- is enjoyed by the Union over the states composing it.

. . . The influence of factious leaders may kindle a flame within their particular States, but will be unable to spread a general conflagration throughout the States.

. . . In the extent and proper structure of the Union, therefore, we behold a republican remedy for the diseases most indecent to a republican government.¹³

John Stuart Mill's work Representative Government is indicative of the trend towards ignoring the classical view altogether. Mill dismisses the value of the classical view to the modern world by claiming that:

the only government which can fully satisfy all the exigencies of the social state is one in which the whole people participate.

But since all cannot, in a community exceeding a single small town, participate personally in any but very minor portions of the public business, it follows that the ideal type of a perfect government must be representative.¹⁴

By 1850, the classic conception of the relationship between small size and democracy had lost most of its adherents. The political philosophers of the period espoused the new view that size was essentially irrelevant in our thinking about government. From this point until the present, most of those concerned with government have

shifted their faith from the virtues associated with small political units, to various structural and procedural devices that can moderate the potential evils of large, populous states.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, political scientists and political theorists alike, have struggled with this issue. The advent of behavioralism as a distinct orientation within the academic field of political science in the 1930s marked a shift in how the concept of size was addressed. An increasing reliance upon empiricism and statistical methodologies changed the emphasis from one concerned with values and historic description, to one whose major concern lay with causality.

Dahl and Tufte (1973) provide us with an empirical basis for our understanding of the influence of size upon democratic political systems. They identify several factors that should be considered when attempting to determine the effects of size upon the characteristics of a system. In general, a system becomes more complex as the number of variables that have to be taken into account in order to understand, explain, or predict the behavior of the system increase, or as the variation in the relationships among these variables increase, or both.¹⁵

When applied to political systems, their definition associates complexity with the "number of categories of

actors whose attitudes, interests, wants, preferences, demands, and goals have to be taken into account", and "the greater the variation in their attitudes". As both of these indicators increase, the overall complexity of the political system increases.

It is difficult and impractical to attempt to compare political systems, or individual units, on the basis of the above criteria. For instance, it would be difficult to identify which actors are "politically relevant and have to be taken into account", and even more problematic to assess variations in the attitudes of these actors once identified. Thus, Dahl and Tufte shift their attention to some characteristics that are more easily measured: occupation, income, social status, religion, language, region, etc.¹⁶

In respect to any of these characteristics, or categories, several conclusions can be made about the relative complexity of a political system. For instance, a political system can be considered to be more diverse or heterogeneous as the "number of subsets into which the population is divided increases, or the more nearly the subsets approach each other in size, or both."

They warn that there may be inconsistencies when several of these criteria are used simultaneously (e.g., a political system may rank as complex on one criterion while simultaneously ranking low in complexity on another

criterion). They label these differences as "categoric diversity." In light of this diversity and some potential comparative inconsistencies, the authors divide such criteria into two distinct groups: "cultural" and "socioeconomic."

Cultural diversity is closely linked to historical developments that usually have "virtually nothing to do with size or economic development."¹⁷ On the other hand, socioeconomic diversity tends to increase in conjunction with the process of modernization, or "industrialization, urbanization, higher incomes, the decline of the agricultural sector, and the growth of literacy and education."¹⁸ Such changes are intercorrelated (e.g., an increase in one is usually accompanied by an increase in the others).

The process of modernization is attended by a massive growth in the number of specialized roles and organizations. As a political system becomes more affluent it generates greater demands for specialization. By virtue of its wealth, it can afford to develop and support these specialists. Dahl and Tufte provide a useful example that is worth citing:

An agrarian community made up in large part of illiterate peasants dominated by a relatively simple hierarchy of status, wealth, and power develops into an urban-industrial community with a vast array of trades, occupations, professions, and roles, in intricate

patterns of status, wealth, and power. Political life tends to follow a similar course of development: political roles become increasingly specialized, full-time, professional, organized.¹⁹

Also, the authors indicate that, "both cultural and socioeconomic diversities appear to increase with the size of a community within a given country (or political subunit). Within countries, "smaller communities (political systems) tend to be relatively homogeneous, while larger communities are "relatively heterogeneous."²⁰ Within countries, the size of a community is related to its level of socioeconomic development. Hence, small communities are more likely to have a relatively simple economic structures, whereas larger communities are more likely to have more complex economic structures.

The authors summarize their discussion and findings concerning this complexity and diversity in the following statement:

Among communities of varying populations within a country, the larger the community the greater the categoric diversity with respect both to the historic cleavages of language, religion, and culture and to the kinds of socioeconomic diversity associated with modernization.²¹

Some of the individual aspects of their findings are summarized in Table 2.1. See the Appendix for a more thorough review of these findings.

TABLE 2.1

CHARACTERISTICS OF REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACIES

The smaller the scale of the society, the more likely it is that:	The larger the scale of the society, the more likely it is that:
1. An ordinary citizen can deal directly with a top leader if he/she chooses to do so.	1. An ordinary citizen cannot deal directly with a top leader but must go through various channels of communication.
2. Leaders gain their information about citizens' wants by direct observation and communication.	2. Leaders depend on subordinates or groups who summarize information about citizens' wants.
3. Leaders directly oversee the actions of subleaders.	3. Subleaders acquire autonomy, de facto or de jure.
4. Communication between citizens and leaders is reciprocal.	4. Communication is asymmetric: top leaders communicate directly by electronic means with more and more citizens, whereas an increasing proportion of citizens cannot communicate directly with top leaders.
5. Top leaders communicate directly with one another.	5. Top leaders communicate with one another through intermediaries, if at all.
6. Top leaders are less functionally specialized: they accumulate roles.	6. Top leaders are more functionally specialized: they occupy particular roles.
7. Top leaders have occupations or roles outside of politics that provide them with opportunities to engage in politics, but less than full-time.	7. Top leaders are professional politicians whose main occupation is politics, and nearly all of whose roles are political. ²²



From the above discussion and findings, we can see that size has been closely linked to how we think about democratic government. It becomes apparent from reading many of these arguments that size often refers to something besides mere population or area. Size has also been used to refer to many other, less obvious, attributes of political systems.

Many times, the concept of size has been used to describe various attributes of political systems that are based upon observation and perception, and not upon evidence. One of the most common manifestations of such usage can be found in the concepts of urban and rural.

The problem surrounding the use of such terms is that there is a general lack of consensus as to what they mean. Sometimes these concepts are used to describe different forms of local government. For example, the term urban is often associated with and used to designate cities and other municipal forms of government. The term rural is often associated with the non-municipal forms of local government such as the county, parish, and borough. While my use of the concepts of rural and urban follows the above tendency, it encompasses much more than the structural/legal form of local government.

In this dissertation, urban is used to describe the character and environment, or context, found in larger, more

complex governing units such as municipalities and large metropolitan counties.²³ Rural is used to describe the character and environment, or context, found in smaller, less complex governmental units such as the typical county. In both of these cases, the concepts of urban and rural refer to the overall character, or context, that exists within each of these different forms of local government.

To improve our understanding, we focus our attention on how sociologists have addressed these concepts. Their research and literature will help us improve our understanding of the nature and characteristics of rural and urban systems.

Rural and Urban Systems: A Sociological Perspective

The origins of sociology can be traced back to the social turmoil that accompanied the rapid industrialization and urbanization of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this period, sociologists shared a growing concern over what was viewed as the negative, and dehumanizing impact of these two social forces. Many sociologists studied these social phenomena in an attempt to better understand their effects upon society.

Sociologists such as Weber, Durkheim, Tönnies, and Gouder have influenced how we think about social groups, organizations, and systems. Weber represents one of the

most influential with his theory of social change, ideal types, and different types of authority.

Weber's conceptualization of the different forms of authority and their characteristics represents the basis for much of social theory. Weber viewed authority as taking one of three general types--traditional, rational, and charismatic. Weber's concept of traditional authority can be used to describe the general character of rural governmental systems. His concept of bureaucratic system - the ultimate rational system - can be used to describe urban governmental systems. Charismatic authority has its basis in loyalty given to a specific person based upon his or her exceptional character or leadership. Weber's charismatic authority was not specifically addressed in this dissertation.

Social systems in which authority is based on traditional patterns tend to have the following characteristics:

1. **Informal rules** - rules derived from tradition and experience.
2. **Open communication** - communication is typically "face-to-face and of a personal nature.
3. **Strong informal norms** - rules governing activities within the social group are learned over a long period of socialization.
4. **Socially derived role definition** - role definition dependent upon strong group identification rather

than mutually interdependent hierarchically arranged roles.

5. **Informal social control** - enforcement of group norms through the use of informal pressure applied by means of positive and negative sanctions. The nature of informal social control provides for the enforcement of social norms and roles through self-generated and self-administered pressure and sanctions.

Those social systems whose authority is based upon rationality are bureaucratic systems. These systems have a rational-legal framework and share the following characteristics:

1. **Formal rules** - a set of formal goals that allow the organization to function efficiently and rationally.
2. **Channeled interaction** - communication proceeds through clearly defined channels.
3. **Official norms** - rules of procedure that are formally standardized so that particular tasks can be performed uniformly, regardless of who is performing them.
4. **Fixed roles** - the allocation of roles to create a clear-cut and relative fixed division of labor.
5. **Control by consent and contract** - roles are organized into a strict hierarchy, with every role coming under the supervision of a role higher in the structure. Authority--the right to give commands and expect them to be obeyed--is clearly channeled and delimited, and invested in the role itself, not the individual.

From these two descriptions, we can see how Weber's traditional and rational (bureaucratic) systems are roughly analogous to the concepts of rural and urban respectively.

In his most known work, Weber directed his research at the group and organizational level. In other works, Weber and other sociologists directed their research towards much larger social groups, such as the community and society.

Émile Durkheim (1893; 1947) linked the increasing complexity of society with an increase in the division of labor. An increase in the division of labor was precipitated by an increase in population density. As the population density of a social unit increases, the necessity for a greater and more precise division of labor similarly increases. Thus, according to Durkheim, urban areas can be identified by the existence and extent of the division of labor. In other words, urban areas are characterized by a high level of specialization, expertise, and hierarchial arrangements of authority.

Durkheim describes two forms of social solidarity, mechanical and organic, which can be found in rural or urban communities respectively. Mechanical solidarity is a characteristic of the relatively simple and restricted division of labor found in primitive and small agricultural societies. In this rural environment, role differentiation is minimal. As a result, "people tend to identify with each other and to subscribe wholeheartedly to the values and beliefs of the society as a whole."²⁴ Social systems exhibiting the characteristics of Durkheim's "mechanical

solidarity" are analogous to those classified as adhering to traditional authority patterns in Weber's ideal classification.

Durkheim calls the form of social solidarity found in urban society "organic solidarity." Organic solidarity is a by-product of a high degree of specialization in society, or an extended division of labor. In this urban environment, the large number of specialized roles creates distance between the members of the society. People are no longer performing similar types of work, and thus are alienated from each other. This lack of a common, or mutual life experience, results in a lack of shared attitudes, beliefs, and values.

Durkheim considers this lack of a common value and belief structure to be a fundamental characteristic of the modern urban environment. Social systems exhibiting the characteristics of Durkheim's "organic solidarity" are analogous to those classified as adhering to the rational-legal authority patterns in Weber's ideal classification.

Ferdinand Tönnies (1957) argued that the industrialization of Western societies has been attended by a trend towards increasingly impersonal forms of social interaction. He uses the words *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* to describe two different kinds of social relationships. Tönnies uses *Gemeinschaft* to refer to the

patterns of social relations associated with a community, and *Gesellschaft* to refer to the patterns and character of social relationships found at the societal level.

Gemeinschaft refers to a "binding interactional relationship based upon sentiment". Social relationships characterized by kinship and long-term ties to a particular locality are primarily *Gemeinschaft* in character. A *Gemeinschaft* type of social relationship may be found whenever people band together because they are "like-minded and wish to pursue common goals."²⁵

Gemeinschaft can be used to describe intimate social relationships. It can be used to describe the close interpersonal ties that bind friends and neighbors in a rural village. The members of such a community are "concerned with each other's welfare; they stand ready to lend a helping hand; they may do things for each other without thought of repayment or personal gain."²⁶

According to Tönnies, social interaction in the *Gesellschaft* is characterized by individualism and mutual distrust. He describes the *Gesellschaft* relationship in the following way:

Here everybody is by himself and isolated, and there exists a condition of tension against all others. Their spheres of activity and power are sharply separated, so that everybody refuses to everyone else contacts with and admittance to his sphere, i.e., intrusions are regarded as hostile acts.²⁷

Interpersonal relationships in the Gesellschaft are competitive in character and lacking in the mutual sentiments that engender trust and reciprocal concern. Under these conditions, the contract becomes the principal instrument for defining the obligations of social interactions. Tönnies describes this contractual relationship as: "for everything pleasant which someone does for someone else, he expects, even demands at least an equivalent."²⁸ Tönnies believed that the urbanization of society led to an increase in the Gesellschaft relationship.

The work of Weber, Durkheim, and Tönnies allows for an improved understanding of many of the fundamental characteristics associated with urban and rural systems. By reviewing their work, we can begin to demystify and explicate our conceptualizations of these systems. In combination, the work of these sociologists allows us to identify and consider the major elements and characteristics that are associated with urban and rural systems.

The preceding review of the political science and sociological literature has provided us with an understanding of the rich conceptual history of the nature and characteristics of urban and rural systems. These concepts lend credibility to the importance of context to the study of government and suggest the fundamental characteristics associated with urban and rural systems.

However, for the sake of clarity and relevance the current literature reviewed is restricted to the concepts of several pioneers in this field of research and literature. They produced a voluminous literature on urban and rural characteristics that includes urban and rural as independent (e.g., size, fiscal capacity) and dependent variables (e.g., proximity of government to the people, formal/informal normative systems, role definitions of government officials). The assertion that urban and rural as conceptual distinctions are irrelevant in today's interconnected world has also been a theme in the literature, but that complex debate need not be covered in this study.

The Rural/Urban Context in Public Administration

This review of the urban/rural context in the public administration literature will reaffirm the importance of context to the theory and practice of public administration and demonstrate the lack of attention that has been given to the influence of context upon how local government officials define their respective roles in the governance process. By simultaneously demonstrating the importance of context to the study and practice of public administration and its conspicuous absence from the study of role definition amongst local governmental officials, this review focuses

the data analysis.

Initially, most of the relevant public administration literature questioned the adoption of the council-manager plan in counties. In general, counties were considered to be rural governments, and thus, fundamentally different from cities.²⁹ Many in the field of public administration debated the merits of applying the council-manager plan in an environment, or context, for which it was not designed.

In 1930, Wylie Kilpatrick argued against the adoption of the council-manager plan by county governments. He argued that the county was fundamentally different from the city:

There is no field of public administration in which theory breaks down so frequently as in county management. That is only saying that county administration proceeds independently of preconceived theorems. It jogs along innocent of its disrespect of "principles" borrowed from other units of government, city or state. That is only pointing out that the application to the county of administrative concepts, developed in city and state, instantly reveals a conflict between county practice and political theory.³⁰

Kilpatrick realized that the county was being drawn into the fervor surrounding the municipal reform movement. His knowledge and experience gained by studying and working with counties led him to realize that the municipal and county reform movements were different. The municipal reform movement was primarily geared towards eliminating

corruption and inefficiency. The county reform movement was geared towards improving efficiency.

Kilpatrick was concerned that the council-manager plan, with its bureaucratic hierarchy, business-like structure, and reliance upon expertise would not work in a rural, county environment. He also realized that the county's traditional role as an administrative arm of the state was a unique element in the overall context of county government. He felt that the county's subservient relationship to the state would prevent the successful adoption of an orthodox version of the plan.

Kilpatrick did not reject the merits of the council-manager plan, he merely rejected its application in counties without extensive study and due consideration. He argued that:

....concepts of administration applicable to all public units, whether county, city, or state, must embrace the experience of all units. The "principles" adequately justified in many situations do not lose their validity upon reference to a new situation, the "county." They must be retested by a new experience independent of the original setting that gave them birth.³¹

He felt that the "county may possess characteristics, peculiar to it, that require distinctive concepts and methods."

With time, concerns over the application of the council-manager plan faded as the number of successful adoptions and applications mounted. As rural localities

adopted the plan, new concerns developed involving difficulties associated with implementing the plan. Scholars and practitioners shifted their attention to the differences between urban and rural systems, or between cities and counties. Their concerns addressed such things as the unique characteristics of rural systems and their effect on such things as service delivery.

In 1932, A. N. Holcombe summarized the three leading characteristics of the traditional system of public administration in rural areas as:

1. the independence of administrative officers of one another and the decentralization of administration;
2. a settled tradition of political interference with the administration of public business; and
3. reliance upon the popular election of administrative officers and upon the judicial review of administrative acts to protect the public against the abuse of administrative power.³²

In 1952, Lancaster reviewed and consolidated much of the public administration and rural sociology literature. He informs us that "we have long been used to thinking in terms of rural-urban contrasts." He foresaw many of the changes that have occurred over the last forty-four years and suggested that we should begin "to think in terms of the continua" of relationships that exist between rural and urban governments.

We have long been used to thinking in terms of the rural-urban contrast but, actually, this contrast has almost ceased to exist. Restricting our thinking to distinct 'rural' and 'urban' types does not make possible a classification of all the cases which can be shown to exist. This being the case, we have begun to think in terms of 'continua' of relationship between the two types.

In short, we have already a new society for which we have no accurate descriptive term. We are certain that it is no longer rural, but the persistent rural heritage in our thinking makes us wonder how humanly satisfactory it will be.³³

In reviewing the rural sociology literature, Lancaster identifies four general characteristics shared by rural governments. He uses these four general characteristics to contrast and compare rural and urban governments. By contrasting the differences that exist between these two types of systems, he adds substance to his notion of a rural/urban "continuum."

First, he indicates that the scale of operations in rural local governments is generally very small. The number and type of demands placed upon rural systems are minimal. On the other hand, the service demands of a large population in urban systems creates the necessity for a large scale of operation.

Second, he indicates that administration in the typical rural area is carried on much closer to those affected. In the rural government the relationship between governmental officials and their constituents is of a more personal

nature. In urban governments, the demands of administration require a hierarchical or bureaucratic structure. In general, the more complex the bureaucratic hierarchy, the more impersonal the process tends to become. Also, as governmental systems become more highly bureaucratized, there is an increasing tendency for the governmental official, the bureaucrat, "to escape popular influence, or at least popular control."

A third characteristic of rural governments, or counties, is that the populace is much more homogeneous, and therefore very effective in influencing governmental officials. In urban governments, or cities, the population is much more heterogeneous, and thus, less capable of uniting and "bringing to bear upon their governmental officials anything like the continuous pressures that can be seen in rural governments."

A fourth characteristic common to the citizens of rural governments is their common distrust for professionals. In rural society, self-sufficiency is the rule. The members of rural societies consider themselves to be "jacks-of-all-trades," or that rural governmental officials are required to perform and excel in diverse range of tasks. Also, common sense is given greater value in rural areas than expertise. Common sense is valued over expertise. The expert is often viewed with distrust. Conversely, in urban

governments, there is a greater acceptance of the idea of professionalism. The professional is accepted as a necessity for dealing with the complexities of society. In urban society, "expertise is generally accepted as the answer to complex problems."³⁴

Beth Honadle adds to our knowledge of the differences between rural and urban areas by describing them in the context of the problems that rural areas experience in regards to the delivery of public services.³⁵ The first characteristic she identifies is the relative isolation of rural areas.

This geographic isolation, or distance, affects the quality of public administration in several adverse ways. Isolation can cause such problems as low utilization rates for services, inadequate response times for ambulance, police, and fire services, and separation of service delivery professionals from their colleagues.

A second obstacle to service delivery in rural areas is low population density. Sparse population concentrations have several negative implications for rural public services. With thin population settlements, the per unit cost of providing many services is quite high. It is also hard to justify providing certain services at all for the few people who need them.

One effect that low population density may have upon service delivery is that rural areas tend to provide general kinds of service required by a majority of people. In contrast, urban areas, with their higher population densities, can more readily provide specialized services as well as general ones. Thus, low population density affects the cost, quality, and the availability of certain services.

A third characteristic of rural areas is a general lack of mobility within the general population. Transportation is a serious problem for public service delivery in rural areas. It is exacerbated by the considerable distances between service providers and recipients in rural areas. Other factors creating the transportation problems of rural areas are a high incidence of one-car families, elderly persons, poverty, and handicapped people.

Honadle identifies the scarcity of fiscal resources as another characteristic of rural areas that negatively impacts service delivery. The reasons for this general lack of fiscal capacity in rural areas are many. Within the available literature, several causes for the lack of fiscal resources in rural areas are discussed. Some of the reasons given for the lack of fiscal resources are: rural poverty, an urban bias in intergovernmental grant programs, local ignorance of programs intended for rural areas and of how to apply for them, insufficient staff capacity to seek out

grants, and insufficient attention to alternative revenue sources. The clear implications of these factors are fiscal strain on limited resources and service deprivation for rural residents.

Honadle finds that rural areas share a general lack of expertise and human resources. In part, this problem is a consequence of inadequate fiscal resources. However, it is also related to the lack of training opportunities to develop and maintain qualified personnel. It is also a function of small scale, which makes it uneconomical and unnecessary for each small community to employ a full-time chief executive. The implications of scarce human resources include under-staffing of many functions, incompetently performed jobs, overworked personnel, low quality and quantity of rural public services, and inattention to long-range planning.

Another quality shared by rural areas is the personal basis of most social activities. Because they have relatively small populations, there is a tendency in rural areas for "everybody to know everybody." This lack of anonymity has both advantages and disadvantages for public service delivery. In the rural community, the public official is expected to deal directly with the public to answer questions and react to its demands. Such personnel

responsibilities can result in inefficient public administration through a process of goal displacement.

The literature identifies a tendency for citizens and public agencies in rural areas to resist change and innovation. The literature also identifies the prevalence of a conservative attitude toward providing certain kinds of nontraditional services.

Finally, service delivery in rural areas is negatively impacted by a general lack of ancillary services. Some urban public service delivery models are based on the assumption of various support services in the community. In many rural areas this is an inaccurate assumption. Honadle provides the following scenario as an example of this oversight: the deinstitutionalization in either criminal justice or the mental health system assumes that certain social services are available to help clients obtain jobs, counselling, and other social services. The lack of complementary public services means that the public service sector must work closely with private sources of assistance--family, friends, religious organizations, volunteers--to provide "complete" services.³⁶ :

Public administration in rural and small jurisdictions is markedly different from public administration in urban and large metropolitan jurisdictions. The rural locality must develop dedicated strategies to overcome the

implications of the above cited characteristics. One of the observed effects of this rural context on the character of public administration is that it forces governmental officials, both elected and administrative to be active in all aspects of the governance process. Thus, the above identified deficiencies necessitate the development of an approach to service provision that is unique to the rural context.

Quinlan (1990), writes that not all rural governments are the same. Under the broad definition of rural, there is the potential for great diversity. Despite this diversity, most rural governments share two characteristics that appear to be linked to their smallness:

1. rural local governments tend to be less formal than their urban counterparts; and
2. rural local governments tend to share a "stick-to-the-basics" sparseness of function.³⁷

In 1988, Jill Satran and others used urban and rural distinctions to identify economically distressed areas of Washington state.³⁸ In the results the study examining economically distressed areas, the major conclusion is that not all distressed areas are similar. Although there are a number of ways to categorize the differences, one of the most useful is to distinguish between urban and rural distress.

In an attempt to highlight some of the major differences between urban and rural localities Satran and others identified a total of twenty-six characteristics. A comparison of each these thirteen characteristics is made for the purpose of highlighting urban/rural differences. Some of the more relevant characteristics identified are listed below:

- Rural localities also suffer from a relative lack of infrastructure and fiscal capacity due to their dependency upon one, or a very small number of indigenous industries and vulnerability to cyclical fluctuations in economic markets. Urban localities tend to enjoy diverse industrial bases, and thus do not suffer the same dependency related problems.
- Rural localities suffer from limited leadership capacity. This is due in part to a lack of capabilities within the staff and the fact that governmental officials and staff must perform all functions. Urban localities enjoy highly divergent and competitive leadership that increases competition over policy outcomes.
- Rural governments tend to enjoy a sense of community, a generally focused public policy agenda, a relative absence of investment capital, and a relative lack of public/private efforts due to an absence of a strong corporate presence. Urban localities are becoming more difficult to define geographically, and suffer from a more complex pattern of social problems.³⁹

The implications of context for public administration are numerous and diverse. One area that has received little attention is how context affects the way local officials perceive and define their roles. Only recently has the

public administration literature addressed directly the issue of role determination among local governmental officials. In 1977, Marando and Thomas (1977) published one of the first books dedicated to examining the effects of urbanization upon role definition by county officials. Jim Svava's forthcoming chapter compares role definition in counties and cities across various states.

Marando and Thomas studied the influence of urbanization upon the role definition of county commissioners. Their research evaluates the perceptions of 253 county commissioners in Florida and Georgia concerning problems facing their localities and the appropriate response to these problems by the county.

A major portion of their analysis focuses upon how county commissioners approach their jobs. They theorize that job activity is related to urbanization and governmental structure. Marando and Thomas cite Durkheim and his conclusions concerning the division of labor and specialization of function as "hallmarks of urbanization." They speculate that urbanization requires a separation of functions:

As government grows and becomes more complex, administrative and legislative functions can best be performed by separating the activities to achieve higher levels of specialization and expertise...In urban areas, the administration of government becomes a specialized activity which is more difficult to perform continuously and routinely by commissioners than is the

case in less urban areas...To administer technical and complex programs requires full-time professional administration.

Marando and Thomas cite the work of John E. Stoner (1962) in identifying a common perception held by many concerning the role of the rural county commissioner.

According to Stoner:

Both the volume and nature of the function performed by boards of county commissioners have necessitated their becoming deliberative bodies. But many county boards, partly by custom and partly as the result of the expectation of their citizens, still operate merely in an administrative capacity.⁴⁰

They observe that Stoner does not consider the effects of urbanization upon the roles taken by the county commissioners. Thus, his insights do not reflect the situation in urbanized counties. The authors hypothesize that "county commissioners from urban areas, as distinct from rural areas, would be least able to engage primarily in administrative activities and would function primarily as legislators."⁴¹

In testing their hypothesis, the authors find that urbanization has little effect upon the perceived roles played by county commissioners. In fact, the results of their analysis show that "county commissioners view their jobs as both legislative and administrative in all problem areas."⁴² The authors look to the history and legal status

of county governments as administrative arms of the state to explain the discrepancy between their hypothesized and actual research findings.

Marando and Thomas conclude that:

the influences of urbanization and reform on counties appear to go through a rigid historical and legal filter. Counties, unlike cities, were not created in response to the service demands of urban population. Counties existed long before the impacts of rapid urbanization. Thus, it may not be surprising that the findings of many researchers concerning the consequences achieved by reforming city government are not transferrable to counties.⁴³

The work of Marando and Thomas represents the first systematic effort to assess the effects of the urban/rural context upon role determination in counties. While their research does not identify the urban/rural context as a significant factor influencing role determination amongst county commissioners, they stress that as counties continue to urbanize, and as they continue to increase their levels of service, the effects of urbanization in this area will become more apparent.

In a forthcoming work, Jim Svava addresses leadership and professionalism in county government. He begins by systematically reviewing the research and literature pertaining to county government. Svava finds that the unique history and structure associated with the county does not preclude it from comparison with the city. After

careful review, he concludes that "the conditions are not so radically different that the roles and behaviors of county and city officials cannot be compared at all."⁴⁴

Svara's recent observations contradict the more dated observations of Marando and Thomas. Writing seventeen years later, Svara may be responding to changes in local government that have been brought about by increases in complexity and service demands. Marando and Thomas predicted such changes. They believed that the continuing spread of urban-based governmental systems and increasing service demands would radically transform the roles of county commissioners nationwide.

Svara addresses three major issues in the forthcoming essay. His initial goal is to establish the comparability of cities and counties. To accomplish this he draws upon the research and literature associated with the city and demonstrates its relevance to the analysis of the county. To facilitate this comparison, Svara develops several typologies, or models that provide a basis for comparing mayors and chairpersons, and city managers and county administrators (county executives). These typologies are useful in that they identify various roles that can be assigned to governmental officials according to their scope and level of activity.

Svara develops a typology for the study of leadership roles by county executives and elected board members. He creates this typology from various models developed from the study of city government and its key elected and administrative officials. Svara cites two models for studying chief elected officials, the innovator and facilitator models.

He describes the facilitator model as the "norm for mayoral leadership." Innovators "set goals, build coalitions and influence the council, bureaucracy, and public."⁴⁵ The actions of the innovator are in accordance with the mayor's preferences. Innovators must "pyramid" resources from both formal and informal sources "to overcome the considerable fragmentation of authority and dispersal of power characteristic of the formal governmental structure."⁴⁶

The facilitator model is also taken from studies of mayoral leadership in council-manager cities. According to this model, the facilitator mayor is not actively involved in the execution or direct promotion of council actions. The mayor plays a less obvious role as facilitator because the city manager leads the city apparatus. As facilitator, the mayor "leads by empowering others," rather than seeking to develop a personal power base.

Svara also develops a typology for studying how the chief elected official, chairperson of a county commission, uses formal and informal resources to direct government action. In commission-manager forms of county government, the chairperson holds a position similar to that of a mayor in a city-manager government. The chairperson assumes "a range of roles."⁴⁷ These roles can be summarized into three basic groups:

1. traditional roles;
2. active coordinator and communication roles; and
3. policy and organizing roles.

The traditional roles include such roles as: ceremonial; "link to the public" or spokesperson; presiding officer; and serving as the council's representative or promoter to external interests. The active coordinator and communications roles include such things as: articulator/mobilizer, or policy educator; liaison and partnership with the manager; and building team relations and networks. The third set of roles, policy and organizing, includes such roles as: goal setter; regulator/organizer; and policy initiator. Svara asserts that these roles can be used to describe the leadership roles of chief elected county officials.

These three basic sets of roles can be further reduced to describe three distinct levels of leadership status. The

chairperson who successfully fulfills the traditional roles can be called the symbolic head of government. By fulfilling the traditional and active coordinator and communication roles, the chairperson can be called a coordinator. Finally, by successfully fulfilling all three sets of roles, the chairperson can be called a director. Each of these leadership roles can be found in both cities and counties, or urban and rural environments.

Svara continues his comparative research by using his dichotomy/duality model to assess differences between the attitudes and perceptions of city and county officials. He concludes that city and county officials are "very similar in the contributions they make to the governmental process. Both are highly involved in initiating consideration of problems, recommending solution, and/or taking action on their own."⁴⁸ The only difference between county and city officials involves the appointing of department heads. City managers tend to have greater latitude in this particular area than do county managers.

Svara also observes that elected board members in counties are more prone to be active in administrative areas than are their municipal counterparts. This trend he attributes to the county's historical status as an administrative arm of the state, thus relying upon the state for policy initiatives.

While Svava's work represents a significant advance in our knowledge of the county, it addresses the issue of context only indirectly. A study dedicated to the influence of context upon the roles of governmental officials is needed. By establishing the comparability of cities and counties, Svava has made such a study possible. Instead of focusing upon the differences between the various forms of government, this new study must focus upon the influence of their environment, or context.

Summary

This literature review has accomplished its three primary goals. First, it has demonstrated the importance of "context" to the study of government throughout history. Second, it has improved our knowledge and understanding of the urban and rural contexts. Having reviewed the theories and models developed by political theorists and sociologists, we are better able to describe, explain, and understand the impact context has upon urban and rural systems. Finally, this literature review has demonstrated how the rural context has been addressed in the public administration context. This final section also reveals how the public administration literature has largely ignored the importance of context to the role definition of local

governmental officials, thereby reaffirming the purpose of this dissertation.

In accomplishing these three goals, this chapter sets the stage for the development of a research design in the next chapter. The next chapter will lay out a research plan specifically designed to test the influence of the urban/rural context upon how local government officials, both elected and administrative, define their roles in the governance process.

End Notes for Chapter Two

1. Beth Walter Honadle, Public Administration in Rural Areas and Small Jurisdictions. (Garland Publishing, Inc.: New York & London, 1983), XIII.
2. In this dissertation, the concept of "context" refers to both the academic (theoretical) and environmental, or operational facets of the term.
3. Robert A. Dahl and Edward T. Tufte, Size and Democracy (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1973), 5, citing Plato, Laws, in The Dialogues of Plato, translated by B. Jowett (New York, 1937), Vol. II: V, 738, 742; VI, 771.
4. Politics, translated by Ernest Barker (Oxford, 1952), p. 292, quoted in Robert A. Dahl and Edward T. Tufte, Size and Democracy (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1973), 5.
5. Ibid., 5-6.
6. Jean Jacques Rousseau, Du Contrat Social. Oeuvres Choieses de J.-J. Rousseau (Paris, 1962), I, 5; II, 9-10; III, 1,3-4, 13.
7. Baron de Montesquieu, De l'Esprit des lois (Paris, 1961), Vol. I, Book 8, p. 134.
8. Ibid., 134.
9. Ibid., Book 9, 137.
10. Destutt de Tracy. A Commentary and Review of Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws (Philadelphia, 1811), 19, cited in Adrienne Koch, The Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson (Chicago, 1964), 152, 157.
11. Ibid, 157.
12. The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, ed. Albert Ellery Bergh, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, 1905), 229.
13. Jacob E. Cooke, The Federalist Papers (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1961, 1982), 48-51.
14. Robert A. Dahl and Edward T. Tufte, Size and Democracy (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1973), 12, citing John Stuart Mill, Representative Government.

15. Ibid., 30.

16. Ibid., 31.

17. Ibid., 32.

18. Ibid., 32.

19. Ibid., 33.

20. Ibid., 33.

21. Ibid., 35.

22. Ibid., 5-6.

23. It should be noted that the term "urban" often is used to refer to localities with populations greatly exceeding those of the "urban" localities cited in this dissertation. While these cities and counties represent some of Virginia's most urban localities, they are relatively small when compared with many of the nation's largest urban localities.

24. Melvin L. DeFleur, William Y. D'Antonio, and Lois B. DeFleur. Sociology: Man in Society (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foreman and Company, 1972), 91-93.

25. Ibid., 85-87.

26. Ibid., 87.

27. Ferdinand Tönnies, Community and Society (Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft), translated by Charles P. Loomis (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1957), 136-137.

28. Ibid., 78.

29. In general, municipalities are considered to be urban units of local government, while counties, parishes, and boroughs are typically considered to have more of a rural character. There are exceptions to this general rule. For instance, smaller municipal governments are often described as having a rural character. In addition, over the past three decades several counties have evolved into large urban, or metropolitan centers.

30. Wylie Kilpatrick, Problems in Contemporary County Government: An Examination of the Process of County Administration in Virginia.

(The Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, University of Virginia: The Michie Company, 1930), 590.

31. Ibid., 591.

32. A. N. Holcombe, The New Party Politics (1934), p. 130.

33. Irving A. Spaulding, "Serendipity and the Rural-Urban Continuum," Rural Sociology No. 16, (March 1951): 29-36.

34. Lane W. Lancaster. Government in Rural America. (University of Nebraska: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1952), 97-100.

35. Beth Walter Honadle, Public Administration in Rural Areas and Small Jurisdictions. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1983). 1-7.

36. Ibid., 1-7.

37. Mary Kay Quinlan, "A Nebraska town's One-Woman Government," Governing (February 1990): 46-52.

38. Jill Satran, "Distinctions Between Rural and Urban Area Distress in Washington State" National Civic Review Vol. 77, Number 5 (September-October, 1988): 463-65.

39. Ibid., 463-65.

40. John E. Stoner, Indiana County Commissioners as Policy-Makers, (Indiana Public Affairs Notes (Bloomington: Bureau of Government Research, May-June 1962), 1.

41. Vincent L. Marando and Robert D. Thomas, The Forgotten Governments: County Commissioners as Policy Makers. (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1977), 82.

42. Ibid., 86.

43. Ibid., 107.

44. James H. Svara, "Leadership and Professionalism in County Government" Donald C. Menzel, ed. in The American County: Frontiers of Knowledge (The University of Alabama Press: Forthcoming 1995), 191.

45. Ibid., 192.

46. Ibid., 193.

47. Ibid., 197.

48. Ibid., 207.

CHAPTER THREE

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the effect of a locality's urban or rural context upon the role definition of its elected and administrative officials. The purpose of this chapter is to layout a research design that will accomplish this goal.

The research design developed for this dissertation is arranged systematically and described in several distinct sections within this chapter. The first section includes a restatement of the research problem and primary research propositions. The second section consists of a short statement concerning the general method of the study. The third section provides a detailed description of the process and considerations involved in selecting a research population. The fourth section describes the survey instrument. The fifth section describes the pilot study. The sixth, and final section, describes how the data will be treated so as to specifically address the research propositions and the specific questions posed in this dissertation.

Research Problem

The theories and models addressing the roles and activities of local government officials ignore the influence of the urban/rural context upon role

determination. The chief model that addresses how local governmental officials should define their respective roles is the politics-administration dichotomy. The politics-administration dichotomy calls for an absolute separation between political (policy determining) and administrative roles.

The politics-administration dichotomy serves as a theoretical foundation for the council-manager plan. The council-manager plan is the most prevalent model for structuring authority and responsibilities (roles) between elected and administrative officials in local governments. The council-manager plan is an urban model, specifically designed to address the needs and problems associated with city government. As an urban model, its application in rural localities may be problematic.

Many rural localities nationwide and in Virginia have adopted modified versions of the council-manager plan. To date, there have been no comparative studies that examine the operation of this urban-based model in rural local governments. By ignoring the implications of context upon how local government officials define their roles, both historical and contemporary research provide minimal normative guidance to rural officials concerning their appropriate roles in the governance process.

For the purposes of this dissertation, the following propositions will be tested to determine the influence of context upon the role definition of elected and administrative officials in urban v. rural localities:

1. **The urban/rural context influences how a locality's elected and administrative officials define their roles in the governance process** (i.e., differences do exist in the roles defined by elected and administrative officials in urban versus rural local governments).
 - 1a. **Elected and administrative officials in cities and urban counties share similar patterns of role definition.** Differences in the role definitions of city and urban officials are minimal.
 - 1b. **Government form, as represented by the city and county, does not account for significant differences in how elected and administrative officials define their roles.**
2. **Elected and administrative officials associated with local governments with urban contexts tend to define their roles in accordance with James Svava's "ideal" model as described in his dichotomy/duality model** (i.e., the urban context embodies various attributes that promote a pattern of roles between elected and administrative officials similar to the configuration of roles depicted in Svava's "ideal" model).
3. **Elected and administrative officials associated with local governments within rural contexts do not define their roles in accordance with Svava's "ideal" model, but instead, define their roles so as to provide for greater involvement by elected officials in governmental administration** (i.e., the rural context embodies various attributes that promote a pattern of roles between elected and administrative officials dissimilar to the configuration of roles depicted in Svava's "ideal" model. The pattern of roles in localities with rural contexts provides for greater involvement by elected officials in governmental administration).

General Method

The research model for this dissertation utilizes an eclectic approach to examine the influence of context upon the role definition of local officials in urban and rural governments across Virginia. This study relies upon a mixture of research methodologies. The most important is survey research.

Survey research provides a means of determining, reporting, and interpreting the behaviors, beliefs, or intentions of the research sample. This technique represents one of the most efficient and effective means of examining the attitudes and perceptions of local government officials concerning their roles.

The research phase of the study was divided into three distinct elements. The first element is the development, distribution, and refinement of a modified version of Svara's eight-page survey/questionnaire in the context of a pilot study. This questionnaire was distributed to decision-makers in three selected local governments. Insights gained through the pilot study were incorporated into the questionnaires.

In the second phase of this research plan, surveys were distributed to selected groups of local governmental officials. These groups included elected and administrative officials from cities, urban counties, and rural counties.

These surveys were issued to collect data concerning the attitudes and perceptions of individuals within these groups concerning their roles in the governance process.

The third phase involves the compilation and analysis of the responses to these surveys. Descriptive statistics and tabular comparisons were used to ascertain how decisional authority is distributed among elected and administrative officials in urban and rural local governments.

The process of identifying a suitable study group, developing, validating, and distributing a survey instrument, and collecting and analyzing data is critical to the validity of the research included in this dissertation. These issues and processes are addressed in the following sections.

Research Sample

For the purposes of this dissertation, the process of choosing a research sample is a two step procedure. First, a short review of the different types and forms of local government found in the Commonwealth is necessary. Second, the process requires a discussion of the methodologies involved in operationalizing the concepts of urban and rural.

Local Government in Virginia

The purpose of this section is to provide evidence that the responsibilities and roles of city and county officials are sufficiently similar as to allow comparison. The following discussion will address two major characteristics of local government--their legal status and form; and the responsibilities and roles associated with their elected and administrative officials.

This review begins with an examination of the various forms of local government found in the Commonwealth of Virginia. The Constitution and statutes of the Commonwealth currently provide for three distinct forms of local government - counties, cities, and towns. The Virginia Code provides for six forms of county and two forms of municipal government and organization. Currently, the Commonwealth recognizes three hundred and twenty-seven (327) local governments: forty-one (41) independent cities; one hundred and ninety-one (191) towns; and ninety-five (95) counties.¹ See Table 3.1 for greater detail.

TABLE 3.1

Local Governments in Virginia

County Forms	Location in State Code	Localities Affected by the cited State Code
I. Traditional Form	15.1-37.4 - 15.1-130 15.1-527 - 15.1-588	All except below. There are 95 counties in VA. 87 of which can be classified as traditional in form.
II. County Board Form	15.1-697 - 15.1-721	Scott, Carroll, Russell
III. Optional Forms		
1. County Executive Form	15.1-582 - 15.1-621 15.1-661 - 15.1-668	Albemarle, and Prince William
2. County Manager Form	15.1-582 - 15.1-587 15.1-622 - 15.1-668	Henrico
IV. Special Forms		
1. County Manager Plan	15.1-669 15.1-674 - 15.1-695	Arlington
2. Urban County Executive Form	15.1-722 - 15.1-740 15.1-754 - 15.1-791	Fairfax
MUNICIPAL FORMS		
V. Cities	15.1-837 - 15.1-915.1	There are 41 independent cities located across the Commonwealth.
VI. Towns	15.1-837 - 15.1-915.1	There are 191 towns located throughout the Commonwealth.

In Virginia, local governments are considered to be creatures of the state and as such they have only those powers that are expressly delegated to them by state law or that are clearly implied by such law.

It is a general and undisputed proposition of law that a municipal corporation possesses and can exercise the following powers and no others: First, those granted in express words; second, those necessarily or fairly implied in or incidental to the powers expressly granted; third, those essential to the declared objects and purposes of the corporation -- not simply

convenient by indispensable. Any fair reasonable doubt concerning the existence of power is resolved by the courts against the corporation and the power is denied.²

Municipal Governments

Two types of municipal government are provided for in the Virginia Constitution and statutes -- cities and towns. Virginia currently has forty-one independent cities and one hundred and ninety towns. The difference between these two types of municipal government is of major importance. In Virginia, cities are territorially and politically separate from the counties from which they are formed, and thus, designated as independent cities.

Towns do not have independent status in Virginia. Towns remain a part of the county in which they are located. Independent cities are rare outside of Virginia. There are less than fifty independent cities found across the United States, and Virginia accounts for forty-one of them.

The independent nature of Virginia's cities presents some problems when attempting to compare Virginia's system of local government with the systems commonly found in other states. For instance, in most other states, the county is considered to be the basic unit of state government. Historically, counties have been primarily responsible for administering state programs.

In contrast, municipalities are generally considered to be political entities that are established at local request for the purpose of providing local services. In Virginia, these roles are shared to some extent between counties and cities. By law, cities are responsible for performing some state functions. Also, some counties provide service levels that many would associate with municipal governments. In contrast to cities, Virginia's towns bear no responsibility for the administration of state programs since the encompassing county is responsible for such services.

There are two categories of cities in Virginia -- cities of the first and second class. According to the Constitution of 1902, cities with populations of 10,000 or more are cities of the first class, and cities with populations less than 10,000 are cities of the second class. Cities of the second class must remain within the jurisdiction of the circuit court of the surrounding county.

A city of the second class can become a city of the first class simply through a proclamation made by the governor attesting that the city's population had reached or exceeded 10,000. Cities of the second class are required by legislative provision to jointly elect and share with the surrounding county three officials with judicially related functions -- the commonwealth's attorney, the clerk of the circuit court, and the sheriff.

By law, each of Virginia's forty-one independent cities adhere to the council-manager plan. The council-manager plan provides clear guidance to municipal officials concerning their responsibilities and roles in the governance process. In Virginia, some of the more important responsibilities associated with city councils operating under the council-manager plan are:

1. The overall responsibility for the general management of the affairs of the city. The council can exercise all powers authorized by general law and the charter.
2. The power to appoint and remove the city manager at its pleasure.
3. The power to create, combine, and abolish city offices and/or departments as it deems necessary, except those offices created by the Constitution and by statutes having statewide application.
4. The power to define the powers, duties, and rate of compensation for all officers and employees of the city.³
5. The ordinance-making power (legislative) is vested in the city council. The council can enact municipal ordinances necessary for the effective administration of the city. It can also prescribe fines or other punishment for the violation of those ordinances.⁴
6. The power to hold investigation and summon witnesses. Also the power to administer oaths at these investigations;⁵ and
7. The power to disburse monies and control of the budget.

All of Virginia's forty-one independent cities have a full-time city manager. The responsibilities and roles of

the city manager vary from city to city according to the language and intent found in each municipal charter. In light of these differences, it is generally accepted that city managers in Virginia share the following primary responsibilities:

1. The power and responsibility to see that the ordinances, resolutions, and by-laws enacted by the council are faithfully executed;
2. Attendance at all meetings of the council and recommend measures for adoption;
3. Making reports to the council from time to time on the affairs of the municipality;
4. Keeping the council fully advised on the financial condition of the municipality;
5. Preparing and submitting a tentative budget for the ensuing fiscal year; and
6. Performing "such other duties as may be prescribed by the council...."⁶

The preceding discussion provides a general overview of the nature and characteristics of city government in Virginia. The responsibilities and roles of elected and administrative officials in Virginia is of particular importance to this dissertation. These responsibilities and roles are based upon the provisions found in the council-manager plan. The configuration of responsibilities and roles found in council-manager cities in North Carolina and Ohio has followed the pattern described in Svava's "ideal" dichotomy/duality model. There is no reason to expect that

council-manager governments in Virginia would depart from the pattern identified by Svara.

County Government

Of the six forms of county government provided for in the Virginia Constitution and statutes, the oldest and most common form is known as the constitutional or traditional form. The traditional form of county government and structure originated under the Reconstruction Constitution of 1870. During the early decades of the twentieth century, many state legislatures were influenced by the municipal reform movement and the principles of scientific management.

In 1928, Governor Harry F. Byrd, Sr. led efforts to amend the Virginia Constitution of 1902. The amended constitution allowed the General Assembly the authority to establish general legislation providing for alternative forms of county government. In 1932, the General Assembly passed enabling legislation creating two optional forms of county government, the county executive and county manager forms.⁷ These optional forms of county government empowered counties to organize more efficiently and to centralize their administrative apparatus.

In 1940, the General Assembly created an alternative form of county government known as the county board form. Each of the four alternative forms of county government were

made available to all counties. In addition, the General Assembly created two special forms of county government, the County Manager Plan and the Urban County Executive Form. These special forms give counties special disposition to organize and/or operate in slightly different ways, or to perform various functions not generally associated with county government.

Differences between the traditional form of county government and the optional forms are described below.

1. Under the traditional form, the board of supervisors is not required to appoint a chief administrative agent. The county board and optional forms of county government require that such an appointment be made. The chief administrative officer under the optional and county board form, typically possesses greater levels of executive authority than under the traditional form of county government.
2. Under the traditional form, the board of supervisors may function as both a legislative and administrative committee. Two general criteria determine the nature and scope of the county board's activity--the appointment of a chief administrative officer, and the number of administrative departments. In general, the optional and county board forms relegate the county board to the status of a legislative body.
3. The traditional form gives the board of supervisors the responsibility for appointing all of the county's administrative officers and employees, boards, and agencies. The appointment power of the board does not extend to include those positions serving under the county's constitutional officers. The optional and county board forms give the chief administrative officer the responsibility for recommending and/or appointing county personnel.

4. Two financial officers are required under the traditional and county board forms, the treasurer and the commissioner of the revenue. These offices are abolished and their functions transferred to a director of finance under the optional forms.
5. The traditional and county board forms provide for an administrative structure consisting of individually elected officers. These forms provide for minimal centralized coordination and administrative control. The optional forms give the board of supervisors great latitude in providing for administrative structures that improve the coordination and integration of county services.⁸

Additionally, the Virginia Constitution and statutes provide for two special forms of county government, the county manager plan and the urban county executive form. These two special forms were designed to be used by urban counties. Strict requirements concerning population and land area are included in the enabling legislation for these two forms of county government.

The governing boards of counties organized under the optional and special forms of county government are vested with all the powers and responsibilities conferred by general law, plus those conferred by the respective forms.⁹ Since the traditional form of county government serves as the basis for the optional and special forms, a review of its basic characteristics will help us understand the nature of the relationship between the board and the chief administrative officer.

The Constitution of 1870 established the traditional form of county government. This basic form has been modified several times since its inception. It is the first recognized form of county government, and should be regarded as the basic form of county government in the Virginia. The optional and special forms of county government should be viewed as derivations of the traditional form.

Under the traditional form, the Code of Virginia requires that each county be governed by a board of supervisors. The membership of the board of supervisors must range from three to eleven members. Board members are elected either from single-member districts or multi-member districts by the county's qualified voters. County supervisors serve four-year terms. These terms may be concurrent or staggered at two-year intervals.

Under the traditional form, the board of supervisors possess both legislative and administrative responsibilities. The board's responsibilities stem from the county board's role as the local governing body, and also from its function as an administrative subdivision of the state. The traditional form affords the board of supervisors the following powers and duties:

1. preparing the county budget;
2. levying county taxes; appropriating funds;

3. preauditing claims against the county and issuing warrants for their settlement;
4. constructing and maintaining county buildings;
5. approving and enforcing the county's comprehensive land use plan and related ordinances;
6. making and enforcing ordinances for police, sanitation, health, and other regulations permitted by state laws; and
7. providing for the care and treatment of indigent and handicapped citizens.¹⁰

The board of supervisors functions as an administrative committee when executing its responsibilities and duties. In its administrative capacity, the board directs the work of those county agencies for which it has responsibility.

During the 1950s, county boards of supervisors began hiring full-time administrators to discharge the board's administrative responsibilities. This trend began as local government became more complex. In 1934, several counties petitioned the General Assembly for special legislation that would provide for the employment of a full-time administrator. Fifteen years later, the experience of these counties was favorably evaluated by the Virginia Commission on State and Local Revenues and Expenditures. In its report to the General Assembly, the commission stated that:

The board of supervisors is charged with administering county functions. The board cannot stay in session continuously; as a result, for a considerable part of the time the county has no one to supervise county functions. Some counties

have solved this by adoption of one of the optional forms of county government; others . . . have resorted to the employment by the board of a full-time executive officer directly responsible to it to supervise the execution of county functions in the interim between meetings of the board.¹¹

In 1950, with the recommendation of the Commission and strong local government support, the General Assembly enacted the County Executive Secretaries Act, later known as the County Administrator's Act. This act allowed the board of supervisors of any county to hire a full-time administrator. This act allowed the board of supervisors to establish the position of county administrator by resolution. Under this Act, the board of supervisor has complete discretion in determining qualifications and conditions for the position. Also, under the stipulations of this Act, the county administrator serves at the pleasure and discretion of the board of supervisors.

Under the law, the county administrator is required to perform the following duties without prior approval and/or action being taken by the board of supervisors:

- 1) To make recommendations to the board concerning the affairs of the county;
- 2) To keep the board apprised of the county's financial condition;
- 3) To prepare and submit a proposed annual budget, unless the board directs the county clerk to perform this task;

- 4) To preaudit all claims against the county except those that must be preaudited by the school board; and
- 5) To perform the duties of the county purchasing agent unless and until the board designates some other officer for this work.¹²

In addition to the duties identified above, the board may also delegate to the administrator any additional duties and responsibilities that it deems necessary.

The traditional form of county government is not changed by the establishment of the office of county administrator. The establishment of this position should be viewed as a minor modification of the traditional form. In this arrangement, the county administrator is required by law to serve as the clerk to the board of supervisors. Also, each of the county clerk's five areas of responsibilities as clerk to the board are transferred to the county administrator. The board of supervisors may also assign to the county administrator twelve additional areas of duties and responsibilities. Ultimately, the board of supervisors determines the extent of administrative responsibilities delegated to the county administrator.

The relationship between the county administrator and the board of supervisors was described by Henry Campbell Black as similar to the master-servant relationship long recognized in English common law.¹³ The county

administrator does not enjoy an identity that is separate and apart from the board of supervisors.

Under the county executive or the county manager forms, the chief administrative officer enjoys an identity which is separate from the board. In light of this characteristic, the county administrator can be delegated as much or as little authority as the board of supervisors desires. Whatever the responsibilities assigned by law or delegated by the board, the county administrator serves solely as the administrator of the affairs of the board of supervisors.

The Comparability of City and County Government in Virginia

While cities and counties enjoy several distinct qualities, the influence of these differences on the responsibilities and roles of governmental officials has diminished over time. The general proliferation of municipal reform measures, expanding demands for services, and the increasing complexity of government have forced county governments to become more like their municipal counterparts.

The complexity and demands of governing have forced both cities and counties to increase their reliance upon their chief administrative officers. As the process of governing Virginia's cities and counties becomes more complex, governing bodies will be forced to rely more

heavily upon the knowledge and expertise of qualified administrators.

This increasing reliance creates a situation that, while not formally recognized and reinforced in most counties, makes the responsibilities and roles of the county administrator analogous to those of the city manager. This assertion is bolstered by evidence that the governing boards of counties tend to look to the council-manager plan, and its provisions as a model and for guidance.

Svara also cites the argument that the same institutional practices that contribute to the centralization of authority and improvement in management practices in cities can and have been applied to counties. The National Civic League's Model County Charter is an example of this trend. First released in 1956, the Model County Charter called for the use of the (municipal/urban) council-manager form. It suggested the county executive form as an alternative. The features recommended are "virtually the same for counties as for cities."¹⁴ Svara's forthcoming research also confirms that cities and counties share sufficient similarities as to allow comparison of their governance processes and administrative apparatuses.

The conditions are not so radically different that the roles and behaviors of county and city officials cannot be compared at all. Indeed, there are several empirical studies that show there is substantial similarity between city and county officials.¹⁵

Finally, cities and counties in Virginia both serve in a capacity as administrative arms of the state. On an increasing level, county governments across the state are being asked to provide greater numbers and varieties of public services. By necessity, the role of the county's chief administrative officer is increasing to a level comparable to the city manager.

In summary, while differences do exist between Virginia's cities and counties, these differences do not preclude the comparison of the responsibilities and roles of their elected and administrative officials. While it would be a mistake to belittle these differences, the nature of the governance process in Virginia is essentially the same in council-manager cities and traditional counties. Having established the comparability of city and county governments in Virginia, it is now necessary to operationalize the concepts of urban and rural for use in this study.

The Operationalization of Urban and Rural

This study will focus on the role definitions of elected and administrative officials in a select group of both urban and rural localities. More precisely, this study will be designed to gather information about variations in the attitudes and beliefs of governmental officials concerning their actual and preferred activity levels and

roles in the governance process. These governmental officials can be divided into two groups--the elected members of a locality's governing body; and the members of a locality's professional administrative staff.

In order to accomplish the research phase of the study, it is necessary to identify a suitable research population/sample. As described in Chapter Two, the urban and rural contexts enjoy several distinct qualities. Attempts to operationalize these indicators of context would be extremely difficult. In light of the difficulties associated with operationalizing these distinctive qualities, other more suitable criteria must be found.

As identified previously in the paper, variations in the attitudes and practices of those involved in the governance process have been associated with several factors. Evidence suggests that the size of a community as measured by its population and area (population density), can account for much of the variation in the attitudes and beliefs that determine the participation levels of those individuals involved in the governance process.

Classifying Virginia's local government units according to urban/rural distinctions is an inexact process. There are several criteria that can be used as a basis for determining urban/rural distinctions. Some of the indicators most often used to make a determination on a

urban/rural dimension include population, population density, population growth over a fixed period, proximity to large metropolitan areas, and fiscal capacity.

In order to identify an acceptable research population, I have drawn upon a combination of these, and other factors to form the basis for a comparative classification of Virginia's counties and cities. Virginia's cities and counties have been divided into five distinct categories based upon criteria developed by faculty members working for the Community Resource Development Program located on the Virginia Tech campus in Blacksburg, Virginia:

Rural Governments: Twenty-five counties are designated as "rural governments." A rural government is a locality with a population density of less than 50 persons per square mile, and which does not have an urban area (town or city of more than 2,500) located within its boundaries, and which does not share a common border with such an urban area and is not located within a MSA.

Traditional Governments: Forty-three counties fall within the "traditional" category. A traditional government is a locality with a population density of between 50 and less than 100 persons per square mile and which has experienced a population growth rate of less than 15 percent between 1980 and 1990; or a locality with a population density between 100 and 300 persons per square mile and a population growth rate of less than 5 percent over the last decade; or a locality having a population density of less than 50 persons per square mile and located near or within an urban area and/or MSA.

Transitional Governments: Twenty counties are designated as "transitional governments". A transitional government has a population density of between 100 and less than 300 persons per

square mile and which has experienced a population growth rate of at least 5 percent between 1980 and 1990; or localities which have a population density between 50 and less than 100 persons per square mile and a population growth rate exceeding 15 percent between 1980 and 1990 (the state average for the same period).

Urban Governments: Thirty-eight counties and cities fall within the "urban" designation. A urban county has a population density of between 300 and less than 1,000 persons per square mile and is located within an MSA. An urban city has a overall population of less than 75,000; or a population of 75,000 or greater and a population density of between 300 and 1,000 persons per square mile.

Metro Governments: Ten counties and cities fall within the "metro" category. Metro governments are those counties and cities located within an MSA, possessing a population exceeding 75,000, and possessing a population density of 1,000 persons or more per square mile.¹⁶

This typology makes the selection process much easier. It serves as a "first-cut" that greatly reduces the number of likely candidates for inclusion in the study. The study's design calls for the analysis and comparison of decision-making in urban and rural localities. This typology clearly arrays Virginia's local governments along a continuum ranging from Rural to Metro (Urban). The localities found at the two extreme ends of this continuum represent subsets of localities from which the candidates for this study will be chosen.

Three additional criteria have been added to the selection process - geographic region, economic capacity,

and government form. In order to identify a study group that controls for regional variations, the geographical location of each candidate was considered during the selection process. Representatives for each group were selected from different geographical regions of the state in order to control for regional bias.

A second factor that has been identified as having a notable affect upon the attitudes and beliefs of those involved in the governance process is a community's wealth or affluence. A community's wealth/affluence can best be measured by its taxing capacity, or tax base. In general, a community's tax base determines in large part the number and quality of the services that its local government can afford to provide to its citizens. It also determines in large part the character and capability of the local government.

In order to control for economic capacity, all local governments associated with the metropolitan, urban and rural classifications had rank-order correlations performed on the following six major economic indicators: Adjusted Gross Income, Personal Property Values, Gross Annual Sales Tax Proceeds, Real Estate Tax Rate, Total Fair Market Values of Real Estate, and Total Public Service Corporation Valuation. By rank-ordering these economic indicators, I was able to choose local governments that shared similar economic capacities.

Finally, government type was included as a criteria for selecting local governments for inclusion in the study group. There were two reasons for including both cities and counties in the study group. For the purposes of this study, cities are included as examples of urban governments and as a check on possible response biases attributable to government form.

Also, counties have long carried reputations as rural forms of local government. There are several exceptions to this portrayal. While many counties can be considered to be rural in character, there are at least seven Virginia counties that can be classified as urban. Cities, on the other hand can be considered to be urban units of local government by default.

Selection of the Study Group

After close review and consideration of the criteria identified above, the following localities have been selected as representatives of the three distinct categories of local governments identified in the study group:

Rural Counties: Giles, King William, and Franklin.

Urban Counties: Roanoke, Chesterfield, and Henrico.

Cities (Urban): Roanoke, Portsmouth, and Lynchburg.

The following discussion will provide a general overview of the number of surveys to be distributed in each selected locality. The positions to be surveyed are identified. Summary information concerning the total number of surveys distributed in each locality and group will be provided along with percentages.

Rural Counties

Each of Giles County's five elected board members received a survey. Surveys were mailed to three of the county's administrative officials: the County Administrator, Finance Director, and Social Services Director. A total of eight surveys were assigned to Giles County. This is equivalent to approximately twenty-three percent of all surveys mailed to rural counties.

The five members of the King William County board of supervisors received a survey. Surveys were mailed to nine of the county's administrative officials: the County Administrator, Assistant to the County Administrator, Director of Administration, Health Director, Parks and Recreation Director, Director of Community Development, Public Works Director, Social Services Director, and Zoning Administrator. A total of fourteen surveys were assigned to King William County. This is equivalent to approximately forty percent of all surveys mailed to rural counties.

The seven members of the Franklin County board of supervisors received a survey. Surveys were mailed to six of the county's administrative officials: the County Administrator, Emergency Services Coordinator, County Health Director, Planning and Zoning Director, Social Services Director, and Parks and Recreation Director. A total of thirteen surveys were assigned to Franklin County. This is equivalent to approximately thirty-seven percent of all surveys mailed to rural counties.

A total of thirty-five surveys were assigned to the three rural counties. Seventeen of these surveys were assigned to elected board members and eighteen surveys were assigned to professional administrative staff. Approximately twenty-five percent of all surveys were assigned to rural county governments.

Urban Counties

The five members of the Roanoke County board of supervisors received surveys. Surveys were mailed to eleven of the county's administrative officials: the County Administrator, two Assistant Administrators, Economic Development Director, Finance Director, Health Director, Planning Director/Zoning Administrator, Police Chief, Public Works Director, Social Services Director, and Parks and Recreation Director. A total of sixteen surveys were

assigned to Roanoke County. This is equivalent to approximately thirty-two percent of all surveys mailed to urban counties.

The five members of Chesterfield County's board members received surveys. Surveys were mailed to twelve of the county's administrative officials: the County Administrator, three Deputy Administrators, Economic Development Director, Finance Director, Health Director, Planning Director, Police Chief, Public Works Director, Social Services Director, and Parks and Recreation Director. A total of seventeen surveys were assigned to Chesterfield County. This is equivalent to approximately thirty-four percent of all surveys mailed to urban counties.

The five members of Henrico County's board members received surveys. Surveys were mailed to twelve of the county's administrative officials: the County Administrator, three Deputy Administrators, Economic Development Director, Finance Director, Health Director, Planning Director, Police Chief, Director of Zoning, Director of Social Services, and Director of Public Works. A total of seventeen surveys were assigned to Chesterfield County. This is equivalent to approximately thirty-four percent of all surveys mailed to urban counties.

A total of fifty surveys were assigned to the three urban counties. Fifteen of these surveys were assigned to

elected board members and thirty-five surveys were assigned to professional administrative staff. Approximately thirty-six percent of all the surveys were mailed to urban county governments.

Cities

The seven members of the Roanoke City council received surveys. Surveys were mailed to eleven of the city's administrative officials: the City Manager, Assistant City Manager, Economic Development Director, Public Safety Director, Finance Director, Police Chief, Public Health Director, Public Works Director, Social Services Director, Parks and Recreation Director, and Director of Community Planning and Development. A total of eighteen surveys were assigned to Roanoke City. This is equivalent to approximately thirty-four percent of all surveys mailed to cities.

The seven members of the Portsmouth City council received surveys. Surveys were mailed to eleven of the city's administrative officials: the City Manager, Deputy Manager, Economic Development Director, Finance Director, Planning Director, Police Chief, Public Health Director, Public Utilities Director, Social Services Director, Director of Management Services, and the Director of Leisure Services. A total of eighteen surveys were assigned to

Portsmouth. This is equivalent to approximately thirty-four percent of all surveys mailed to cities.

The seven members of the Lynchburg City council received surveys. Surveys were mailed to ten of the city's administrative officials: the City Manager, Assistant to the City Manager, Deputy Manager, Economic Development Director, Police Chief, Finance Director, Planning Director, Public Health Officer, Public Works Director, and Social Services Director. A total of seventeen surveys were assigned to Lynchburg County. This is equivalent to approximately thirty-two percent of all surveys mailed to cities.

A total of fifty-three surveys were assigned to the three cities. Twenty-one of these surveys were assigned to elected council members and thirty-two surveys were assigned to professional administrative staff. Approximately thirty-eight percent of all the surveys are mailed to city governments.

Detailed summary information concerning the distribution of surveys can be found below in Table 3.2. This table provides a breakdown of the number and percentage of surveys that were mailed and returned from each locality included in this study.

TABLE 3.2
Survey Distribution - Percentage Contribution to Total

Classification	Elected Officials	Administrative Staff	Row Totals
RURAL COUNTIES			
Giles (#) (%)	5 3.62%	3 2.17%	8 5.80%
King William (#) (%)	5 3.62%	9 6.52%	14 10.14%
Franklin (#) (%)	7 5.07%	6 4.35%	13 9.42%
TOTAL (#) (%)	17 12.32%	18 13.04%	35 25.36%
URBAN COUNTIES			
Roanoke (#) (%)	5 3.62%	11 7.97%	16 11.59%
Chesterfield (#) (%)	5 3.62%	12 8.70%	17 12.32%
Henrico (#) (%)	5 3.62%	12 8.70%	17 12.32%
TOTAL (#) (%)	15 10.87%	35 25.36%	50 36.23%
CITIES			
Roanoke (#) (%)	7 5.07%	11 7.97%	18 13.04%
Portsmouth (#) (%)	7 5.07%	11 7.97%	18 13.04%
Lynchburg (#) (%)	7 5.07%	10 7.25%	17 12.32%
TOTAL (#) (%)	21 15.22%	32 23.19%	53 38.41%
GRAND TOTAL (#) (%)	53 38.41%	85 61.59%	138 100.00%

Survey Instrument

To test the above propositions, this research design draws upon the theory and research of James F. Svara. Svara's dichotomy/duality model will serve as a basis for the development of a survey instrument. This survey instrument will assess the attitudes and perceptions of local government officials concerning their actual and preferred levels of involvement in various activities and/or decisions (decisional roles).

When this survey is administered to a study population of local governments chosen on behalf of their urban and rural characteristics, it will provide a means for testing the research propositions cited in Chapter One and restated at the beginning of this chapter. By examining the responses from local government officials in urban and rural localities, it will be possible to develop both descriptive and prescriptive guidelines for behavior that are sensitive to the influence of context.

Before describing the research design and instrument developed to test the above cited research propositions, it will be useful to reiterate some of the basic elements associated with Svara's dichotomy/duality model. The following discussion will describe in detail Svara's model and how it will be operationalized to test the research propositions listed above.

Theoretical Basis for Survey Design

Svara's dichotomy/duality model describes a clear relationship between the governance process and the decision-making process. He proposes a decision-making continuum consisting of four types of decisions--mission, policy, administration, and management. Governance is described as a process involving these four distinct and hierarchically arranged types/categories of decisions:

- 1) **Mission** - problem/issue identification;
- 2) **Policy** - goal setting and the broad strategies developed for addressing them;
- 3) **Administration** - specific decisions employed for the explicit purpose of achieving policy objectives;
- 4) **Management** - specific decisions taken in support of the policy and administrative functions.¹⁷

The operationalization of these four decisional categories is not easy. The use of abstract definitions as a means of describing the substantive content of each of these categories would be extremely confusing. To avoid confusion, Svara provides both a general description and illustrative examples of actual decisions that are associated with each decisional category. A general description of each of the four decisional dimensions is provided below in Table 3.3.

TABLE 3.3

General Description of Tasks for Each Decisional Category

Decisional Category	General Description of Tasks for Council (Elected Officials)	General Description of Tasks for Administrators
Mission	Determine "purpose," scope of services, tax level, constitutional issues.	Advise (what city "can" do may influence what it "should" do) analyze conditions and trends.
Policy	Pass ordinances, approve new projects and programs, ratify budget.	Make recommendations on all decisions, formulate budget, determine service distribution formulae.
Administration	Make implementing decisions	Establish practices and procedures and make decisions for implementing policy.
Management	Suggest management changes to manager, review organizational performance in manager's appraisal.	Control the human, material, and informational resources of organization to support policy and administrative functions.

Svara provides a detailed list of seventeen specific tasks associated with each decisional category. These tasks appear in the form of activities/decisions that simplify the process of associating decisional activity with a specific

category of decision. A detailed list of these tasks is provided in Table 3.4.

TABLE 3.4

Specific tasks associated with each decisional category

MISSION	
1)	Analyzing the future needs of the city/county.
2)	Developing strategies for future development of the city/county.
3)	Changing governmental institutions or revising the charter.
4)	Initiating or canceling programs.
5)	Determining the purpose of city/county government and the scope of services.
POLICY	
6)	Formulating the proposed budget.
7)	Budget review and approval.
8)	Specific decisions concerning planning and zoning applications.
9)	Developing annual program goals and objectives.
ADMINISTRATION	
10)	Operational decisions about the provision of services.
11)	Resolving citizen complaints.
12)	Specific decisions that are part of larger city/county governmental projects.
13)	Evaluating accomplishments of specific programs.
MANAGEMENT	
14)	Hiring decisions about department heads.
15)	Hiring decisions about employees below the department head level.
16)	Contracting and purchasing.
17)	Proposing changes in management practices or governmental organization.

Respondents were asked to estimate their actual and preferred levels of activity separately for each of these specific areas on a five point scale. This scale ranges from:

- 1 - **Very Low:** not involved;
- 2 - **Low:** minimum review of reaction appropriate to situation;
- 3 - **Moderate:** advising or Reviewing;
- 4 - **High:** leading, guiding, or pressuring; and
- 5 - **Very High:** handle entirely.

For this dissertation, three different versions of the "Local Governmental Process Questionnaire" were created. Versions were created for use in cities, counties and towns. The version created for towns was used exclusively in the pilot study. These three versions of the survey are sensitive to the structural and functional differences that exist between counties, cities and towns.

The questionnaires developed for cities and towns are essentially the same questionnaire except for the substitution of "city" and/or "town" where appropriate. Also, while the city and town forms of municipal government provide for mayors, county governments lack such positions. In recognition of these differences, the questionnaire designed for municipalities includes two sets of questions concerning the role and authority of mayors. Questionnaires

developed for counties include similar questions concerning the role and authority of the chairperson.

The questionnaires designed for counties and cities are eight pages long and contain a total of one-hundred and eight (108) inquiries for information and opportunities for response. Each questionnaire consists of three sections and an introductory page. The introductory page consists of fourteen questions pertaining to the individual, his/her experience and information about the locality. The first section contains thirty-four questions concerning the actual and preferred levels of involvement of the governing body and professional staff in various types of decisions. The second section contains fifty-four questions concerning the roles of the locality's governing body, its chairperson/mayor, and the professional staff. The third and final sections contains six questions asking for specific information about the respondent (age, education, gender, race).

Pilot Study

The purpose of a pilot study is to identify any major problems with a survey instrument before the initiation of the formal research component of the dissertation. The pilot study can be likened to a dry-run or test case where the survey instrument receives its first true scrutiny from

a group of individuals who have not been involved with its development.

In this particular case, the pilot study had two purposes. First, comments received from the pilot study survey identified and lead to the correction and/or improvement of any troublesome sections. A second goal of this pilot study was to verify further the dichotomy/duality model proposed by Dr. Jim Svara. While Svara's model had been applied to state agencies in Virginia, to my knowledge, it had never been applied to local governments in the Commonwealth. In light of this, it made sense to test the applicability of Svara's research model to Virginia's local governmental system as an initial component of this research design.

The study group for this pilot study included three local governments that are within close proximity to the Virginia Tech campus - Montgomery County, The Town of Blacksburg, and The Town of Christiansburg. No cities were selected to participate in the initial pilot study. The omission of cities from the pilot study does not compromise the study.

Cities in Virginia are unique in the sense that they are independent from the county(s) that geographically encompass them, while towns are not. Municipal governments, cities in particular, have been the major focus of the local

government reform movement. The reform movement compelled the governing boards of many municipal governments to adopt the council/manager plan, or many of its main elements. The council/manger plan has been adopted by all of Virginia's independent cities and by many of its town governments.

As forms of municipal governments, Virginia's independent cities and towns share many of the same legal and functional responsibilities as providers of public services. On a very fundamental level, some minor legal and structural differences exist that allow one to distinguish between the Commonwealth's two forms of municipal government. While important, these statutory differences should have little impact upon the range of services and activities undertaken by elected and administrative officials. Thus, the inclusion of towns as a representative of municipal government in the pilot study is deemed appropriate and does not invalidate its results.

For the pilot study, a total of thirty-eight surveys were mailed to all elected officials and administrative staff of these three localities. The survey packet included a cover letter, a copy of the questionnaire, a pre-posted and addressed return envelope, and my business card. The return rate for the pilot study was thirty-six percent. This represents an acceptable response rate for such a lengthy mail survey.

Respondents offered few indications of any problems with the survey in the space provided on the survey form. With no comments or suggestions for improving the questionnaire, a decision was made to call half of the respondents and make a personal appeal for their insights and impressions. After speaking with sixteen survey recipients and/or respondents, it became apparent that the questionnaire was rather long and complex. Each of the respondents indicated that the survey was well designed, but too long and complex for some local government officials. In response to these discoveries, several modifications were made to the survey form. A comprehensive survey program was developed that included provisions for extensive follow-ups contact with unresponsive survey recipients.

Responses to the surveys distributed in support of the pilot study revealed considerable differences between the three localities. Survey responses revealed that members of the Blacksburg Town Council and administrative staff defined their roles and activity levels in the governance process in accordance with Svara's "ideal" dichotomy/duality model. Town council members indicated their preference for high levels of activity in the mission and policy dimensions, and lower levels of activity towards the administration and management end of the decisional continuum. The town manager and department heads indicated high levels of

activity across the board, but the highest levels were concentrated towards the management and administrative end of the continuum.

Responses from the elected and administrative officials from Montgomery County and the Town of Christiansburg followed the pattern hypothesized for rural localities. Elected officials from both localities indicated high levels of involvement across the four decisional dimensions. Administrative officials from these two localities indicated relatively high levels of activity in each of the four decisional dimensions.

In the context of the pilot study, an explanation for these differences can be attributed to the presence and influence of Virginia Tech. The pattern of responses found in the Town of Blacksburg is similar to that associated with a urban locality. The influence of Virginia Tech on the character of the community and municipal government make Blacksburg an anomaly. The characteristics typically associated with a small, rural town are overshadowed by the progressive and liberalizing influence of the state's largest university.

On the other hand, Montgomery County and the Town of Christiansburg are examples of rural localities. The influence of Virginia Tech upon these two localities is lessened by the lack of proximity, and thus, their rural

characters are not repressed. The elected and administrative officials of these two localities are relatively free of much of the progressive and liberalizing influence of the state's largest university, and thus, exhibit the attitudes and perceptions hypothesized for rural localities.

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

This dissertation will make use of several methodologies to assess the influence of context upon the role definitions of local government officials in urban and rural localities. Because of the limited size of the research sample, this research plan will rely upon descriptive statistics as a basis for analysis and comparison. Frequencies, means and cross-tabulations will be the predominant methodological tools used in this research plan. Statistical measures of association such as chi-square, gamma, and tau-c, will be used to indicate the strength and direction of a relationship between groups.

The analysis phase of this research plan consists of two distinct stages. The first stage involves the collection and treatment of the data. The second stage involves the analysis of the data. The following section addresses both of these stages and prepares us for the next chapter where the findings will be described.

Survey Return Rate

One-hundred and thirty-eight surveys were mailed to local elected and administrative officials associated with the three study groups. Overall, fifty-three elected officials and eighty-five administrative officials received surveys. Elected officials returned forty-one surveys for an overall return rate for that group of seventy-seven percent. Administrative officials returned fifty-two surveys for a return rate of sixty-one percent. A total of ninety-three surveys were returned by survey recipients for a total return rate of sixty-seven percent. A general overview of survey distribution and return rates can be found below in Table 3.5.

TABLE 3.5

Survey Return Rate

Classification	Elected Officials			Administrative Officials			Total		
	Mailed	Returned	Return Rate	Mailed	Returned	Return Rate	Mailed	Returned	Return Rate
Rural Total	17	11	67.71%	18	11	61.11%	35	22	62.86%
Urban Total	15	14	93.33%	35	24	68.57%	50	38	76.00%
City Total	21	16	76.19%	32	17	53.13%	53	33	62.26%
GRAND TOTAL	53	41	77.36%	85	52	61.18%	138	93	67.39%

Elected and administrative officials in rural counties received a total of thirty-five surveys - seventeen and eighteen surveys respectively. Survey recipients from both

of these groups returned eleven surveys respectively. Return rates for elected and administrative officials equaled sixty-four and sixty-one percent respectively. A total of twenty-two surveys were returned by recipients in rural counties for an overall return rate of sixty-two percent.

Fifty surveys were distributed to fifteen elected officials and thirty-five administrative officials in urban counties. Fourteen surveys were returned from elected officials and twenty-four surveys were returned from administrators. The return rate for both groups was ninety-three percent and sixty-eight percent respectively. Thirty-eight surveys were received from survey recipients in urban counties for an overall return rate of seventy-six percent.

Fifty-three surveys were distributed to twenty-one elected officials and thirty-two administrative officials in the three cities. Sixteen surveys were returned from elected officials and seventeen surveys were returned from the administrative group. The return rates for the elected and administrative groups were seventy-six percent and fifty-three percent respectively. A total of thirty-three surveys were returned by city officials for an overall return rate of sixty-two percent.

The data on these survey sheets were transferred onto optical scanning data entry sheets over the ensuing weeks.

These forms were scanned by personnel in the university's testing center. Through the scanning process, the data was converted and transferred into a raw data file on the university's mainframe computer system.

Intra-group Comparisons

Intra-group comparisons were conducted to ensure the integrity of the research samples. A summary of these analyses appear in the following tables with more detailed information in the appendix. For these analyses, all responses were grouped according to two criteria, the urban/rural classification, and the elected/administrative status of the respondent. Six distinct groups, city councils, city administrators, urban county supervisors, urban county administrators (manager), rural county supervisors, and rural county administrators.

Of special concern in this analysis is the small sample size of the six sub-groups. The sample sizes of the three city councils and six county boards included in this study range from four to five respondents. Three chief administrative officers constitute the memberships of each of the three urban/rural administrative groups. These small sample sizes create some special concerns for the calculation and interpretation of intra-group variances.

An examination of intra-group responses revealed moderate to high levels of variation. Since a consistent five point scale was used throughout the analysis, the range of possible responses is the same for all the groups included in this analysis. A variation of ≥ 0.25 was identified as a threshold value. This value represents an average variation of one-point on the five-point scale used in this study to identify activity levels. Intra-group variations greater or equal to this threshold value are identified as moderate (0.25 to 0.50) to high (> 0.50).

An analysis of the responses of city council members is documented in Table 3.6. This analysis of their actual levels of activity revealed generally low levels of variation across all but four (23.5%) of the seventeen decisions. Moderate levels of variation were found for the following decisions: mission-changing governmental institutions or revising the charter (.56); administration-resolving citizen complaints (.25); administration-specific decisions that are part of larger governmental projects (.34); and management-proposing changes in management practices or organization (.25). No one locality is responsible for a majority of this variation.

TABLE 3.6

**Average Actual and Preferred Involvement
by Elected Officials**

Cities	Roanoke Council		Portsmouth Council		Lynchburg Council	
	ACT.	PREF.	ACT.	PREF.	ACT.	PREF.
Mission	3.40	4.12	3.77	4.39	3.58	3.84
Policy	3.60	3.75	3.89	4.48	3.56	3.88
Administration	3.45	3.50	2.92	3.12	2.73	2.93
Management	2.45	2.25	1.70	2.26	2.13	2.06
Urban Counties	Roanoke Board		Chesterfield Board		Henrico Board	
	ACT.	PREF.	ACT.	PREF.	ACT.	PREF.
Mission	3.76	4.48	3.88	4.00	3.30	4.00
Policy	3.45	4.30	3.75	3.70	3.06	3.75
Administration	2.65	2.75	2.90	2.80	3.40	4.00
Management	1.65	1.95	2.16	2.05	2.07	2.67
Rural Counties	Giles Board		King William Board		Franklin Board	
	ACT.	PREF.	ACT.	PREF.	ACT.	PREF.
Mission	3.85	3.87	3.33	4.21	3.45	3.80
Policy	4.06	3.42	3.92	4.08	4.06	4.13
Administration	3.93	3.58	3.58	3.75	3.53	3.73
Management	3.93	3.58	3.42	3.58	3.19	3.25
Group Average	City Council Members		Urban County Board Members		Rural County Board Members	
	ACT.	PREF.	ACT.	PREF.	ACT.	PREF.
Mission	3.60	4.16	3.67	4.17	3.56	3.94
Policy	3.71	4.10	3.45	3.93	4.02	3.90
Administration	3.05	3.20	2.95	3.11	3.68	3.69
Management	2.07	2.20	1.94	2.19	3.51	3.45

Involvement Scale: 1-Very Low/No Involvement; 2-Low; 3-Moderate; 4-High; 5-Very High/Handle Entirely.



Reviewing the preferred assessments of city council members reveals even less variation. Generally low levels of variation were found for all but one (5.8%) of the seventeen decisions. The Lynchburg city council preferred moderately less activity in specific decisions that are part of larger governmental projects (.51) than did council members from Roanoke and Portsmouth. In general, city council members shared similar perceptions and preferences of activity for all but the decisions cited above. These levels of activity generally match the patterns found in Svara's ideal dichotomy/duality model; although, the city council members surveyed in this study cite slightly lower levels of actual and preferred activity for the mission and policy dimensions.

Table 3.7 indicates that the amount of variation between the responses of city managers concerning their actual levels of activity varies from low to moderate. For eight (47.5%) of the seventeen decisions, moderate levels of variation between group means were found. These seven decisions are: developing strategies for the future development of the locality (.67); changing governmental institutions or revising the charter (.67); determining the purpose of local government and the scope of services to be provided (.89); developing annual program goals and objectives (.67); formulating the proposed budget (.67);

budget review and approval (.54); specific decisions that are part of larger governmental projects (.89); and contracting and purchasing (.67).

TABLE 3.7

**Average Actual and Preferred Involvement
by Chief Administrative Officials**

Cities	Roanoke Manager		Portsmouth Manager		Lynchburg Manager	
	ACT.	PREF.	ACT.	PREF.	ACT.	PREF.
Mission	4.20	4.00	3.00	3.20	3.80	3.80
Policy	4.25	4.25	3.75	4.00	3.50	3.50
Administration	4.00	3.75	3.50	3.75	3.50	3.25
Management	3.25	3.25	4.25	4.25	3.25	3.00
Urban Counties	Roanoke Administrator		Chesterfield Administrator		Henrico Manager	
	ACT.	PREF.	ACT.	PREF.	ACT.	PREF.
Mission	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	3.80	3.80
Policy	3.75	3.75	4.00	4.00	4.25	4.50
Administration	3.75	3.50	3.25	3.25	4.33	4.33
Management	3.00	3.00	3.50	3.50	4.75	4.75
Rural Counties	Giles Administrator		King William Administrator		Franklin Administrator	
	ACT.	PREF.	ACT.	PREF.	ACT.	PREF.
Mission	3.00	4.00	4.40	4.40	3.40	3.40
Policy	3.50	3.75	5.00	5.00	3.75	4.00
Administration	3.25	3.75	5.00	5.00	4.25	4.25
Management	3.50	4.00	5.00	5.00	4.75	4.75
Group Average	City Managers		Urban County Adms.		Rural County Adms.	
	ACT.	PREF.	ACT.	PREF.	ACT.	PREF.
Mission	3.67	3.67	3.93	3.93	3.60	3.93
Policy	3.83	3.92	4.00	4.08	4.08	4.25
Administration	3.67	3.58	3.78	3.69	4.17	4.33
Management	3.58	3.50	3.75	3.75	4.42	4.58

Involvement Scale: 1-Very Low/No Involvement; 2-Low; 3-Moderate; 4-High; 5-Very High/Handle Entirely.



Approximately seventy-five percent of this variation can be attributed to the responses of the Portsmouth city manager. In comparison to the other two city managers, he indicated consistently lower levels of activity for the mission and policy dimension and higher activity levels for the administration and management dimensions. The lower levels of activity in the mission and policy dimensions may be attributable to his relative lack of experience as a city manager. He has three years of experience as a city manager, as compared to fourteen and twenty-five for the other two city managers.

An analysis of the variation of the preferred levels of activity indicated by city managers reveals seven decisions (41%) that manifest moderate levels of variation about the mean. These seven questions are: developing strategies for the future development of the locality (.67); developing annual program goals (.89); formulating the proposed budget (.67); budget review and approval (.67); resolving citizen complaints (.89); specific decisions that are part of larger governmental projects (.67); and contracting and purchasing (1.56). While most of this variation can be attributed to the responses of the Roanoke city manager, there are no consistent trends in the direction of his responses, e.g., higher or lower than the other city managers.

Most of the variation between the responses of city managers for both their actual and preferred assessments occurred in the mission and policy dimensions. These variations indicate a lack of consensus as to an appropriate level of activity for city managers in these two dimensions.

An analysis of the variation between the responses of the elected board members from urban counties concerning their actual levels of activity in the decision-making process indicates low levels of variation for all but six (35.2%) of the seventeen decisions. The decisions for which the levels of intra-group variation are moderate to high include: changing governmental institutions or revising the charter (.41); developing annual program goals and objectives (.26); budget review and approval (.35); specific decisions that are part of larger governmental projects (.41); evaluating accomplishment of specific programs (.35); and hiring decisions about department heads (.34).

There are no discernible trends in the intra-group responses for urban board members. Each of the three groups appear to share equal levels of responsibility for the overall variation attributable to the six decisions identified above. Also, this variation is spread across all of the decisional dimensions, with the policy and administrative dimensions having the most overall variation.

An analysis of variation in the preferred responses of

urban county board members reveals nine (52.9%) of the seventeen decisions with moderate to high intragroup variations in responses. These decisions include: developing strategies for the future development of the locality (.33); changing governmental institutions or revisions the charter (.27); budget review and approval (.44); operational decisions about the provision of services (.27); resolving citizen complaints (.40); specific decisions that are part of larger local government projects (.87); evaluating accomplishments of specific programs (.27); hiring decisions about department heads (.27); and contracting and purchasing (.40).

Over sixty percent of the overall intra-group variation identified above can be attributed to the responses of the Henrico county board of supervisors. The preferred levels of activity indicated by this group are consistently higher than those indicated by the elected bodies of Roanoke and Chesterfield counties. These higher levels of preferred activity may be attributable to a general attempt by the board to counter the more formalized role of the county administrator in the county manager form of government.

An analysis of the responses of urban county administrators concerning their actual levels of activity reveals low levels of intra-group variation for all but

three (17.6%) of the seventeen decisions. All of the moderate to high levels of variation is focused in the management and administrative dimensions. The three decisions with moderate to high levels of variation are: specific decision that are part of larger local government projects (.67); hiring decisions involving department heads (1.56); and contracting and purchasing (.89). There are no discernible trend in the intra-group variations for these three decisions.

An examination of the responses of urban county administrators concerning their preferred levels of activity reveals similar levels of variation to those identified in the previous analysis. In this analysis, the intra-group comparison identifies four decisions, or 23.5% of the seventeen decisions, with moderate to high levels of intra-group variation. These four decisions include the same three decisions identified above plus decisions involving the formulation of the proposed budget. The measures of intra-group variation for decisions are: for specific decisions that are part of larger local government projects (.67); hiring decisions involving department heads (1.56); contracting and purchasing (.89); and decisions concerning the formulation of the proposed budget (.67).

In general, there exist high levels of consensus among urban county administrators concerning their activity levels

in the mission and policy dimensions. The discrepancies between intra-group responses become more frequent in the administration and management dimensions. Overall, responses from the Henrico county manager are consistently higher than those of the other county administrators. Again, these variations in responses may be attributable to the more recognized role of the urban county manager in the Virginia State Code in comparison to the roles identified with the traditional county administrator.

An analysis of the variation in the intra-group responses of rural county board of supervisors concerning their actual levels of activity identifies four (23.5%) of the seventeen decisions with moderate to high levels of variation. The remaining thirteen decisions have relatively low levels of variation when intra-group comparisons were conducted. The four decisions are; developing strategies for the future development of the locality (.29); initiating or canceling projects (.35); evaluating the accomplishments of specific programs (.40); and hiring decisions about employees below the department head level (.56).

No discernible trends are apparent in the review of the results from rural board members. The decisions with moderate to high levels of intra-group variation are dispersed across the four decisional dimensions. Also, no

particular locality emerges as being responsible for a majority of the variation.

An intra-group analysis of the preferred activity levels of county elected officials reveals two (11.7%) of the seventeen decisions with moderate to high levels of intra-group variation. These two decisions are: budget review and approval (.29); and resolving citizen complaints (.47). In general, the preferred responses of rural county board members reveal a remarkable similarity in their perceptions and preferences concerning their roles in the governance process.

An analysis of the intra-group variation in the responses of rural county administrators concerning their actual levels of activity reveals the highest levels of variation witnessed thus far. For eleven (64.7%) of the decisions, the intra-group variation is moderate to high. These decisions are: analyzing the future needs of the locality (.67); developing strategies for the future development of the locality (.67); determining the purpose of local government and the scope of services (.89); specific decision concerning planning and zoning applications (.67); formulating the proposed budget (.89); budget review and approval (.67); resolving citizen complaints (.67); specific decisions that are part of larger governmental programs (.67); evaluating accomplishments of

specific programs (.67); hiring decisions about department heads (.89); and hiring decisions about employees below the department head level (.89).

Two distinct patterns appear in the responses of rural county administrators. The county administrator for King William county gives the highest assessments of actual activity for ten (58.8%) of the seventeen responses. In fact, he indicates the highest level of actual activity for nine (81.8%) of the eleven decisions with moderate to high variations.

The second pattern involves the responses of the Giles County administrator. For ten (58.8%) of the seventeen decisions, the Giles county administrator indicates the lowest level of actual activity. These two trends may be attributed in part to the differences in tenure between these two county administrators. The relatively long tenure of the King William County Administrator (8 years) has allowed him to develop a general understanding of his position and roles as defined by the board and local culture. The modest experience of the Giles County Administrator (3 months) has not provided sufficient time for the development of a comparable understanding and comfort zone.

Finally, an analysis of the intra-group variation in the responses of rural county administrators concerning

their preferred levels of activity reveals five decisions (29.4%) with moderate to high levels of variation. These decisions are: developing strategies for the future development of the locality (.67); changing governmental institutions or revising the charter (.67); determining the purpose of local government and the scope of services to be provided (.89); and resolving citizen complaints (.67). Four of these five decisions can be found in the mission (3) and policy (1) decisional dimensions. There is only one decision with moderate intra-group variation positioned towards the management and administration end of the continuum.

In sum, these intra-group comparisons provide limited evidence that the attitudes and perceptions of the individuals associated with each distinct group are sufficiently similar as to allow them to be treated as one single group. While there are numerous differences, these differences do not prevent the creation of the three groups specified in the study plan for this dissertation.

Data Collection, Compilation, and Analysis

The next step in the data collection and treatment phase involved writing a SAS program that addressed each component of the raw data file. To ensure the integrity of the data, both raw and group frequencies were generated

using this program. The results of these procedures were compared with actual surveys to ensure that the data had been accurately converted and up-loaded.

Initial computer runs were made using SAS and its data manipulation and programming options. These programs were converted to SPSSx to facilitate the generation of cross-tabs and various summary statistics necessary for group comparisons.

The next stage of analysis involved the actual analysis of the survey data. The examination of the data can be divided into three distinct sets of analyses and comparisons. The first set of analyses provide an overall assessment of the division of responsibilities and roles between elected and administrative officials for the entire research group. Frequencies and means will be calculated for all responses relating to the seventeen activities associated with Svava's four dimensions of decisional/governance activity.

The results will be presented in tabular form, and compared to Svava's "ideal" dichotomy/duality model. These analyses will demonstrate the overall range of the respondents' attitudes and opinions concerning their actual and preferred levels of activity for each of the specific activities. This investigation will also provide a general assessment of the division of role and responsibilities

without controlling for the influences of the urban/rural context and government form.

The second set of analyses compares the responses of elected and administrative officials without regard to their urban or rural context. This section will provide some general insights into how these two groups define their respective roles in the governance process.

The third, and final set of analyses compares responses from the elected officials and chief administrative officers of the nine cities, urban counties, and rural counties included in the research group. This section will provide initial insights into the differences that exist between the role definition of elected and chief administrative officers in urban versus rural localities. These analyses should provide evidence supporting the research propositions stated earlier in this dissertation.

The results of these analyses and comparisons will be described in the next chapter. The discussion in Chapter Four will follow the four sets of analyses described above. This research model will be used to verify or reject the research propositions and specific questions raised in Chapter One and restated at the beginning of this chapter.

End Notes for Chapter Three

1. This dissertation will focus upon the city and county forms of government. Towns are excluded from consideration because of their great diversity and the lack of available information concerning their governing structures.

2. John Forrest Dillon, Commentaries on the Law of Municipal Corporations, 4th edition. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1890), 145.

3. Virginia Code, sections 15.1-13 and 15.1-925--15.1-938.

4. Virginia Code, section 15-1-13.

5. Virginia Code, sections 15.1-801 and 15.1-811.

6. Virginia Code, sections 15.1-925 through 15.1-931.

7. The Optional Forms Act of 1932 established the county executive and county manager optional forms of county government.

8. Marcia S. Mashaw Virginia County Supervisor's Manual: Fourth Edition, Revised (Charlottesville, VA: Virginia Association of Counties and Institute of Government, 1982), 29-30.

9. VA. Code Sections. §15.1-701, §15.1-590, §15.1-625, §15.1-689, §15.1-730, and §15.1-743.

10. Virginia Code, Sections 15.1-38--15.1-130 and 15.1-504--15.1-581.

11. Report of the Commission on State and Local Revenues and Expenditures, (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1949), 108.

12. Virginia Code, §15.1-705, §15.1-712(a).

13. Henry Campbell Black, Black's Law Dictionary, 3rd ed. (St. Paul, Minnesota.: West Publishing Company, 1933), 1167.

14. James H. Svara, "Leadership and Professionalism in County Government" Donald C. Menzel, ed. The American County: Frontiers of Knowledge forthcoming (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1995), 191.

15. Ibid., 191.

16. Donald P. Lacy, Pamela Gibson, Mike Dougherty, and Mark Miller. "The Commonwealth of Virginia: A Geo-Political Profile" (Community Resource Development: Virginia Tech, 1991).

17. James H. Svara, "Dichotomy and Duality: Reconceptualizing the Relationship Between Policy and Administration in Council-Manager Cities." Public Administration Review 45, 1985: 221-232.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research Results

The purpose of this chapter is to examine systematically and interpret the research conducted to substantiate or reject the various research propositions proposed earlier in this dissertation. Ultimately, the analysis and interpretation undertaken in this chapter will help us discover the important influence that the urban/rural context can have upon how local elected and administrative officials determine their roles.

This chapter will be arranged in three sections. The first section provides a general overview of the survey data. This section clusters all survey respondents, regardless of their status as elected or administrative officials, or their affiliation with urban or rural localities, to determine how they perceive and define the roles of elected and administrative officials. To accomplish this task, this section uses Svara's local government process model with its four decisional dimensions and seventeen associated decisional activities.¹

The first section also compares survey responses for the entire study group to the various governance models developed by Svara. This component of the initial analysis is designed to determine the overall pattern of responses found within the research group. These general patterns of

roles and activity levels will be compared to the four models developed by Svava. This comparison will determine which of Svava's models best captures the general pattern of responses found in the study group.²

The second section analyzes the responses of elected and administrative officials respectively without regard to the urban/rural designation of their localities. This section is designed to determine how elected and administrative officials assess and define their own roles, and the roles of their counterparts in the governance process. This section will identify any patterns in responses that may be attributable to occupational status.

The third section compares how elected and chief administrative officers from cities, urban counties, and rural counties define their respective roles in the governance process. This section examines and compares the actual and preferred levels of activity of elected and administrative officials along urban/rural lines in accordance with Svava's local governance model.

Each of the three research sections is designed to assist in the determination of the influences of the urban/rural context upon how local government officials determine their roles. The overall process begins with a general overview of the data and then builds up to more exacting analyses of various sub-groups. The overall plan

is for each subsequent phase in the research design to build upon the findings of its predecessors. Ultimately, the research undertaken and described in this chapter will address the five propositions stated in chapters one and three, and restated below:

1. **The urban/rural context influences how a locality's elected and administrative officials define their roles in the governance process (i.e., differences do exist in the roles defined by elected and administrative officials in urban versus rural local governments).**
 - 1a. **Elected and administrative officials in cities and urban counties share similar patterns of role definition. Differences in the role definitions of city and urban officials are minimal.**
 - 1b. **Government form, as represented by the city and county, does not account for significant differences in how elected and administrative officials define their roles.**
2. **Elected and administrative officials associated with local governments with urban contexts tend to define their roles in accordance with James Svava's "ideal" model as described in his dichotomy/duality model (i.e., the urban context embodies various attributes that promote a pattern of roles between elected and administrative officials similar to the configuration of roles depicted in Svava's "ideal" model).**
3. **Elected and administrative officials associated with local governments within rural contexts do not define their roles in accordance with Svava's "ideal" model, but instead, define their roles so as to provide for greater involvement by elected officials in governmental administration (i.e., the rural context embodies various attributes that promote a pattern of roles between elected and administrative officials dissimilar to the configuration of roles depicted in Svava's "ideal" model. The pattern of roles in localities with rural contexts provides for greater involvement by elected officials in governmental administration).**

This study's small sample size and its non-random character dictate the use of descriptive over inferential statistical techniques. The ordinal-level data collected for use in this study also dictate the use of descriptive statistical techniques and tests.

Descriptive methods such as frequencies, cross-tabulations, means, standard deviations, variances, and various tests of statistical significance have been employed to examine and compare the survey data. The chi-square and gamma statistics are appropriate measures of association for use in this study. These methodologies are used to test the various research propositions identified earlier in this dissertation.

The chi-square statistic is utilized in this study to determine if the response patterns for two or more groups differ significantly from what one would expect to find in a random sample. The chi-square statistic is used to test and verify two important questions. First, is there a discernible pattern in the responses of two or more groups? Second, if a pattern does exist, is it statistically significant?

The strength of this relationship is stated in terms of its statistical level of significance. In this dissertation, the relationship between the responses for two or more groups will be deemed statistically significant if

the value of the chi-square statistic exceeds the threshold value at the 0.05 level. At this level of significance, the probability that the observed relationship could have occurred by chance alone is reduced to 1 out of 20.

The gamma statistic is used to determine the strength and direction of a given statistical relationship. The value of the gamma statistic ranges from -1.00 to +1.00. A small value for the gamma statistic, either positive or negative, is an indication of little, or no discernible direction in the relationship between the responses from two or more groups. A large value for gamma statistic, either positive or negative, indicates a strong relationship. A gamma statistic meeting the following requirement ($\gamma \geq .5$ or $\gamma \leq -.5$) is indicative of a fairly strong relationship.

As the gamma statistic approaches ± 1 , the statistical strength and direction of the relationship increases. A gamma statistic with a positive value is an indication of a positive, or corresponding relationship, i.e., the pattern of responses for two or more groups is in the same direction. A gamma statistic with a negative value represents a negative relationship between the responses for two or more groups.

In summation, the exploratory nature of this study and its small sample size mandate the use of descriptive statistics for the analysis phase of this dissertation. In

some instances, the small sample size violates guidelines for specific statistical tests. In these cases, great care has been taken to avoid potential pitfalls. While the small size of the research sample does not invalidate the statistical tests being utilized in this study, efforts must be made to preserve the validity of the research methodology, and to qualify all observations and claims.

Much of the research for this study appears in the form of summary tables. These tables facilitate the examination and description of the survey data. These tables also allow this dissertation to draw upon the research and findings of others for both comparison and validation.

Means were generated for each question to facilitate the analysis of the survey data. The means were arrayed in tabular format in accordance with Svava's decision-making model. These means reflect the attitudes and perceptions of the respondents concerning the actual and preferred levels of activity of elected and administrative officials.

In comparing differences between the preferred and actual levels of activity, large discrepancies between the preferred and actual levels of activity provide evidence of dissatisfaction with the status quo. Small differences are evidence of a general acceptance of both actual and preferred activity levels.

For the purposes of this comparison, a discrepancy of ($s = \leq -.50$ or $\geq +.50$) between the actual and preferred levels of activity for any individual decision, or decisional dimension, is considered to be an indicator of dissatisfaction with the current level of activity. These particular threshold values were determined by reviewing the summary statistics for the entire study group.

A review of the standard deviations for each of the seventeen distinct decisions provided a quick and easy method for comparing differences between actual and preferred results. The standard deviation measures variations, or the dispersion of responses for a given variable around the mean. A small standard deviation is indicative of a relative consensus in responses. A large value for the standard deviation is indicative of relatively large variations, and thus, little consensus in responses.

The smallest standard deviation associated with the overall frequencies for the general survey group was approximately 0.45 for one decision. When analyzed separately, the standard deviations for each locality revealed greater uniformity and consensus. The average standard deviation for each of the nine localities ranged from 0.55 to 0.81, with an average of approximately 0.68. On a five point scale, these figures would relate to one-half of one increment, or 0.5.

When used to assess the differences between the actual and preferred levels of activity of elected and administrative officials, this value represents the highest level of agreement among respondents concerning activity levels. This value also represents one-half of one increment on Svara's scale. This criteria (threshold value) provides for a high level of sensitivity when used to compare general responses and the responses from various sub-groups identified in the study.

GENERAL OVERVIEW

Demographic Characteristics

This general overview would be incomplete without a brief assessment of several demographic indicators. These indicators can provide some important insights into the composition and character of the survey sample. Some of the more commonly noted demographic characteristics are age, gender, race, education, and experience.

Within this research sample, the average age of all those who responded was 50.7 years. Seventy-seven (82.8%) of the survey respondents were male and sixteen (17.2%) were female. The research sample consists of eighty-one (87.1%) Caucasians and twelve (12.9%) African Americans. Fifty-one (54.8%) survey respondents have college educations. The average length of service of elected officials is seven and

one-half years. The average length of service of all chief administrative officers is three and eight-tenths years.

General Assessment

In the general assessment, all the survey data was examined without controlling for the respondents' status as an elected/administrative official, or the urban/rural designation of their locality. In this portion of the study, all survey responses were clustered together to provide a general review of how survey respondents view the roles of elected and administrative officials. Actual and preferred levels of activity in the seventeen distinct decisional activities were arrayed and compared according to Svvara's four dimension model of the decision-making process.

The information in Table 4.1 helps identify those decisional areas, or roles, that engender the greatest amounts of consensus or disagreement between an elected or administrative official's actual and preferred levels of activity. Across the entire table, the data indicate a general consensus in the attitudes of respondents towards the actual and preferred roles of elected and administrative officials.

TABLE 4.1

Actual and Preferred Involvement by Elected and Administrative Officials
Averages for the Four Decisional Dimensional (N=93)

	<u>ELECTED</u>			<u>ADMINISTRATIVE</u>		
	<u>Act.</u>	<u>Pref.</u>	<u>Diff.</u>	<u>Act.</u>	<u>Pref.</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
Mission	3.43	3.92	+ .49	3.78	3.88	+ .10
Policy	3.43	3.71	+ .28	3.85	3.92	+ .07
Administration	3.01	2.97	- .04	3.86	4.06	+ .20
Management	2.24	2.19	- .05	4.12	4.18	+ .07

Note: Elected and Administrative responses for each category are combined.

The decisional activities having the greatest disparities between preferred and actual levels of activity for elected officials are as follows: mission-analyzing the future needs of the locality (+.57); mission-developing strategies for the future development of the locality (+.83); policy-developing annual program goals and objectives (+.72); and administration-resolving citizen complaints (-.52).

The general trend in responses assessing the roles of elected officials reveals that they should become more active in the Mission and Policy dimensions, and less active in the Administration and Management dimensions of the governance process. Overall, for elected officials, the greatest discrepancies between actual and preferred levels

of activity occur within the Mission dimension of the decision-making process (+.49).

The general assessment of the roles of administrative officials indicate a general consensus in the attitudes of survey respondents concerning actual and preferred levels of activity. For thirteen of the seventeen decisions (76.4%), administrative officials are assessed with higher levels of actual and preferred activity than elected officials. Those decisions that are exceptions to this trend are: changing governmental institutions or revising the charter; specific decisions concerning planning and zoning applications; and budget review and approval. These high levels of activity by administrative officers are similar to those found by Svava in North Carolina and Ohio.

The greatest discrepancy between actual and preferred levels of activity occurs in the Administration dimension for decisions involving the handling of citizen complaints (+.37). Overall, the impression one receives from the data is that respondents believe that administrative officials should become more active across each of the four decisional dimensions.

In Table 4.2, the average mean for each decisional dimension is compared to the patterns associated with the four models of council and manager involvement identified by Svava. The response patterns of these four models are

compared to the general responses of the research group to determine which model best captures the response pattern(s) in the survey data. This analysis shows the least difference in means between Svava's Dichotomy/Duality Model and the data collected for this dissertation.

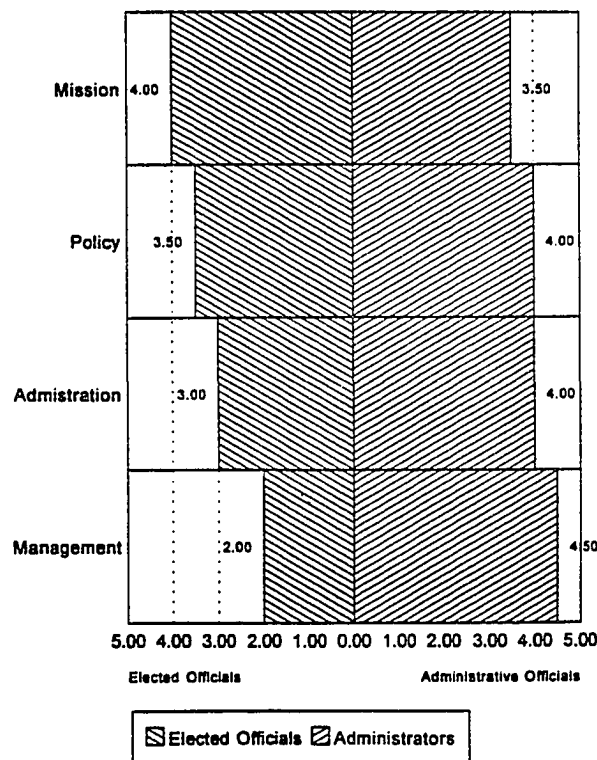
TABLE 4.2
Comparison of Svava's Four Models With Survey Data

Models and Decision-making Dimensions	Svava's Models		General Results		Difference (*)	
	Elect.	Adm.	Elect.	Adm.	Elect.	Adm.
Dichotomy Model						
Mission	4.00	3.00	3.92	3.88	.08	+.88
Policy	4.00	3.00	3.71	3.92	.29	+.92
Administration	2.00	4.00	2.97	4.06	+.97	+.06
Management	1.50	4.50	2.19	4.18	+.69	-.32
Council Dominance Model						
Mission	4.00	2.50	3.92	3.88	-.08	+1.38
Policy	4.00	3.00	3.71	3.92	-.29	+.92
Administration	3.50	3.50	2.97	4.06	-.53	+.56
Management	3.00	4.00	2.19	4.18	-.81	+.18
Executive Dominance Model						
Mission	3.00	4.00	3.92	3.88	+.92	-.12
Policy	3.00	4.00	3.71	3.92	+.71	-.08
Administration	2.00	4.50	2.97	4.06	+.97	-.44
Management	1.50	4.50	2.19	4.18	+.69	-.32
Dichotomy/Duality Model						
Mission	4.00	3.50	3.92	3.88	-.08	+.38
Policy	3.50	4.00	3.71	3.92	+.21	-.08
Administration	3.00	4.00	2.97	4.06	-.03	+.06
Management	2.00	4.50	2.19	4.18	+.19	-.32

* Differences were calculated by subtracting the means generated for each decisional dimension from the means associated with Svava's four decision-making models.

Overall, then, the combined responses from the study group reveal that the attitudes and perceptions of survey respondents regarding their authority and roles provide an approximate match to the patterns of authority and roles identified with Svvara's dichotomy/duality model as discussed previously. This finding coincides with Svvara's previous research and provides a strong indication of the current influence of the principles of the council-manager plan. See Figure 4.1 for graphic representation of Svvara's Ideal Model.

"Ideal" Dichotomy/Duality Model



GENERAL ELECTED AND ADMINISTRATIVE ROLE ORIENTATIONS

We proceed to an examination of the attitudes and perceptions of elected and administrative officials as separate groups. This second phase of the analysis examines how these two distinct groups assess the actual and preferred activity levels of both elected and administrative officials in the local governance process. This section will provide a general indication of how these two groups define their roles in respect to their counterparts.

The responses of the forty-one elected officials concerning the actual and preferred levels of activity for themselves and administrative officials are presented in Table 4.3. Elected officials indicate higher levels of preferred activity for themselves in thirteen of the seventeen decisional areas.

TABLE 4.3

**Involvement Levels of Elected and Administrative Officials
Assessment by Elected Officials (N=41)**

	<u>ELECTED</u>			<u>ADMINISTRATIVE</u>		
	<u>Act.</u>	<u>Pref.</u>	<u>Diff.</u>	<u>Act.</u>	<u>Pref.</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
Mission						
Analyzing future needs	3.71	4.05	.34	3.86	4.00	.14
Strategies for development	3.46	4.19	.73	4.03	4.17	.14
Changing institutions	3.95	4.41	.46	3.40	3.23	-.17
Initiating and canceling	3.23	3.51	.28	3.97	3.83	-.14
Purpose and scope	3.72	4.38	.66	4.10	3.90	-.20
Average	3.62	4.11	.49	3.87	3.83	-.04
Policy						
Annual program goals	3.44	4.00	.56	4.10	4.07	-.03
Planning and zoning	4.02	3.95	-.07	3.45	3.52	.07
Formulating budget	3.05	3.49	.44	4.43	4.27	-.16
Reviewing budget	4.29	4.50	.21	3.27	3.07	-.20
Average	3.71	3.99	.28	3.82	3.74	-.08
Administration						
Service decisions	2.85	2.92	.07	4.00	4.13	.13
Citizen complaints	3.75	3.42	-.33	3.67	4.34	.67
Project decisions	3.22	3.38	.16	3.93	3.97	.04
Evaluating programs	2.95	3.46	.51	3.94	3.87	-.07
Average	3.18	3.29	.11	3.89	4.08	.19
Management						
Hiring department heads	2.78	2.69	-.09	4.47	4.33	-.14
Hiring other staff	1.68	1.65	-.03	4.13	4.27	.14
Contracts and purchasing	1.87	1.97	.10	4.30	4.52	.22
Change management	3.30	3.72	.42	3.84	3.65	-.19
Average	2.42	2.52	.10	4.18	4.18	.00
Summary (Averages)						
Mission	3.62	4.11	.49	3.87	3.83	-.04
Policy	3.71	3.99	.28	3.82	3.74	-.08
Administration	3.18	3.29	.11	3.89	4.08	.19
Management	2.42	2.52	.10	4.18	4.18	.00

Involvement Scale: 1-Very Low/No Involvement; 2-Low; 3-Moderate; 4-High; 5-Very High/Handle Entirely.

The decisions with the greatest discrepancy between actual and preferred levels of activity are - under mission: developing strategies for the future development of the locality (+.73); determining the purpose of local government

and the scope of services to be provided (+.66); under policy: developing annual program goals (+.56); and evaluating accomplishments of specific programs (+.51).

Elected officials would prefer less activity involving four decisions. The only decision with a discrepancy between the actual and preferred levels of activity worth noting is found in the administrative dimension and involves the resolving of citizen complaints (-.33).

The elected officials assessment of the actual and preferred roles of administrative officials reflect their relative satisfaction with the status quo. Differentials between actual and preferred levels of activity are minimal. The only decision where the difference between the actual and preferred levels of activity exceeds the threshold value is in the administrative dimension and involves resolving citizen complaints (+.67). Overall, the administration dimension has the largest average differential among the four decisional dimensions with a score of (+.19).

The responses of the fifty-two administrative officials can be seen in Table 4.4. These data indicate that administrators generally prefer that elected officials become more active in the mission and policy dimensions, and less active in the administration and management dimensions. These preferences follow the pattern identified in Svava's ideal model.

TABLE 4.4

Involvement Levels of Elected and Administrative Officials
Assessment by Administrative Officials (N=52)

	<u>ELECTED</u>			<u>ADMINISTRATIVE</u>		
	<u>Act.</u>	<u>Pref.</u>	<u>Diff.</u>	<u>Act.</u>	<u>Pref.</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
Mission						
Analyzing future needs	3.06	3.82	.76	3.82	4.06	.24
Strategies for development	3.02	3.94	.92	3.82	4.08	.26
Changing institutions	3.71	4.04	.33	3.28	3.41	.13
Initiating and canceling	3.21	3.24	.03	3.91	4.04	.13
Purpose and scope	3.43	3.82	.39	3.76	3.98	.22
Average	3.28	3.78	.50	3.72	3.91	.19
Policy						
Annual program goals	2.45	3.32	.87	3.84	4.17	.33
Planning and zoning	3.78	3.64	-.14	3.43	3.56	.13
Formulating budget	2.66	2.86	.20	4.29	4.33	.04
Reviewing budget	3.94	4.12	.18	3.90	4.02	.12
Average	3.20	3.48	.28	3.87	4.02	.15
Administration						
Service decisions	2.65	2.42	-.23	3.76	3.92	.16
Citizen complaints	3.31	2.65	-.66	3.87	4.06	.19
Project decisions	3.08	2.94	-.14	4.02	4.16	.14
Evaluating programs	2.49	2.90	.41	3.73	4.08	.35
Average	2.88	2.73	-.15	3.85	4.06	.21
Management						
Hiring department heads	2.25	2.02	-.23	4.23	4.45	.22
Hiring other staff	1.44	1.29	-.15	3.84	3.84	.00
Contracts and purchasing	1.98	1.78	-.20	4.08	4.14	.06
Change management	2.69	2.63	-.06	4.16	4.32	.16
Average	2.09	1.93	-.16	4.08	4.19	.11
Summary (Averages)						
Mission	3.28	3.78	.50	3.72	3.91	.19
Policy	3.20	3.48	.28	3.87	4.02	.15
Administration	2.88	2.73	-.15	3.85	4.06	.21
Management	2.09	1.93	-.16	4.08	4.19	.11

Involvement Scale: 1-Very Low/No Involvement; 2-Low; 3-Moderate; 4-High; 5-Very High/Handle Entirely.

In general, the greatest discrepancies between actual and preferred levels of involvement occur in the mission dimension with an average differential of (+.50). The greatest differentials between the administrative assessment



of the actual and preferred levels of activity by elected officials are in the following decisions - mission: analyzing the future needs of the locality (+.76); developing strategies for the future development of the locality (+.92); developing annual program goals and objectives (+.87); and administration: resolving citizen complaints (-.66).

Administrative officials indicate their preference for higher levels of activity for themselves in all but one of the seventeen decisions. None of these differentials exceed the threshold value. The highest discrepancy between actual and preferred levels of involvement involves evaluating accomplishments of specific programs (+.35). Administrators provided identical assessments for their actual and preferred levels of involvement for hiring decisions about employees below the department head level.

Comparison of Elected and Administrative Roles

A comparison of the data contained in Tables 4.5 and 4.6 can help identify those decisional roles that are subject to discrepancies between the assessments made by elected and administrative officials. This lack of consensus over the appropriate levels of activity can help identify areas of dissention worthy of further investigation.

First, we will compare how elected and administrative officials rate the actual activity levels of elected officials. This comparison involves subtracting the administrative assessment of the actual levels of activity of elected officials from the same assessment made by elected officials. Comparisons of these assessments reveal four noteworthy discrepancies. For each of these decisions, elected officials rated themselves as having higher levels of activity than did their administrative counterparts. These decisions can be found in the mission dimension - analyzing the future needs of the locality (+.65), and developing annual program goals and objectives (+.99); and in the management dimension - hiring decisions about department heads (+.53), and proposing changes in management practices or organization (+.61).

A similar comparison of the preferred levels of activity of elected officials as determined by elected and administrative officials reveals eight noteworthy discrepancies. For each of these eight decisions, elected officials rate their activity levels at a higher level than did administrative officials. The decisions are: from the mission dimension - determining the purpose of local government and the scope of services to be provided (+.56); from the policy dimension - developing annual program goals and objectives (+.68); formulating the proposed budget

(+.63); from the administrative dimension - operational decisions about the provision of services (+.50); resolving citizen complaints (+.77); evaluating accomplishments of specific programs (+.56); and from the management dimension - hiring decisions about department heads (+.67); and proposing changes in management practices or organization (+1.09).

An examination of the differences between the dimensional averages generated from a comparison of the actual levels of activity of elected officials reveals that the policy dimension (+.51) is the only area that exceeds the threshold value. Overall, elected and administrative officials tend to concur in their assessments of the actual levels of involvement for elected officials.

A similar comparison of the differences between the dimensional averages generated from a comparison of the preferred and actual levels of activity of elected officials reveals numerous areas of general contention. Three of the four decisional dimensions show differences between the actual and preferred means that exceed the threshold value: policy (+.51); administration (+.56); and management (+.59).

Comparisons of the assessments of the activity levels of administrative officers reveal a general consensus between elected and administrative officials. While elected officials consistently assess the actual level of

administrative behavior at higher levels than do administrative officials, the difference between the two ratings exceeds the threshold value in only one case. In decisions involving budget review and approval, the difference between elected and administrative ratings is (+.63). In other words, elected officials attribute a higher level of activity to administrators than administrators attribute to themselves.

A comparison of the ratings of the preferred levels of activity by administrative officers reveals that administrative officers rate their own preferred levels of activity at higher levels than their elected counterparts in only two decisional areas. These decisions involve budget review and approval (+.95) and proposing changes in management practices or organization (+. 67). In these two areas, administrative officials prefer greater levels of involvement than their elected counterparts prefer for them.

In general, the greatest discrepancies between the assessments of elected and administrative officials concerning actual and preferred levels of involvement for both groups involve the activities of elected officials. Elected officials rate themselves as having higher levels of actual and preferred activity than their administrative counterparts rate them as having. Conversely, administrative officials rate the actual and preferred

levels of involvement of elected officials at lower levels in all but one decisional area.

Discrepancies between these two assessments increase progressively as you travel down the decision-making hierarchy from the mission to the management dimensions. In other words, elected and administrative officials tend to disagree over the actual and preferred levels of involvement attributed to elected officials in the local decision-making process. Elected officials rate themselves as having higher levels of activity overall than do their administrative counterparts rate them as having. In general, both groups share similar assessments and expectations for the actual and preferred levels of activity by administrative officials.

When the data are arrayed according to the elected or administrative status of the respondent, the general pattern matches that found in Svara's ideal model. Elected officials tend to be more involved in the mission and policy dimensions of the decision-making process, and less involved in the administration and management dimensions. Administrative officials tend to have high levels of involvement in each of the four decisional dimensions.

Urban/Rural Distinctions

The next phase of this research begins our examination of the influence of context upon the role definition. This analysis will provide some preliminary indications of the influence of context upon role definition of elected and administrative officials in cities, urban counties, and rural counties.

In this analysis, all responses were arrayed initially according to their urban/rural designation. The status of the respondent as an elected or administrative official was not considered in the group assignments. Group means for each variable were generated and arranged according to Svara's dichotomy/duality model. These means were compared to determine if differences exist between the general patterns of responses for the three urban/rural categories. Means, frequencies, cross-tabulations, and chi-squares, were generated to compare intergroup responses and determine the significance of intergroup differences in response patterns.

Tables 4.5 and 4.6 compare the actual and preferred levels of activity of elected and administrative officials respectively. Table 4.5 compares the mean ratings for cities, urban counties, and rural counties. In general, respondents from rural counties tend to assess elected officials as having higher actual levels of activity in the policy, administration and management dimensions than do

their counterparts from cities and urban counties. For twelve of the seventeen decisions, or seventy and one-half percent, rural respondents assessed the actual activity level of their elected officials at higher levels.

TABLE 4.5

**Involvement by Elected Officials
General Assessment by Urban/Rural Classification**

	<u>ACTUAL</u>			<u>PREFERRED</u>		
	<u>CITY</u> N=33	<u>URBAN</u> <u>COUNTY</u> N=38	<u>RURAL</u> <u>COUNTY</u> N=22	<u>CITY</u> N=33	<u>URBAN</u> <u>COUNTY</u> N=38	<u>RURAL</u> <u>COUNTY</u> N=22
Mission	3.45	3.52	3.25	3.97	3.91	3.86
Policy	3.38	3.29	3.76	3.69	3.66	3.81
Administration	2.92	2.93	3.32	2.91	2.88	3.24
Management	1.96	2.01	3.06	1.98	1.96	2.90

Involvement Scale: 1-Very Low/No Involvement; 2-Low; 3-Moderate; 4-High; 5-Very High/Handle Entirely.

Note: Elected and Administrative responses for each category are combined.

When group responses for these twelve decisional areas are examined, the differences between urban and rural become apparent. When chi-square statistics are generated for these comparisons, these differences are significant at the 0.05 level for five decisions. In other words, the pattern of responses from rural counties is significantly different from the pattern of responses from cities and urban counties. Of these five decisions areas, one comes from the

administrative dimension and four from the management dimension. These five decisions are: from the administrative dimension - operational decisions about the provision of services; and from the management dimension - hiring decisions about department heads; hiring decisions about employees below the department head level; contracting and purchasing; and proposing changes in management practices or organization. See Appendix for more detail.

For each of these decisions, the chi-square statistic indicates that the probability of a relationship as strong as those observed being attributable to sampling error alone is no more than five in one-hundred. The gamma statistics provide an indication of the direction and strength of this pattern. These statistics indicate that respondents from rural counties perceive higher levels of actual activity for elected officials in these decisional areas than do their counterparts from the two categories of urban localities. Differences between the response patterns of rural counties and the two urban categories for these five decisional areas are significant at the 0.05 level.

A similar, but less pronounced pattern of responses is found when the preferred assessments from the three urban/rural categories are compared. Respondents from rural counties rate the preferred levels of activity of their elected officials as higher for ten of the seventeen

decisions (58.8%). A comparison of the responses from the different urban/rural categories for these ten decisions identifies three decisions as having significant intergroup differences in assessed activity levels. Details available in the Appendix.

These three decisions are all found in the management dimension. They are as follows: hiring decisions about department heads; hiring decisions about employees below the department head level; and contracting and purchasing. An examination of the responses for each of these decisions reveal significant differences between the attitudes and perceptions of respondents from rural counties and those from cities and urban counties concerning the preferred levels of activity of elected officials in making management decisions.

The chi-square statistics for each of these inter-group comparisons reveals significant differences between the groups. The gamma statistics generated for this comparison indicate that rural officials prefer higher levels of activity across all the decisions associated with the management dimension than do their city and urban county counterparts. All of the statistics cited are significant at the 0.05 level. See the appendix for further detail.

In table 4.6, the respondents from cities, urban and rural counties assess the levels of activity of their

administrative officials. An examination of the group means allows for some general intergroup comparisons. We find that for twelve of the seventeen decisions, urban county respondents rate the actual activity levels of their administrative officials as higher than respondents from cities or rural counties.

TABLE 4.6

**Involvement by Administrative Officials
General Assessment by Urban/Rural Classification**

	<u>ACTUAL</u>			<u>PREFERRED</u>		
	<u>CITY</u> N=33	<u>URBAN COUNTY</u> N=38	<u>RURAL COUNTY</u> N=22	<u>CITY</u> N=33	<u>URBAN COUNTY</u> N=38	<u>RURAL COUNTY</u> N=22
Mission	3.73	3.91	3.58	3.76	3.98	3.88
Policy	3.70	3.98	3.84	3.72	3.97	4.11
Administration	3.80	4.00	3.70	3.98	4.08	4.16
Management	4.10	4.27	3.88	4.04	4.33	4.14

Involvement Scale: 1-Very Low/No Involvement; 2-Low; 3-Moderate; 4-High; 5-Very High/Handle Entirely.

Note: Elected and Administrative responses for each category are combined.

A closer examination of the response patterns of each group identifies three decisions for which the response patterns differ significantly from the expected pattern. These decisions are: analyzing the future needs of the locality; developing strategies for the future development of the locality; and specific decisions that are part of



larger local government projects. See the Appendix for more detail.

For each of these decisions, the chi-square statistic indicates that significant differences exist between the actual and predicted response patterns for respondents from cities, urban counties and rural counties at the 0.05 level. The gamma statistics and t-values generated for this analysis do not indicate any strong trends or inter-group relationships.

A comparison of the group means generated from responses assessing the preferred levels of administrative activity reveals a trend similar to that found in the assessments of the actual activity levels of administrative officials. Respondents from urban counties gave their administrative officials the highest intergroup preferred activity ratings for ten of the seventeen decisions.

A closer examination of the intergroup response patterns for all seventeen decisions finds significant differences for two decisions. These two decisions are: specific decisions concerning planning and zoning applications; and hiring decisions about employees below the department head level. For these two decisions, the chi-square statistics indicate that the intergroup response patterns differ significantly from anticipated response patterns.

The gamma statistics and T-values generated for this analysis reveal that rural respondents prefer significantly higher levels of activity for their administrative officials in decisions concerning planning and zoning than do their counterparts from cities and urban counties. These results also indicate a weak trend among respondents from urban and rural counties involving decisions concerning the hiring of staff below the department head level. For such decisions, they tend to prefer slightly higher activity levels than do their city counterparts. The Appendix contains further detail.

In summation, the analysis of responses from cities, urban counties, and rural counties provides important information concerning how each group defines the actual and preferred roles of their elected and administrative officials. In general, rural respondents perceive and prefer higher activity levels for their elected officials.

The perceptions and preferences of rural respondents provide for significantly higher levels of activity in the management dimension than those attributed by respondents from cities and urban counties. In other words, this analysis finds that elected officials from rural counties tend to be more involved in the decision-making process at all levels, but at significantly higher levels in the decisions associated with the management dimension.

Also, this analysis reveals that the respondents from each of the three groups tend to share similar perceptions and preferences concerning the activity levels of administrative officials. These perceptions and preferences call for relatively high levels of activity for administrative officials in each of the four decisional dimensions. Intergroup differences reveal little difference between the three groups.

When compared to Svara's research, the patterns of preferred responses best fit his "ideal" dichotomy/duality model. It should be noted that this is not a perfect fit. One difference being that elected officials tend to have greater levels of actual and preferred activity in the policy dimension than in the mission dimension. This finding coincides with some of the recent research findings of Svara as presented in a forthcoming work. Interestingly, Svara found that elected officials are more comfortable making policy-level decisions than mission level decisions.

Another difference is that administrative officials tend to perceive and prefer relatively high levels of activity across each of the decisional dimensions. When considered in light of the relatively high level of acceptance of the current relationship between elected officials and administrative staff this finding may reflect a general tendency of elected bodies in Virginia to rely

heavily upon their chief administrative officers and staff for support across all dimensions of the governance process.

An examination of the responses of the elected and chief administrative officials from the three urban/rural groups reveals similar trends. Comparisons of these responses are presented below. Table 4.7 compares the mean responses of elected officials from the three urban/rural classifications concerning their respective roles in the governance process. For this comparison, values for the actual levels of activity were subtracted from the values for the preferred levels of activity.

TABLE 4.7

Comparison of Involvement Levels by Elected Officials
Assessment by Elected Officials

	City Council Members (N=16)			Urban County Board Members (N=14)			Rural County Board Members (N=11)		
	Act.	Pref.	Diff.	Act.	Pref.	Diff.	Act.	Pref.	Diff.
MISSION									
Analyzing Future Needs	3.75	4.13	.38	3.86	4.14	.29	3.45	3.80	.35
Developing Strategies	3.64	4.50	.86	3.43	4.14	.71	3.27	3.78	.51
Changing institutions	3.67	4.47	.80	4.14	4.29	.14	4.09	4.50	.41
Initiating & Canceling Purpose & Scope	3.27	3.47	.20	3.00	3.57	.57	3.45	3.50	.05
Average	3.60	4.16	.56	3.67	4.17	.50	3.56	3.94	.38
POLICY									
Annual Program Goals	3.00	3.40	.40	2.71	3.57	.86	3.55	3.50	-.05
Planning & Zoning	4.44	4.56	.13	4.00	4.57	.57	4.45	4.30	-.15
Formulating Budget	3.88	4.06	.19	3.93	3.79	-.14	4.36	4.00	-.36
Reviewing Budget	3.50	4.31	.81	3.14	3.79	.64	3.73	3.80	.07
Average	3.71	4.10	.38	3.45	3.93	.48	4.02	3.90	-.12
ADMINISTRATION									
Service Decisions	2.53	2.80	.27	2.57	2.50	-.07	3.64	3.70	.06
Citizen Complaints	3.79	3.29	-.50	3.62	3.54	-.08	3.89	3.44	-.44
Project Decisions	3.13	3.40	.27	2.86	2.93	.07	3.82	4.00	.18
Evaluating Programs	2.80	3.33	.53	2.79	3.50	.71	3.40	3.60	.20
Average	3.05	3.20	.15	2.95	3.11	.16	3.68	3.69	.01
MANAGEMENT									
Hiring Dep't Heads	2.07	2.00	-.07	2.57	2.64	.07	4.00	3.80	-.20
Hiring Other Staff	1.29	1.43	.14	1.00	1.00	.00	3.00	2.80	-.20
Contracts & Purchasing	1.73	1.67	-.07	1.31	1.62	.31	2.80	2.90	.10
Change Management	3.13	3.67	.53	2.79	3.36	.57	4.18	4.30	.12
Average	2.07	2.20	.14	1.94	2.19	.24	3.51	3.45	-.06
SUMMARY (Averages)									
Mission	3.60	4.16	.56	3.67	4.17	.50	3.56	3.94	.38
Policy	3.71	4.10	.38	3.45	3.93	.48	4.02	3.90	-.12
Administration	3.05	3.20	.15	2.95	3.11	.16	3.68	3.69	.01
Management	2.07	2.20	.14	1.94	2.19	.24	3.51	3.45	-.06

Involvement Scale: 1-Very Low/No Involvement; 2-Low; 3-Moderate; 4-High; 5-Very High/Handle Entirely.

When responses from the elected officials from each of the three groups are arrayed and compared, the similarities between cities and urban counties becomes apparent. The actual and preferred levels of activity for city council members and urban county board members are quite similar. There are no significant intergroup differences for sixteen



of the seventeen decisions. For one decision, the hiring of department heads, city council members prefer a significantly lower amount of activity than urban county board members.

We can conclude from the above analysis that the city council members and urban county board members surveyed in this study share similar attitudes and perceptions concerning the actual and preferred levels of activity of elected officials in the local governance process. According to this analysis, any differences between the two are minimal and are not statistically significant.

The attitudes and perceptions of rural county board members as measured by this study are a different matter. When the responses of rural county board members are compared to the responses of city council members and urban county board members, both on an individual and collective basis, the differences between the two become quite evident. Many of the same differences identified in earlier analyses are confirmed in this more stringent examination.

In general, rural county board members perceive and prefer higher levels of activity in management level decisions than do city council members and urban county board members. For one administrative level decisions and each of the four management level decisions, rural county board members perceive and prefer higher levels of activity.

The differences between the patterns of responses for the two urban groups of elected officials and rural county board members are significant at the 0.05 level of significance. The Appendix has further detail.

Fifty-four percent of rural elected officials perceive a high to very high activity level in the first question of the administrative dimensions, or decisions involving operational decisions about the provisions of services. In comparison, only seventeen percent of urban elected officials share a similar perception. Forty-four percent of urban elected officials perceive a low to very low activity level for the same decision. An examination of the responses of rural elected officials reveals no instance of either a "very low" or "low" level of activity.

While the summary statistics measuring differences between the responses concerning preferred levels of activity for operational decisions are not statistically significant, they are close enough to warrant reference. Seventy percent of rural elected officials prefer a high to very high activity level in relation to this decision, whereas only twenty-seven percent of urban elected officials share a similar preference. Thirty-seven percent of urban elected officials prefer a low to very low activity level for this decision, as compared to ten percent of rural elected officials.

For the first decision in the management dimension, hiring department heads, sixty-three percent of rural county board members perceived high or very high levels of activity, as opposed to thirteen percent of urban elected officials. Fifty-one percent of urban elected officials perceived low or very low activity levels for this decision, whereas no rural board members shared a similar perception.

As far as their preferred levels of activity for this decision are concerned, sixty percent of rural elected officials preferred high or very high levels of activity. Only twenty percent of urban elected officials shared a similar preference. Fifty-five percent of urban elected officials preferred a low or very low activity level, whereas only ten percent of rural elected officials shared a similar view.

For second decision in the management dimension, hiring employees below the department head level, forty-five percent of rural elected officials perceived a high or very high level of activity, as opposed to only three percent of urban elected officials. Ninety-six percent of urban elected officials perceived a low or very low level of activity in this decision. Thirty-six percent of rural elected officials shared a similar perception.

Seventy percent of rural elected officials preferred a moderate to very high level of activity for the same

decision. Only seven percent of elected officials shared a similar preference. Ninety-two percent of urban elected officials preferred a low to very low level of activity for this decision as compared to thirty percent of rural elected officials.

The third decision in the management dimension, contracting and purchasing, finds seventy percent of rural elected officials perceiving moderate to very high activity levels, as compared to only ten percent of urban elected officials. Eighty-nine percent of urban elected officials perceive a low or very low activity level for this decision, whereas thirty percent of rural elected officials share a similar perception.

Eighty percent of rural elected officials prefer a moderate to very high level of activity in decisions involving contracting and purchasing, whereas only fourteen percent of urban elected officials share such preferences. Eighty-five percent of urban elected officials prefer low to very low activity levels for this decisional area, as opposed to twenty percent of rural elected officials.

For the last decision of the management dimension, proposing changes in management or organization, seventy-two percent of rural elected officials perceive a high or very high activity level, whereas thirty-one percent of urban elected officials share a similar view. Forty-one percent

of urban elected officials perceive a low to very low level of activity level for the same decision. Only nine percent of rural elected officials share this perception.

Ninety percent of rural elected officials prefer a high to very high level of activity for this last management level decision. Fifty-eight percent of urban elected officials share a similar preference. Twenty percent of urban elected officials prefer either a low or very low level of activity for this decision, as opposed to no rural elected officials sharing a similar preference.

The differences between rural elected officials and urban elected officials are significant for six of seventeen, or twenty-nine percent of the total decisions. These differences are clustered in the management and administrative dimensions. From these results, we can conclude that the rural elected officials surveyed both perceive and prefer higher levels of activity in management level decisions than do the city council and urban county board members included in this survey.

A similar comparison of the responses of chief administrative officers concerning their own actual and preferred levels of activity appears in Table 4.8. This comparison reveals a generally high level of similarity in the attitudes and perceptions of city managers, and urban and rural county administrators. Comparison and analysis of

responses from these three groups reveals significant intergroup differences for only one of the seventeen decisions--hiring employees below the department head level. For this management level decision, city managers prefer significantly lower levels of activity than do urban and rural county administrators.

TABLE 4.8

**Comparison of Involvement Levels by Administrative Officials
Assessment by Administrative Officials**

	City Managers (N=3)			Urban County Administrators (N=3)			Rural County Administrators (N=3)		
	Act.	Pref.	Diff.	Act.	Pref.	Diff.	Act.	Pref.	Diff.
MISSION									
Analyzing Future Needs	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.33	.33
Developing Strategies	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.00	.00
Changing Institutions	3.00	2.67	-.33	3.67	3.67	.00	2.67	3.00	.33
Initiating & Canceling Purpose & Scope	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.50	.50
Average	3.33	3.67	-.33	4.00	4.00	.00	3.67	4.00	.33
POLICY									
Annual Program Goals	4.33	4.33	.00	4.33	4.33	.00	4.67	4.67	.00
Planning & Zoning	4.33	4.33	.00	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.33	.33
Formulating Budget	3.00	3.00	.00	3.67	4.00	.33	3.67	3.67	.00
Reviewing Budget	3.67	4.00	.33	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.33	.33
Average	3.83	3.92	.08	4.00	4.08	.08	4.08	4.25	.17
ADMINISTRATION									
Service Decisions	3.67	3.67	.00	3.33	3.33	.00	4.67	4.67	.00
Citizen Complaints	4.00	3.67	-.33	4.00	3.50	-.50	4.00	4.00	.00
Project Decisions	3.33	3.00	-.33	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.33	.33
Evaluating Programs	3.67	4.00	.33	3.67	3.67	.00	4.00	4.33	.33
Average	3.67	3.58	-.08	3.78	3.69	-.08	4.17	4.33	.17
MANAGEMENT									
Hiring Dep't Heads	4.33	4.33	.00	3.67	3.67	.00	4.33	4.67	.33
Hiring Other Staff	1.67	1.67	.00	4.00	4.00	.00	4.33	4.67	.33
Contracts & Purchasing	4.00	3.67	-.33	3.67	3.67	.00	4.33	4.33	.00
Change Management	4.33	4.33	.00	4.00	4.00	.00	4.67	4.67	.00
Average	3.58	3.50	-.08	3.75	3.75	.00	4.42	4.58	.17
SUMMARY (Averages)									
Mission	3.67	3.67	.00	3.93	3.93	.00	3.60	3.93	.33
Policy	3.83	3.92	.08	4.00	4.08	.08	4.08	4.25	.17
Administration	3.67	3.58	-.08	3.78	3.69	-.08	4.17	4.33	.17
Management	3.58	3.50	-.08	3.75	3.75	.00	4.42	4.58	.17

Involvement Scale: 1-Very Low/No Involvement; 2-Low; 3-Moderate; 4-High; 5-Very High/Handle Entirely.

The small sample size available for these intergroup comparisons influences the sensitivity of the test statistics. To address the influence and concerns associated with a small research sample, several of the intergroup comparisons with chi-square values relatively close to the critical value at the 0.05 level of significance are included in this analysis and discussion.

For two decisions, the intergroup differences between the patterns of responses concerning the actual levels of activity for administrative officials come close to being significant. The first of these decisions involves operational decisions about the provision of services. For this decision, city managers perceive less involvement than urban and rural county managers. For the second decision, hiring decisions about other staff, city managers perceive less activity than do urban and rural county administrators.

An examination of the preferred activity levels of chief administrative officers reveals three decisions for which intergroup variations in response patterns merits further attention. For the first of these decisions, operational decisions about provision of services, city managers prefer lower activity levels than urban and rural county administrators. Similarly, city managers prefer less involvement in contracting and purchasing decisions. Finally, city managers prefer less involvement than urban

and rural county administrators in specific decisions that are part of larger local government projects.

Another trend in the responses of chief administrative officers are the higher levels of actual and preferred activity in the administration and management dimensions indicated by rural county administrators. While these differences are not statistically significant, they represent a pattern similar to that found in the responses of rural elected officials. According to the above analysis, rural officials, both elected and administrative, perceive and prefer higher levels of activity in administrative and management level decisions than officials from cities and urban counties.

Urban/Rural Comparisons

When cities and urban counties are clustered together and compared to rural counties, the influence of the urban/rural context upon role definition became apparent. In this phase of the analysis, the survey data were arrayed according to urban/rural and elected/administrative designations. Two sets of comparisons were made in an effort to determine the impact of context upon the role definition of elected and administrative officials. These comparisons include, urban/rural elected officials and urban/rural chief administrative officers.

These inter-group comparisons reveal fifteen instances of significant differences in the attitudes and perceptions of urban and rural officials concerning their actual and preferred activity levels. An analysis of the perceptions of urban and rural elected officials concerning their actual activity levels reveals five decisions for which there are significant differences between urban and rural attitudes and perceptions. These decisions include one from the administrative dimension - Decisions Concerning the Provision of Services; and four from the management dimension - Hiring Decisions About Department Heads, Hiring Decisions about Employees Below the Department Head Level, Decisions Involving Contracting and Purchasing, and Proposing Changes in the Management System. For each of these decisions, urban elected officials perceived themselves as having low levels of activity while their rural counterparts perceived themselves as having high levels of activity. Thus, there exist significant differences between the perceptions of urban and rural elected officials concerning their actual level of activity in the administrative and especially the management dimensions of the governance process.

The preferences of elected officials are closely associated with their actual levels of activity as shown in Table 4.9. An analysis and comparison of the attitudes of

urban and rural elected officials concerning their preferred levels of activity in the governance process reveals five decisions for which there are significant differences between urban and rural attitudes and perceptions.

TABLE 4.9

Critical Chi-Square Values for Decisions Showing Statistically Significant Differences Between the Attitudes and Perceptions of Elected Officials from Urban and Rural Localities

Actual Levels of Involvement of Elected Officials			
Decisional Area	Chi-Square Statistic	D.F.	Significance
Decisions concerning the Provisions of Services			
Chi-square	9.07951	2	0.01068
Gamma	-.78632		
Hiring Decisions About Department Heads			
Chi-square	12.90233	2	0.00158
Gamma	-.87251		
Hiring Decisions About Employees Below the Department Head Level			
Chi-square	17.90393	2	0.00013
Gamma	-.50693		
Decisions Involving Contracting and Purchasing			
Chi-square	14.73146	2	0.00063
Gamma	-.80612		
Proposing Changes in the Management System			
Chi-square	6.10221	2	0.04731
Gamma	-.68037		

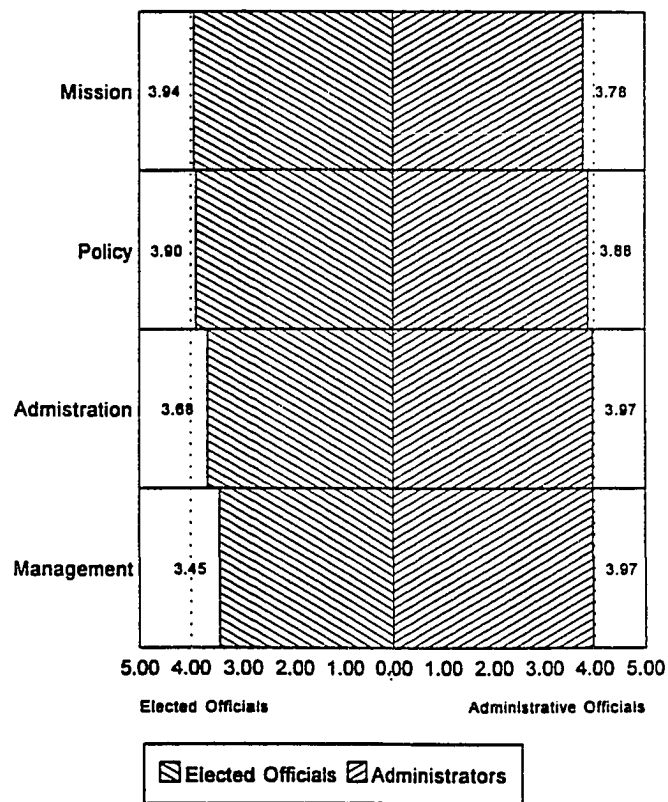
TABLE 4.9 (Continued...)

Decisional Area	Chi-Square Statistic	D.F.	Significance
Preferred Levels of Involvement of Elected Officials			
Hiring Decisions About Department Heads			
Chi-square	7.31507	2	0.02580
Gamma	-.71429		
Hiring Decisions About Employees Below the Department Head Level			
Chi-square	15.55959	2	0.00042
Gamma	-.87251		
Decisions Concerning Contracting and Purchasing			
Chi-square	20.09877	2	0.00004
Gamma	-.73874		
Resolving Citizen Complaints			
Chi-square	5.63889	2	0.01757
Gamma	1.00000		

These decisions include one from the administrative dimension - Resolving Citizen Complaints; and three from the management dimension - Hiring Decisions About Department Heads, Hiring Decisions about Employees Below the Department Head Level, and Decisions Concerning Contracting and Purchasing. The attitudes reflected in this study are similar to those identified in the preceding analysis. For all but one of the decisions identified, urban elected officials prefer lower levels of activity than do their rural counterparts. The only exception involves decisions involving the resolution of citizen complaints. For this

decision, both urban and rural elected officials alike prefer similar levels of activity. See Figure 4.2 for graphic representation of the actual and preferred activity levels of rural elected officials.

Rural Elected Officials
Preferred Activity Levels
Self-Assessment and Assessment of Administrative Officials



An analysis of the perceptions of urban and rural administrative officials in Table 4.10 concerning their actual levels of activity reveals five decisions for which there are significant differences between urban and rural attitudes and perceptions. These decisions include one from the mission dimension - Developing Strategies for Future Development of the Locality; one from the administrative dimension - Specific Decisions That Are Part of Larger Development Projects; and three decisions from the management dimension - Hiring Decisions About Employees Below the Department Head Level, Hiring Decisions About Department Heads, and Decisions Concerning Contracting and Purchasing. The results from this analysis indicates that urban administrative officials perceive themselves as being more active in these areas than their rural counterparts, although these differences are minimal.

An analysis of responses from administrative officials appears in Table 4.10. An examination of responses concerning their preferred levels of activity reveals only one decision for which there are significant differences. In decisions concerning the "Hiring of Department Heads," urban officials prefer higher levels of involvement. The slightly lower levels of preferred activity associated with rural administrators is most likely a result of the high levels of activity by rural elected officials in this area.

Table 4.10
Critical Chi-Square Values for Decisions Showing
Statistically Significant Differences Between the
Attitudes and Perceptions of Administrative Officials
from Urban and Rural Localities

Actual Levels of Involvement of Administrative Officials			
Decisional Area	Chi-Square Statistic	D.F.	Significance
Hiring Decisions About Employees Below the Department Head Level			
Chi-square	6.40754	2	0.04061
Gamma	-.15909		
Hiring Decisions About Department Heads			
Chi-square	8.98295	2	0.01120
Gamma	.91011		
Development Strategies for the Future			
Chi-square	7.26258	2	0.02648
Gamma	.68224		
Decisions Concerning Development Projects			
Chi-square	8.08441	2	0.01756
Gamma	.78182		
Decisions Concerning Contracting and Purchasing			
Chi-square	10.31746	2	0.00575
Gamma	.92381		
Preferred Levels of Involvement of Administrative Officials			
Hiring Decisions About Department Heads			
Chi-square	6.13636	2	0.04651
Gamma	.15111		

In summation, the results from the above set of analyses indicate that the differences between urban and rural government officials are real. These differences are more pronounced in rural localities where elected officials

indicate significantly higher levels of actual and preferred activity in the administrative and management dimensions.

The summary statistics generated from these comparisons indicate that the real differences between the urban and rural response patterns are statistically significant at the 0.05 level. The gamma statistics generated through these analyses also provide an indication of the negative, or converse relationship that exists between urban and rural elected officials concerning decisions within the management dimension. Often times, rural elected officials share a consistent outlook that provides for high levels of actual and preferred activity in all decisional areas by elected officials. Their attitudes are significantly different than those held by elected officials from urban localities.

Implications

The various analyses conducted in support of this dissertation have provided ample evidence of the important influence that context has in affecting the role determination of local government officials. The preceding research has confirmed the existence of differences between the role definitions of elected and administrative officials in urban and rural localities. The research propositions stated earlier in the chapter have been validated. The high activity levels of rural board members in the administration

and management dimensions represents an incursion into the decisional realm and responsibilities typically dominated by the county administrator. The rural county administrators in this study must contend with such incursions by their board members.

Several potential answers could be offered as to why these differences exist in the role definitions between urban and rural officials. The tendency of rural elected officials to be more active in the management dimension may be attributable to the long-standing role of counties as administrative arms of the state. Elected officials in rural counties are probably more comfortable with administrative and management level decisions due to the traditional role of the county. Such traditions can persist for decades unless a dramatic intervention occurs.

Also, many counties have only recently undertaken activities requiring decisions associated with the mission and policy dimensions of the governance process. As administrative arms of the state, major mission and policy level decisions typically were dictated by the state. Two fairly recent changes promise to dramatically alter this situation. The dramatic increases in citizen expectations and demands for local service provision, and a similar increase in state and federal mandates will force the elected bodies of rural local governments to become more

involved and proficient in making mission and policy level decisions. As the fiscal constraints upon local governing bodies become more tangible, such considerations will become more of a necessity than mere trappings, ceremony, and homage to democratic principles.

While the above trend is significant only in the case of the responses of elected officials from rural counties, the fact that this common orientation is shared by both groups of rural officials, elected and administrative, confirms some of our earlier suspicions. Officials from the three rural governments examined in this study feel more comfortable acting in the administration and management dimensions of Svara's local governance model. The higher levels of activity for two dimensions may be attributed to the county's long-standing and traditional role as an administrative arm of the state. This reasoning cannot account for all of the intergroup variance, since cities share a similar status as administrative agents of the state in Virginia.

The reason for these differences cannot be attributed to any one factor. The influence of several factors, working in conjunction, are probably responsible for creating this tendency in rural officials. Several plausible factors were identified in chapter two. The lack of resources--fiscal, human, infrastructure--when coupled

with the traditional role of the rural county as an administrative arm of the state and not a service provider, has created an environment where both elected and administrative officials in rural counties focus upon administrative and management level decisions.

Over the last couple of decades, rural local governments have faced increasing service demands from their citizenries. These increasing demands, when coupled with an increasing number of state and federal mandates, have forced many rural local governments to adopt new structural and procedural measures. One would expect conflict when the pressure for change creates situations and demands that challenge the traditional roles of rural governmental officials. This research does not identify any such conflict, but does reveal differences in role perceptions that may portend change.

In fact, over ninety percent of rural elected officials and one-hundred percent of rural county administrators rate their relationship with each other as satisfactory to very good. In the context of this dissertation, such high ratings provide evidence that the elected and administrative officials examined in this study from rural counties generally approved of their current relationship and its concomitant arrangement of roles and responsibilities.

What one finds in the three rural governments examined in this study is high levels of activity by both groups of officials in an area that contemporary theory and models identify as the domain of the chief administrative officer. Tradition, when coupled with the characteristics of rural communities, creates an environment where elected officials and administrative officials share high levels of responsibility in these areas. The tradition of an active board in rural administrative and management decisions has not disappeared under the pressures of modernization and efficiency. The implications of these urban/rural differences for concepts of local government are significant and will be addressed in Chapter Five.

End Notes for Chapter Four

1. James H. Svara. "Policy and Administration: City Managers as Comprehensive Professional Leaders" Ideal and Practice in Council-Manager Government, Edited by H. George Frederickson (Washington, DC: I.C.M.A., 1989), 70-93.

2. Svara's 1989 article, "Policy and Administration: City Managers as Comprehensive Professional Leaders," identifies four models that can be used to describe the patterns of roles and activity levels of elected and administrative officials in the governance process. Svara identifies these four models as: the Council Dominance Model; the Dichotomy Model; the Dichotomy-Duality Model; and the Executive Dominance Model. See the appendix for a full description of each of these models.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary and Conclusion

A major goal of this study has been to demonstrate the importance of context in determining how local officials view their responsibilities and role definitions as participants in the governance process. By illustrating the important influence of context, this study proceeds to argue that most contemporary research, literature, and models describing the distribution of authority and roles among local government officials are inappropriate for use by officials serving rural localities. This study argues that a new source of normative guidance is needed for rural officials. This new source of normative guidance must acknowledge the importance of context and be flexible enough to accommodate the many unique qualities associated with governing a rural community.

This chapter is designed to lay a foundation for this new normative base. This new normative base cannot be described without first introducing and accommodating context into how we conceptualize and model the distribution of authority and roles among elected and administrative officials as they govern locally. To accomplish the above goals, this chapter is divided into five distinct sections.

The first section of this chapter provides a general overview and summary of the major arguments and research

findings associated with this study. The second section reviews in detail how context makes a difference in how local government officials from urban and rural localities define the authority and roles in the governance process. In the third section, the deficiencies of the current normative models are noted. The fourth section of this chapter explains how the themes in this study are connected to the perennial themes in American government. The fifth and final section proposes an alternative source of normative guidance for rural officials that acknowledges the importance of context. This last section also poses some suggestions for future research.

General Overview and Summary

The arguments and research findings supporting the importance of context have been discussed in the previous chapters. At this point in the study, a review of each of the major arguments, research propositions, and findings will prove invaluable before the attributes of this new normative model are described.

In Chapter One, a review of the pertinent literature revealed that context has been generally neglected as a topic of inquiry. Most contemporary research and literature in this area does not identify context as an influential

factor in determining how local government officials define their authority and roles.

As a result of this deficiency, rural officials are forced to rely upon the urban-based research and literature for both operational and normative guidance. Such literature and research is ill-suited for the rural context. The underlying characteristics associated with urban and rural local governments are sufficiently distinct to severely limit the applicability and transferability of any descriptive and/or prescriptive measures developed for one context to the other.

The major source of operational and normative guidance available to most urban officials is the council-manager plan. The origins of this plan can be seen in the work of Woodrow Wilson and Richard Childs. Wilson's politics / administration dichotomy serves as the foundation upon which Childs constructed the council-manager plan. Wilson's dichotomy was a theoretical construct proposed as a cure for the corruption endemic to the American city at the turn of the twentieth century.

Childs adopted Wilson's dichotomy and modified it to meet his requirements for a reformed plan of municipal government. The dichotomy was, and continues to be a central feature of Childs' council-manager plan. Initial versions of the model city charter proposed a total

separation of political and administrative activity. Contemporary versions of the model city charter recognize the city manager's activity in the political affairs of a municipality as a legitimate necessity.

The popularity of the scientific management movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, created additional pressure for a separation of political activities from those that relied upon the education, training, and experience of professional administrators. Childs successfully coupled the notion of a dichotomy between politics and administration with the principles of the scientific management movement to create his reform plan.

While the council-manager plan works in an urban context, it is ill-suited for use in a rural environment. Thus, there is a need for a source of normative guidance for governmental officials serving rural localities.

The second facet of this dissertation's goal of developing a new normative model for rural officials involves a brief introduction to the research and literature that pertains directly to context. This literature provides the reader with an improved understanding of what the concept of context entails and how it relates to governing.

This undertaking represents the major purpose for Chapter Two. The body of Chapter Two draws from three distinct literature streams to foster our understanding and

develop a working definition of context as it is used in this study. These three literature streams encompass the work of notable political philosophers and political scientists, sociologists, and public administration theorists and practitioners.

The first section of Chapter Two reviews a literature stream that is the source of many of our basic notions pertaining to the democratic form of government. This literature also identifies the environments, or contexts, that are most favorable for the existence of democracy. This section references the views of such great political philosophers and scientists as Plato, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Jefferson, Madison, Mill, and Dahl and Tufte.

This literature stream reveals a strong historic correlation between many commonly held beliefs and perceptions concerning the character and qualities of democratic political systems and their relative size. According to this literature stream, many of history's most renowned political philosophers defended the small republic as the most suitable context for democratic government. Dahl and Tufte provide empirical evidence that support many of these commonly held notions, thus providing credence to many of our general notions of democracy.

Chapter Two also reviews the sociological literature to identify many of the more notable characteristics associated

with both urban and rural contexts. The sociological literature represents the best source for gaining insights into the actual character and nature of urban and rural social systems. This review covers the work of Weber, Durkheim, and Tönnies.

Max Weber's research and literature involving the manifestation of authority in social systems is a corollary for urban and rural systems. Weber's social systems theory recognizes three types of authority within society--bureaucratic, traditional, and charismatic. Social systems based upon the bureaucratic and traditional forms of authority encompass many of the elements that underpin our understanding of urban and rural social systems.

The work of another sociologist, Émile Durkheim provides a means for understanding some of the fundamental differences between urban and rural social systems. Durkheim explains that as social systems become more complex they tend to develop complex divisions of labor. Another inherent trait of complex social systems is their impersonal character. Durkheim found that as the relative complexity and specialization within a social system increases so does the distance between individuals.

The work of Ferdinand Tönnies focused on understanding the intrinsic qualities of urban and rural social units. His concepts of *gesellschaft* and *gemeinschaft* provide an

excellent corollary for urban and rural social systems. Tönnies' concept of *gesellschaft* describes urban systems as being characterized by individualism and mutual distrust. The concept of *gemeinschaft* describes rural systems as being characterized by their close interpersonal relationships and "like-mindedness."

The third literature stream provides some insights into how theorists and practitioners from the field of public administration define the importance of context. Much of the research and literature cited in this section identifies many of the specific conditions and concerns associated with governing in urban and rural environments. This literature provides a realistic image of the conditions that exist in rural, as opposed to urban localities, and the implications of these differences for the administration of public services.

The work of Kilpatrick, Holcombe, Lancaster, Honadle, Quinlan, and Satran identify specific qualities associated with governing and providing public services in rural localities. For instance, Kilpatrick argued against the adoption of the council-manager plan by county governments from the position that the county was fundamentally different from the city.

Kilpatrick was concerned that the council-manager plan, with its bureaucratic hierarchy, business-like structure,

and reliance upon expertise would not work in a rural, county environment. He also recognized the county's traditional role as an administrative arm of the state as a unique element in the overall context of county government. Kilpatrick felt that the county's subservient relationship to the state would prevent the successful adoption of an orthodox version of the plan.

The work of Holcombe, Lancaster, Honadle, Quinlan, and Satran identifies many unique qualities and problems associated with public administration in rural localities. Lancaster and Honadle provide lengthy and detailed descriptions of the character of public administration in rural communities. They also contribute several suggestions for addressing many of the problems and deficiencies associated with public service delivery in rural communities.

Further, we also find that the work of Marando and Thomas, Stoner, and Svara specifically addresses the influence of context upon the distribution of responsibilities and roles among local officials. Marando and Thomas found that context does not represent an important influence in how rural county officials define their roles. Of greater influence was the traditional role of the county as the administrative arm of the state. This role forced county officials to be active in both the

legislative and administrative arenas. The authors do indicate their expectation that as citizen demands increase and government services become increasingly complex, the distribution of responsibilities and roles between elected and administrative officials will develop.

Stoner affirms the findings of Marando and Thomas by recognizing that elected bodies in rural counties are influenced both by their traditional roles as administrative arms of the state, as well as the demands of governing in a contemporary setting. The increasing complexity of government requires specialized knowledge and experience. This knowledge and experience creates a situation where a division of responsibility is predicated upon specific knowledge and experience. Thus, the elected body is forced to defer its attention to areas that do not require such specialized knowledge.

However, the forthcoming work of Svara provides evidence that cities and counties are sufficiently similar as to allow comparison. Svara also identifies several roles that can be associated with elected and administrative officials. These roles can be used to study differences in how responsibilities and roles are distributed among elected and administrative officials in cities and counties.

Although Svara finds evidence that officials from cities and counties share similar expectations concerning

their responsibilities and roles, he does note that elected officials from counties tend to be more involved in administrative and management decisions than their municipal counterparts, a finding parallel to the findings of this study. He attributes this trend to their traditional role as administrative arms of the state.

Chapters Three and Four describe a proposed plan for testing three major research propositions and reporting the results. The first research proposition held that the urban/rural context influences how a locality's elected and administrative officials define their roles in the governance process. Expressed in another way, there exist discernible differences in the attitudes and perceptions of elected and administrative officials concerning their responsibilities and roles in the governance process. Such differences are attributable, in large part, to context.

This study found statistically significant differences between the actual and preferred levels of activity cited by elected officials from urban and rural localities. These differences demonstrate that context does make a difference in how local officials define their responsibilities and roles in the governance process of their communities.

A research proposition closely associated with the first held that elected and administrative officials in cities and urban counties share similar attitudes and

perceptions concerning their responsibilities and roles in the governance process. Data in this study confirmed that the patterns of activity cited by elected and administrative officials from cities and urban counties were similar. With the exception of a few specific decisions, the differences between these two groups were not statistically significant.

Another research proposition related to the first held that government form, as represented by the city and county, does not account for significant differences in how elected and administrative officials define their roles. In other words, the variable that accounts for most of the variation in responses is the urban/rural classification of a locality, and not its designation as a city or county.

This proposition is supported by the similar attitudes and perceptions shared by the officials from the cities and urban counties concerning their actual and preferred responsibilities and roles in the governance process. A similar relationship was found to exist among the officials from the rural localities surveyed. The attitudes and perceptions of elected officials from rural localities lead to actual and preferred activity levels that are significantly different from their urban counterparts.

The second research proposition held that elected and administrative officials associated with local governments with urban contexts tend to define their roles in accordance

with James Svara's "ideal" dichotomy/duality model. In other words, the urban context embodies various attributes that promote a pattern of roles between elected and administrative officials similar to the configuration of roles depicted in Svara's "ideal" model.

In this study, the attitudes and perceptions of elected and administrative officials from urban localities concerning their responsibilities and roles in the governance process led to actual and preferred activity levels that adhere to those proposed by Svara's dichotomy/duality model. In other words, the situation in the urban localities surveyed in this study suggests that there exists both a general division and sharing of responsibilities along elected and administrative officials. The relationship between elected and administrative officials in the urban localities surveyed suggests a flexible standard for determining appropriate types and levels of activity.

The third research proposition held that elected and administrative officials associated with local governments within rural contexts do not define their roles in accordance with Svara's "ideal" model, but instead, define their roles so as to provide for greater involvement by elected officials in governmental administration. In other words, the rural context embodies various attributes that

promote a pattern of roles between elected and administrative officials dissimilar to the pattern of roles found in urban localities.

This study found that the pattern of roles in localities with rural contexts provided for greater involvement by elected officials in governmental administration. Rural officials were statistically more active in the administrative and management dimensions of the governance process than their urban counterparts.

In summation of results, Chapter Four reviews and provides some tentative explanations for the findings of the survey. Overall, this study has demonstrated that context is an important factor influencing how local government officials define their authority and roles. Also demonstrated was that the available sources of normative guidance, with their urban bias, do not accurately describe the relationship between elected and administrative officials in rural localities. This deficiency makes urban models ill suited for governmental officials serving rural communities. While the council/manager plan provides a measure of normative guidance for urban officials, its utility for rural officials is severely limited. An alternative source of normative guidance must be found for rural governmental officials.

In pursuit of this new normative base, sections two, three, and four of this chapter are organized around each of the three research propositions. The second section elaborates the proposition that context makes a difference by discussing the tangible and intangible qualities of context and their influence upon the responsibilities and roles of governmental officials. The third section argues that while Svvara's dichotomy/duality model captures the activity of urban officials, it does not represent an appropriate operational or normative guide for rural officials.

In the fourth section, the argument is made that the increased activity by elected officials in rural localities is acceptable in light of the history, conditions, and certain other considerations. This section cites the Federalist/Anti-Federalist debate and some of our common impressions of accountability and representativeness in a democratic society as an source of the ongoing debate concerning the nature of democratic government. Within this debate, we can find a means for justifying the increased activity of rural elected officials in the governance process.

Also, the fourth section of the chapter describes how the evolution of local government in the United States has influenced the distribution of responsibility and roles

among elected and administrative officials. This section argues that there is historic evidence of high levels of activity by elected officials and that our founding fathers considered such activity was appropriate in small, rural communities.

Tangible and Intangible Qualities of Context

Confirmation of proposition one, that context matters, is found in the higher levels of actual and preferred activity indicated by elected officials from the rural localities in this study. These perceptions can be attributed to the interaction of several tangible and intangible characteristics. Their high levels of activity in the administrative and mission areas can, in part, be explained as a legacy of their early roles as administrative arms of the state.

In contrast, administrative officials from both the urban and rural localities included in the study group were similar. Both groups indicated generally high levels of activity across each of the four dimensions of the governance process. The general pattern of responses followed the general pattern associated with Svava's "ideal" dichotomy-duality model. The level of activity of administrative officials tended to increase as one progressed from the "mission" end of the continuum toward

the "management" end of the continuum. The highest levels of activity were associated with decisions found in the administrative and management dimensions of the governance process.

The activity levels of all administrative officials included in the study generally matched or were higher than the levels of activity associated with Svara's "ideal" model. Administrative officials tended to indicate higher levels of actual and preferred activity in the mission and policy dimensions. This may be confirmation of a general recognition and acceptance of the political nature of a chief executive officer's responsibilities.

The Rural Context

One reason rural elected officials are different from their counterparts is that these traditional responsibilities, when coupled with the rural context, and its community-based value system, do-it-yourself attitude, fear of expertise, demand for simplicity, and minimal human and fiscal resources. These factors create an environment that both allows and condones high levels of activity by elected officials in areas that many reserve for the professional manager or administrative official and their staffs.

As seen in Chapter Two, many of the rural differences are either directly or indirectly associated with a community's overall physical size. While the physical dimensions of a community alone do not determine its rural or urban classification, most attempts to distinguish between the urban and rural contexts rely upon size as a major criteria. For example, the small physical size and fiscal capacity of a rural community in conjunction with its homogeneous population typically results in a small scale of operations with relatively few service demands when compared to an urban community. Thus, smallness should be viewed as a criteria that is essential to any attempt to identify a rural context, but not as the only criteria.

Communities that exist in a rural context share many characteristics in addition to their comparative smallness. Additionally rural local governments are known for being close to their citizenry. This proximity allows for the development of a highly personalized relationship between the citizen and governmental official(s). Such closeness provides the rural citizen with a sense of power and influence in governmental affairs.

Rural local governments also tend to serve homogeneous populations. The small population of a rural community tends to share common outlooks and expectations towards life. These shared perceptions foster a sense of community

within the population and between the public and their governmental institutions.

Rural communities tend to favor common sense over expertise. This reliance upon common sense, or the common man's capacity for reason legitimates the actions of the nonexpert, or non-professional. This rejection, or fear of expertise stems from the small, rural, farmer's self-reliance and do-it-yourself attitude.¹ A by-product of this bias is that governmental officials, both administrative and elected, in rural areas tend to be generalists, or "jacks-of-all-trades." As a result, rural administrators must be sensitive to this prejudice and work to gain acceptance for their proposals without alienating themselves from their governing boards.

Because of limited financial resources, many rural officials, elected and administrative alike, are assigned a large, and diverse set of duties and responsibilities. The lack of fiscal resources when combined with the lack of human resources creates an environment where both the governing body and administrative staff have enlarged responsibilities for governing. The enlarged responsibilities, or roles, of rural governmental officials is compounded by many of the assumptions associated with rural environments, e.g., closeness, fear of expertise, value of common-sense, and the do-it-yourself mentality.

Also, rural communities share several characteristics that make public administration and service delivery problematic. For example, the geographic isolation, low population density, relative lack of mobility and transportation infrastructure, scarcity of fiscal resources, small staff, lack of administrative expertise, the personal basis for most activities, resistance to change, and the general lack of ancillary services make the delivery of public services more difficult and challenging for governmental officials from rural areas.²

In the specific case of Virginia, historical factors also play a part in explaining the differences found. In counties, the traditional role of the elected official has been to administer state determined policies. In urban regions, this role shifted dramatically with the increase of citizen demands for locally produced services. This change expanded the responsibilities of the elected official.

This expansion can be depicted through the use of Svava's four dimensional model. During the colonial period, governmental officials, typically appointed by the royal governor, were responsible for the administration of royal decrees originating from the crown and the king's governor. These individuals were also responsible for addressing issues of local concern that required governmental intervention.

Under this arrangement, most of the local official's responsibility resided in the administrative and management areas of Svava's governance model. The implementation of royal decrees was largely an administrative and/or managerial task. It was not until the later decades of the nineteenth century that citizen attitudes towards and demands upon local governments changed thereby, requiring elected officials to become more active in the mission and policy areas of the governance process.

These responsibilities slowly changed over the years as society became more complex and attitudes towards local government changed radically. Today, the governing bodies of most rural local governments, municipal and county alike, are active in each of the four dimensions of Svava's model, a shift precipitated by a dramatic increase in citizen demands for local services.

The Urban Context

Elected officials from urban localities indicate actual and preferred activity levels that coincide with the activity patterns associated with Svava's "ideal" model. Svava's dichotomy/duality model represents a balance, or compromise between preserving the fundamental axioms of democratic theory while also providing for the efficient

utilization of public resources in the day-to-day operations of local government.

Urban elected officials indicate activity in each of the four governance dimensions, with their highest levels of activity in the mission and policy dimensions. The pattern of their responses closely match Svvara's ideal balance. The pattern of activity associated with the elected officials from urban localities results from a combination of influences.

One of the two most important influences responsible for this pattern of activity are the high levels of locally generated demands for public services associated with urban localities. As the number of local demands for public services increases, elected officials find themselves spending an increasing portion of their time involved in decisions of the type associated with the mission and policy dimensions of the governance process.

Another important reason for these patterns of activity can be attributed to the legacy of Richard Child's council-manager plan. Child's interpretation of Wilson's politics / administration dichotomy and its integration into his council-manager plan created an unrealistic expectation concerning the distribution of authority and roles among elected and administrative officials. While Child's orthodox interpretation lost general acceptance several

decades ago, its influence can still be seen. This issue will be discussed in detail in the next section.

In addition, urban communities are characterized as being comparatively larger and more diverse, or heterogenous than their rural counterparts. This diversity creates a higher level of social, economic, and political complexity. This high level of complexity manifests itself in numerous and diverse ways. For instance, a well defined division of labor and bureaucratic structure are common in urban communities. In fact, most forms of urban institutions tend to adhere to these principles.

The diversity found in urban localities effectively precludes the citizenry from developing a commonly held sense of community. This tendency is often referred to as the "alienation" experienced by residents of urban localities. The characteristics of urban society that alienate its citizenry from one another, also provides its citizenry great individual freedom.

The societal pressures in rural communities lead their citizens to adhere to a common set of values and expectations towards life based upon their similarities and traditions. In urban communities, societal pressures lead their citizens to celebrate individual diversity, and to develop expectations and strategies for its accommodation.

In summation, both the tangible and intangible qualities of context are powerful influences upon the attitudes and perceptions of government officials concerning their authority and roles at the local-level. As described in the preceding section, this influence can be seen in the distinct patterns of activity that are manifested in the governance process. These tangible and intangible qualities help explain some of the differences seen between the role definitions of urban and rural officials. By understanding these differences we can begin to develop some expectations for a contextually sensitive normative guide for rural officials.

The Deficiencies of Current Normative Models

Currently, the council-manager plan is the most popular system for arranging the responsibilities and roles of local government officials across the nation. As incorporated into the council-manager plan, the politic/administration dichotomy called for all political responsibilities to be vested in the governing body, and for all administrative responsibilities to be vested in the position of a professionally trained and appointed chief administrative officer. In practice this absolute separation broke down out of necessity and because of the true nature of the

governance process. In theory, many local government officials still adhere to this orthodox view.

The enduring legacy of the politics / administration dichotomy is that while it was rejected as a viable theory and model in the sixties, its influence continues to be felt today. Local government practitioners still rely upon the dichotomy for a normative guide portraying how responsibility and roles should be distributed between democratically elected local representatives and their appointed administrative counterparts.

In fact, proposition two, that urban elected and administrative officials tend to adhere to the activity patterns associated with Svara's "ideal" model, can be supported by several explanations. The tendency of urban boards to be active in the mission and policy dimensions is as much a result of necessity as it is a matter of the legacy of the reform era and the politics / administration dichotomy. As demands for public services have increased, governing bodies responded by increasing their activity in planning and the generation of appropriate public policies. Their preoccupation with mission and policy level decisions in response to these increased demands for public services does not offer an adequate explanation for their comparatively low levels of activity in the administration and management dimensions of the governance model.

The tendency of elected officials in urban areas to concentrate their activity in the governance process to the mission and policy dimensions is, in part, a result of the above mentioned legacy. This legacy acts as a psychological boundary that, because of its simplicity and appeal to common sense, inhibits elected officials in urban localities from becoming overly active in the administration and management dimensions of the governance process.

Local government practitioners mentally reference the dichotomy when the complexities of modern day society and governing confuse and threaten to overwhelm them. Its simplicity and the apparent protection it offers to democratic principles make the dichotomy attractive, and thus, it remains an influential source of normative instruction for making sense of responsibilities and roles.

Rural localities do not suffer from the effects of a similar legacy. The council-manager plan has not enjoyed the same longevity in rural localities, especially rural counties as it has in urban localities. This lack of the plan's tenure in rural localities has limited its ability to influence how governmental officials conceptualize their roles. While in Virginia, ninety-eight percent of all counties and all independent cities have adopted some variation of the council-manager plan, most of the adoptions

by counties did not occur until 1970. (See Chart in Appendix)

This relatively recent adoption of the basic tenets of the plan occurred at a time when the plan's adherence to the orthodox interpretation of the politics / administration dichotomy was being questioned by practitioners and theorists alike. As a result, most rural counties were spared exposure to the orthodox view associated with the plan prior to its rejection in the 1960s. This lack of exposure kept rural elected officials from adopting their own form of orthodoxy, and thus, prevented the development of a psychological barrier that effectively limited their activity in administration and management decisions.

Also, the council-manager plan is an urban plan. Many of its fundamental tenets and expectations are predicated upon its application in an urban environment. Its application in rural environments is problematic. For instance, the plans bureaucratic structure, implicit requirements for adopting a division-of-labor in relation to governing, and call for a professionally educated and trained administrative cadre run counter to some of the intrinsic values identified with rural communities. This conflict between many of the plan's major tenets and the normative foundations of rural communities insures that its application in rural

communities will be both incomplete and modified to fit the local value system.

Attempts have been made to rectify some of the problems and deficiencies identified previously. For example, the current version of the council-manager plan, recognizes and legitimates an expanded set of responsibilities and roles for the chief administrative officer. Many of these expanded responsibilities include involvement in the mission and policy dimensions of the governance process. These modifications to the plan recognize the important role of the chief administrative officer in ensuring that local government actions are efficient, representative, protective of individual rights and social equity. These enlarged responsibilities naturally span the four dimensions of governance and demand high levels of activity in each.

While essential to the continued acceptance and utilization of the plan in urban communities, these modifications to the plan do not improve its implementation and/or operation in rural localities. When adopted in rural communities, the plan is often modified to the point of violating its fundamental guidelines governing appropriate and acceptable levels of behavior by governmental officials.

These modifications result from the plan's inability to accommodate the local traditions or expectations concerning the governance process. The council-manager plan does not

represent an adequate source of normative guidance for the governmental official serving the rural community. Thus, this incompatibility necessitates that governmental officials from rural communities look elsewhere for normative guidance concerning their responsibilities and roles in the governance process.

The Ageless Debate

The third and final research proposition, that rural elected officials tend to have higher levels of activity in the administration and management dimensions of the governance process, and, thus, do not adhere to the activity patterns associated with Svava's "ideal" model, is addressed below. The differences between the attitudes and perceptions of urban and rural official necessitate the search for alternative sources of normative guidance for the rural official.

Our search for a source of normative guidance for rural governmental officials can be made easier by identifying two questions that served as the basis of the normative debate. At a fundamental level, this study has demonstrated that local officials and scholars alike continue to struggle with the same questions that our founding fathers debated. For over two-hundred and six years, public officials in the United States have debated two essential questions: "How

can governmental power best be safe guarded, or limited?" and "How can government be made responsible to the people?"

While these questions were addressed at the national and state level during the debate between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists over ratification of the Constitution, this debate did not specifically address or include local governments. While there are many differences between the national-, state-, and local-levels of government, these differences do not preclude our drawing upon this debate as a source of both knowledge and normative guidance for local officials.

Many of the ideas and issues pertinent to the focus of this dissertation can be found in the thoughts of the founders concerning the essential qualities and character of democratic government. Of special interest are the arguments offered by the Federalists and Anti-Federalists in regards to the form of the proposed national government.

A major focus of the founding debates concerned democratic government and how it could best be achieved and guaranteed. Critical to these discussions was the concept of size, or context, and the central role it plays in determining the character and quality of democratic government. Another important theme in the debate over the ratification of the Constitution was the separation-of-

powers and how this principle could best be incorporated into the new government.

The Anti-Federalists and Federalists debated over the form and character of the new national government. Within each of these arguments one can find corollaries to the attitudes and perceptions held by the rural and urban officials who participated in this study. The rural officials surveyed in this study tend to accept a role that is not dissimilar from the one proposed by the Anti-Federalists. Urban officials tend to accept a separation of powers concept that shares many similarities with the model supplied by Madison to the constitutional convention.

By briefly describing the arguments of the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, we can better understand and accept the differences between the way urban and rural officials define their responsibilities and roles. This review will provide a foundation for building a new normative model that condones the increased activity of rural elected officials across all aspects of the governance process

The Anti-Federalist Position

The collected works of the Anti-Federalists were not available until Herbert Storing began work on The Complete Anti-Federalist. This multi-volume work provides a comprehensive overview of the concerns held by the Anti-

Federalist concerning the proposed federal government. As depicted in the numerous essays of individuals opposed to the passage of the proposed Constitution, the Anti-Federalist voice was rich and diverse.

As a group, the Anti-Federalists consisted of a diverse group of many individuals. They believed that the Constitution's proposed concentration of governmental power at the national level would limit the power of the states to govern, and curtail, if not usurp, the fundamental rights of their citizens. The Anti-Federalists viewed these two abuses as real threats to democratic government and tantamount to tyranny.

Herbert Storing explains that the Anti-Federalists could neither fully reject nor fully accept the leading principles of the Constitution. Storing describes the Anti-Federalist position as follows:

The Anti-Federalists were committed to both union and the states; to both the great American republic and the small, self-governing community; to both commerce and civic virtue; to both private gain and public good. At its best, Anti-Federal thought explores these tensions and points to the need for any significant American political thought to confront them; for they were not resolved by the Constitution but are inherent in the principles and traditions of American political life.³

Jackson Turner Main indicates that while the Anti-Federalists, on the whole, disapproved of the Federalist orientation, they shared several ideological commitments

when it came to issues such as control over commerce, republican form of government, and the protection of the people's rights. A common value set directed both sides.⁴

In general, the Anti-Federalists advocated a small political unit that was governed by a better sort of man. The Anti-Federalists would maintain control over government through its intrinsic simplicity and the moral character of its officials. The Anti-Federalists also believed that educating the citizen would ensure popular interest and involvement in the governance process, thereby guaranteeing governmental legitimacy in the eyes of its citizens.

The Federalist Position

The Federalists are remembered as those who won the argument over ratification. Their arguments appeared as a series of 85 essays written in support of the ratification of the proposed U.S. Constitution.

The Federalists believed in the need for a strong national government.⁵ James Madison offered a separation of powers and system of checks-and-balances on governmental power as a compromise and remedy for Anti-Federalist concerns. In addition to this structural control, Madison called upon human nature as a second check upon the usurpation of legitimate governmental power when he suggested that "self-interest would do the work of virtue."

It should be noted that Madison's solutions to these questions represent compromises and thus, are not true answers to these important questions. Because of a lack of real and lasting answers to these questions, they periodically resurface at the national-, state-, and local-levels.

To greatly summarize the debate between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, we see that the Anti-Federalists believed that the proposed national government should take the form of a small, simple republic that relied upon an absolute separation of fundamental governmental powers. In contrast, the Federalists supported a large-landed republic and a sharing of fundamental powers among its various governmental institutions. These positions capture the major concerns of both groups concerning the proposed form and character of the national government.

The debate over these two issues has defined how we view one dimension of government in the United States. Presently, many people continue to believe that small, rural localities represent the best, and most democratic form of government. The commonly held belief is that their size and rural character improve their ability to represent and respond to the needs of its citizens.

The Anti-Federalist and Federalist debate over the separation of powers has had an important impact upon how

authority and power are distributed among governmental officials at each of the three levels of government in the United States. Today, most models of government in the United States incorporate some form of a politics / administration dichotomy.

The Evolution of Attitudes Concerning Local Government

The formal and institutionalized sharing of power among governmental institutions is known as the principle of checks-and-balances. Historically, there has been a formalized sharing of powers at the national and state levels of government in the United States.

At the local level, the distribution of power and authority among the various governmental officials followed traditional patterns until the early twentieth-century when it was formally institutionalized as reform measures were introduced in municipal governments. Before the reform measures associated with the Wilson's Politics / Administration dichotomy and Child's Council-Manager Plan, elected officials generally wielded legislative, executive, and judicial powers. The consolidation of fundamental governmental powers in the hands of a few elected officials is both a legacy of our colonial experience, and the small scale and simplicity of local government during the first one-hundred years after the founding of the republic.

Early forms of municipal government in the United States reflect the influence of the Dutch, French, Spanish and English. By far, the greatest influence upon the American system of municipal government has been English. The English influence provided for local government councils that were more than popular legislative bodies. In addition to their legislative responsibilities, these councils were responsible for administrative and judicial functions.⁶

This system provided for no separation of powers. The English arrangement of placing all governmental powers into one body can be traced to its aristocratic traditions. This aristocratic heritage is manifested in two ways. First is the use of the "close" corporation, in which members of the council were appointed by the governor, or the council could fill vacancies within the group as they occurred after the original appointments.

The second manifestation of its aristocratic tradition can be found in the distinctions drawn between aldermen and common councilmen. As a group, the aldermen were typically older gentlemen who were well-established members of the community. Typically, there were two to four times as many common councilmen as aldermen. These common councilmen did not share the aldermen's judicial responsibilities.

It can be surmised that both the Federalists and Anti-Federalists were relatively comfortable with this

consolidation of power in the hands of elected officials at the local level. The small scale and simplicity of local government during this era, in addition to it being typically staffed by community leaders, would have dispelled many of the concerns that were focused towards the national government.

During the later decades of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century, the municipal reform movement began to alter this long-standing arrangement. Ultimately, Child's Council/Manager Plan came to the forefront as a municipal reform model. The orthodoxy that served as the basis for the Plan called for an absolute separation between politics and administration, or legislative and executive powers. The Council/Manager Plan represented the first model of local government in the history of the United States that called for an absolute separation of powers, especially between legislative and administrative responsibilities and those who wielded them.

This arrangement appears to match the expectations of the Anti-Federalists for the arrangement of power and authority in a complex and large national government. The Anti-Federalists believed that any provision calling for less than an absolute separation of power at the national level would ultimately allow one branch of government to gain control over the other branches and their powers. By

completely separating the fundamental powers of government and assigning them to distinct branches, the problem of an imbalance of governmental power caused by an usurpation of governmental powers by one branch from another could be avoided.

Child's total separation of powers does not match their expectations regarding local government. One can make the claim that our founding fathers were generally happy with the form and method of the local governments associated with that era. Neither the Anti-Federalists nor Federalists identified the lack of a separation-of-power and authority at the local level as a problem. While the Federalists rarely mention local government in their arguments, this lack of attention is more than compensated for by the Anti-Federalists. In fact, the interest of the Anti-Federalist writers in the small, local community can be viewed as a corrective for the lack of attention given to this level of government by the Federalist writers.

The Anti-Federalists believed that the small size of most local governments provided a greater opportunity for citizen participation and the development of a sense of community. This sense of community resulted from the shared experiences and expectations of a relatively small, homogeneous population. This sense of community was considered to be critical to the overall endeavor of

democracy. Most believed that this community spirit, with its common perceptions, expectations, and experiences concerning government, when coupled with the relative simplicity of the small, rural government, would result in the best form of republican democracy.

As we have seen in the above discussion, the Anti-Federalists, and in fact, most of our founding fathers adhered to a political philosophy that placed great hope and value in the small community. Their relatively small size creates an environment where a high level of familiarity exists between citizens and most citizens share a common outlook and set of expectations towards many aspects of their lives. At the local level, this environment, or context, works to regulate governmental affairs without a strict separation-of-powers.

Their reverence for small units of government with generally homogeneous populations sharing like beliefs and expectations represents a powerful force today. Many people share such romantic impressions. Today this reverence has been extended to encompass rural local governments. Rural communities and their local governments have come to symbolize many of the positive qualities associated with democracy. Many people believe that the rural community and its system of local government is the last bastion of truly effective democratic government in the United States. These

beliefs are based, not so much on empirical fact, as upon general observations, feelings, and tradition.

A Normative Base for the Rural Context

The search for a source of normative guidance for governmental officials from rural localities concerning their responsibilities and roles in the governance process is a difficult undertaking. This process could take one of two general directions. One approach would involve an attempt to develop a totally new normative model that is not incumbered by the deficiencies associated with the council-manager plan. This endeavor would involve the rejection of the council-manager plan and could draw upon diverse sources. To be successful, this new set of normative guidelines would have to draw upon the knowledge and insights gained from the history and development of local government in the United States.

A second, and more realistic alternative involves modifying the council-manager plan. These modifications would incorporate what we have learned about the effects of context, especially in rural localities. These changes would make the plan more sensitive to issues of context and thereby, improve its employment in both rural and urban localities.

According to Kilpatrick (1930), the rural county suffered more from a lack of efficiency than it did from rampant corruption. Therefore, the county did not require the same type or level of change to address its problems as did the American city of the early twentieth century.

Child's plan for addressing urban bossism and other forms of political corruption was to segregate politics from administration. Child's plan made intuitive sense to most people concerning with fighting the corruption associated with municipal governments of the day. Its heralded potential for improving governmental efficiency fostered its adoption in rural local governments.

The normative guidance provided in Child's plan stresses that elected and administrative officials should limit their activity in the governance process to specific types of decisions. His model represents an attempt to join democratic theory with both the tenets of the progressive reform movement and the principles of scientific management.

As with all normative models, it is extremely difficult to combine two or more competing values systems into a unified system. Typically, such efforts do not result in a totally integrated value systems. A state of competition is created between competing value systems as people interact with the system and make either conscious or unconscious choices that give deference to one value system over the

other(s). For example, it is hard to mesh such democratic values as responsiveness and representativeness with efficiency, political neutrality, and formal accountability. In most cases, context determines which of these value systems takes precedence over the others.

While the council-manager plan works well in urban communities because the underlying social system can accommodate the plan's fundamental requirements, many of these underlying conditions are absent in rural communities. The absence of a well defined division-of-labor, bureaucratic structure, and professional administrative cadre hamper a complete adoption of the plan in rural communities. These deficiencies also limit the relevance of its normative guidance for rural elected and administrative officials.

For instance, the rural context creates an environment where high levels of activity by elected officials in each of the four dimensions of the governance process is acceptable. While unacceptable in an urban context, these relatively high levels of involvement can be explained by the influence of the rural context upon the attitudes and perceptions of government officials and the population.

The rural population operates in a fashion similar to a primary group, or extended family. The population places its trust in the elected official because that individual is

accountable to the community. Violation of this trust promises informal means of punishment many consider to be worse than formal legal sanctions.

Communication and direct personal contact are the key to this normative system. By talking and interacting with their constituents, the rural elected official becomes familiar with their individual situation(s) and concerns. This familiarity creates an understanding and sensitivity that guides their activities while participating in the governance process. Any perceived lack of concern or sensitivity is responded to by personal intervention on the part of the effected citizen or group.

Normative guidance for the elected official in a rural community is received from two basic sources. The first source can be found in the formal legal statutes and codes that regulate government activity. These statutory limits usually reside in the state legal code. They also originate at the federal level or as a part of local ordinances. Usually the punishment for violating any one of these legal statutes is clearly identified.

The second source of normative guidance for elected officials serving in rural communities can be found in the informal cues and guidance gained through the process of being socialized as a member of the community. For newcomers to the community, this guidance can be gained

through sensitivity, observation, communication, and interaction.

When it comes to determining the proper levels of activity for an elected official in the governance process within a rural community, the local context largely determines what is acceptable behavior. Whereas, in urban communities operating under the council-manager plan, elected officials rely upon the normative guidance that serves as the basis of the plan. This plan specifies the limitations placed upon the activity levels of elected or administrative officials. In a very real sense, the council-manager plan still relies upon the politics / administration dichotomy as a normative guide. In many ways the council-manager plan has yet to escape the legacy of the dichotomy. The dichotomy's oversimplification of the local governance process and the unrealistic restrictions it places upon the behavior of governmental officials still manage to influence urban local government officials.

Whereas the rural community relies largely upon an informal means of determining the authority and roles of its governmental officials in the governance process, urban communities in large part, determine the authority and roles of their governmental officials through the use of structure and formal restrictions on behavior. Put in another way, the rural community places its faith in the individual and

the values of the community, while the urban community places its faith in the council-manager plan and its structural and procedural means for limiting the behavior of governmental officials.

In urban localities, councils and boards must have their mission, purpose, and goals frequently reaffirmed. This can best be undertaken by increasing popular participation in the governance process. Two characteristics tend to limit active citizen participation in urban areas. First, urban populations tend to be more diverse. This diversity alienates the urban citizen from both his/her fellow citizens and most social organizations, especially government.

Second, urban citizens tend to accept a division-of-labor and bureaucratization of societal organization. As a result, the governing bodies of urban communities are greatly influenced by these traits and tend to rely upon a rational-analytical approach to guide their participation in the governance process. These characteristics tend to further alienate the urban citizen, and effectively limit their activity in the governance process.

The deficiencies associated with urban society and the operation of the council-manager plan in an urban environment can be addressed and corrected by taking steps to improve both internal and external communication between

board members and the public. Improved communication between the governing board and public will act to limit the alienation felt by many urban individuals. It will also expose the members of the governing body to ideas that did not originate within the governmental bureaucracy, thus introducing fresh proposals and ideas into the policy process. Improving communication will also provide a means for improving relations between the members of governing boards.

A different problem faces rural localities. Rural governing boards can experience too much consensus as their members share similar perspectives. This tendency applies to both the membership of the governing body and the general population as well. This trait creates a potential for commonality in outlook. While through my experience, rural governing bodies experience no shortage in conflict between and among their members, this conflict does not negate the possibility of a limited outlook toward the needs of the community or community problems.

One possible answer to this problem would be to ensure that frequent and involved communication between members of the governing board took place. This interaction would ensure that each of the members of the governing body was attuned to the group's general consensus of public opinion. Efforts should also be made to introduce and solicit

involvement in the policy formulation process by interested individuals and groups throughout the community.

Robert D. Putnam found that in Italian communities where governmental officials attempted to meet and get to know their constituents the overall public satisfaction with public policy was higher than in communities where no such effort were made. Such attempts to gain public "buy-in" of policy initiatives were also highly related to the overall success rate of policy initiative. According to Putnam, the contemporary political environment is exemplified by low government legitimacy. Attempts made by elected governmental officials to develop "social capital" can only improve current attitudes toward government.⁷

By popularizing the policy formulation process, the potential for exposure to a wide variety of attitudes and ideas is increased. This activity will naturally increase conflict. As a result of this process, conflict will develop between members of the governing body. Conflict will also develop between citizens and the members of the governing body, as well as between various citizens. This conflict, if dealt with properly, should ultimately result in superior public policy.

Jan Flora found that local governing bodies that experienced and actively dealt with both internal and external conflict more successful in their economic

development efforts.⁸ By dealing with conflict openly, the hidden agendas of participating parties are revealed and open to public scrutiny. According to these findings, conflict should not be viewed as a negative, but as a positive force in building democratic consensus and improving the public policy process.

Attempts to avoid conflict in the public policy process may be detrimental. When conflict is integrated into the public policy process it reveals the underlying values. These values need to be included into any political dialogue. Whether one defines the political process as "the authoritative allocation of values" for a society,⁹ or as "who gets what, when, and how,"¹⁰ the essential notion in both definitions is that open debate over values creates conflict, and that conflict improves public policy.

The public policy process must be expanded in both urban and rural local governments to include individuals and groups external to the governing body. The resulting conflict over ideas and values must be positively developed and integrated into the public policy process. Unless this expansion occurs, the deficiencies of the council-manager plan as it is applied in both urban and rural local governments will persist.

There are many problems associated with popularizing the public policy process. Probably the problem most often

cited involves the general perception that increasing popular involvement in the public policy process will somehow make it more difficult. This notion holds that by increasing the number of individuals and groups involved, the process will become unwieldy, and thus, ineffectual. Another problem associated with efforts to popularize the governance process stems from the perceived negative effects of having uninformed individuals and groups participate.

John S. Dryzek (1987) argues that everyone need not participate, or be directly involved in the debate concerning the formulation of public policy. He argues that the process is democratic as long as all viable groups in society are represented at some point in the process. He also argues that the ability of government to address complex social problems would be greatly improved by adopting a public policy process that incorporates processes that foster communicative rationality.

Dryzek's extension of Jurgen Habermas' "communicative rationality" provides a means for popularizing the governance process while simultaneously insuring that participants are informed and positive contributors to the overall endeavor. To integrate communicative rationality into the current governance process without realizing its potential downside, several steps must be taken. These steps include:

- 1) allowing the group to discuss pressing, unresolved problems that are of interest to all participants;
- 2) allowing conflict over contingent values and ideas to occur;
- 3) involving a mediator in the process to initiate, lubricate, and oversee discussions among interested parties;
- 4) allowing prolonged, face-to-face discussion to occur between participants to occur governed by the "informal and formal canons of reasoned discourse."
- 5) insuring decisions reached by the group be the products of a reasoned and action-oriented consensus.
- 6) insuring that the process is fluid and transient, and lasts not longer than "a particular problematic situation."¹¹

John Gastil (1994) offers another means for both increasing and improving popular activity in the governance process.¹² He argues that elected and administrative officials should undertake efforts to improve their capacity to provide democratic leadership. According to Gastil, democratic leadership can be defined as:

democratic leadership is behavior that influences people in a manner consistent with and/or conducive to basic democratic principles and processes, such as self-determination, inclusiveness, equal participation, and deliberation.¹³

Under Gastil's definition, leadership and authority are conceptually distinct. An individual does not become a democratic leader simply because he or she assumes a public office that confers democratic authority. Democratic

leadership requires that several additional requirements be met. Democratic leadership "is behavior, not position."¹⁴ The function, or outcome of this behavior results in democratic leadership. According to Cartwright and Zander, democratic leadership "is the performance of those acts which help the group achieve its preferred outcomes."¹⁵

Gastil identifies three "primary functions" that are associated with democratic leadership. First, the democratic leader must distribute responsibility within the demos. Second, the democratic leader must empower the membership of the demos. And third, the democratic leader must aid the demos in its deliberations. Democratic leadership is dependent upon the fulfillment of these three functions. Their very nature allows any member of the demos to become a democratic leader. In fact, each member of the demos should periodically take on a leadership role.

The first function, distributing responsibility within the demos entails that an effort be made by the democratic leader to "evoke maximum involvement and the participation of every member in the group activities and the determination of objectives."¹⁶ The democratic leader must "re-engage the public in the resolution of public problems."¹⁷ Sometimes the democratic leader must be "demanding in reminding people of their collective responsibilities."¹⁸

The second function of the democratic leader is to empower the demos. This empowerment involves several distinct, yet interrelated efforts. Since democracy requires a politically competent membership,¹⁹ the members of the demos must "become skilled at a wide variety of tasks, such as speaking, thinking, and organizing."²⁰ Pateman and Sniderman also add that members of the demos may fare better in the political process "if they develop a healthy sense of self-esteem or political efficacy."²¹ It is the task of the democratic leader to both allow and foster the development of these qualities within each member of the demos.

The third function of the democratic leader is to aid the members of the demos in the deliberative processes that "is the heart of democracy".²² The democratic leader aids the deliberative process through "constructive participation, facilitation, and the maintenance of healthy relationship and a positive emotional setting."²³

Gastil defines constructive participation as aiding the members of the demos in defining, analyzing, and solving group problems through the deliberative process. Facilitation is described as a form of "meta-communication" wherein the democratic leader "determines how the members of the group will think and decide, not what they will think and decide."²⁴ The facilitation function involves

controlling the mechanics of the deliberative process, not its content.

Gastil identifies four facets to facilitation. First, the democratic leader must keep the deliberation "focused and on track." Second, the democratic leader must "encourage free discussion and broad participation." Sometimes this may involve discouraging verbosity and attempts to draw out shy or "marginalized voices" in the demos. The third facet of facilitation involves democratic leader encouraging the demos to "observe the norms and laws that the demos has adopted." These norms and laws can be used effectively as an enforcement tool to ensure that the deliberation process protected. The fourth and final facilitative function of the democratic leader is to "maintain a healthy emotional setting and member relationships." Gastil identifies "positive member relationships and a prevailing spirit of congeniality" as greatly aiding the deliberative process.²⁵

Gastil describes how each of the three points of his democratic leadership model collectively work in the following passage:

The distribution of responsibility relates to notions of a citizens' rights and duties. For instance, if a community takes responsibility for its own welfare, its members affirm their right to self-determination, and they simultaneously accept their duties as citizens to devote a portion of their energies to the governance of their community. Member empowerment makes citizens or

group members stronger--more capable of participating as equals in politics and the other spheres of their lives. Finally, a strong demos requires collective deliberation, and democratic leadership plays a crucial role in ensuring productive discussion and open debate.²⁶

On a final note, Gastil identifies two additional qualities of democratic leadership. First, democratic leadership must be distributed throughout the demos. He states that "in the ideal demos, more than one person serves every leadership function, no individual does an inordinate amount of the leading, and every group member performs leadership function some of the time."²⁷ In rural, as well as urban communities, it is essential that both elected and administrative officials receive training that promotes such democratic leadership.

He also cites the need for and responsibilities of a good democratic followership. Democratic followers must be committed to five basic principles. First and foremost, they must take responsibility for the well-being of the demos. In doing this, they must agree to "cooperate with the group." Second, democratic followers must be "accountable for their actions and decisions." According to this attribute of good followership, members of the demos are obliged to adhere to the general decisions of the demos even if they disagree with them. A third characteristic of a democratic followership is that it takes ultimate

responsibility for maintaining its autonomy. It does not allow undemocratic leaders to usurp their legitimate authority. The fourth attribute of democratic followers is that each member of the demos must work to identify way in which they can function as leaders. Each member of the demos must be ready and willing to step into a leadership role when necessary. The fifth and final characteristic of a democratic followership is that when "playing the role of follower, the membership of the demos must be willing to work with those who are leading."²⁸

Gastil proposes that democratic leadership can occur if the above principles are pursued in a setting that encourages both citizen interest and participation. Such democratic leadership will provide an inroad for popular participation in the governance process. The payoff of effective and purposeful citizen participation in the governance process is both increased governmental legitimacy and an improvement in the quality of public policy.

By popularizing the governance process in both the rural and urban contexts, the deficiencies of the contemporary system can be overcome. Many of the problems facing contemporary local governments can be rectified by shifting how our governmental officials perform their responsibilities. Efforts need to be made to increase the interaction between governmental officials, both elected and

administrative, and interested citizens. These efforts must consider the influence of context upon the governance process.

These efforts will entail both a reconceptualization of our notions of the responsibilities and roles of governmental officials, and how government will be conducted. We can accomplish these two important tasks within the framework of the council-manager plan. By improving communication between board members and the public, new ideals and legitimacy can be developed. There can be no better source of normative guidance than that provided by an active and informed public. The trick is how can the public be energized and allowed to actively participate in the governance process.

The existence of this form of normative guidance in a rural community is dependent upon an active and enlightened citizenry. To develop this source of normative guidance, the elected and administrative official must actively solicit and be willing to accommodate increased citizen participation in the public policy process.

The type of normative guidance resulting from the increased participation of an enlightened citizenry is dramatically different from that which is currently available. The current sources of normative guidance are the council-manager plan and the politics / administration

dichotomy. These two sources are static and inflexible. The normative guidance gained through increased citizen involvement is dynamic and predicated upon the enlightened participation of both citizens and governmental officials.

This form of normative guidance is dynamic since it is gleaned from the polity through their active and enlightened participation in the continuing process of developing public policy. As the community faces new problems, the dialogue involves new issues and groups. This dynamic process promises to increase the overall acceptance of public policy. The outcome of efforts to popularize the local governance process should result in higher levels of public acceptance and public policy that is more responsive to citizens' needs. These efforts should positively influence the public's perceptions of government and its legitimacy. Such efforts will also provide public servants, both elected and administrative, a dynamic source of normative guidance. This is a superior form of normative guidance since it protects the democratic character of local government, while providing for an efficient and improved public policy process.

Future Research

At this point, it will be useful to review the efforts made thus far toward this ultimate goal. The first section

of this chapter argued that a majority of contemporary theories and models attempting to depict and explain how local government officials determine their authority and roles are deficient, because they have not considered the importance of context.

Most contemporary theories have yet to break free from the repressive legacy of the politics / administration dichotomy. This is true of the council-manager plan. While most contemporary accounts of Child's plan herald the death of the dichotomy, its past reliance upon the dichotomy still lingers in the minds of practitioners. This lingering influence creates unrealistic expectations and inhibits the formation of alternatives concerning the distribution of authority and roles in the local governing process.

Furthermore, this legacy makes the council-manager plan, an urban model, inappropriate for rural localities. The council-manager plan is premised upon several preconditions such as a large and diverse population, a general respect for professionalism (the expert), a well defined division-of-labor, centralized control, and a tendency for private and public organizations to have bureaucratic structures. The council-manager plan anticipates the existence of these conditions and takes them for granted. Thus, its ability to accurately describe and make prescriptions concerning the distribution of authority

and roles between local government officials in rural areas is suspect.

The second section identified and offered some of the tangible and intangible characteristics associated with urban and rural communities as reasons for the differences in the actual and preferred activity levels of governmental officials. This section improved our ability to explain the differences that exist between the activity levels of governmental officials in urban and rural communities. This section identified the tangible and intangible qualities associated with context as factors influencing the dispersion of authority and roles among local governmental officials.

The third section drew upon the historic debate between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists over the ratification of the United States Constitution as a source for developing a normative guide suitable for the rural official. This section set out to demonstrate the historical importance of context to the continuing debate surrounding the structure and form of our local governmental system.

While this section did not directly address the impact of context upon the dispersion of authority and roles among elected and administrative officials, it provided some insights into why our founding fathers so esteemed small, rural governments. Their esteem helps us understand and

defend differences that exist between the observed activity levels of elected official in urban and rural localities.

The fourth section of this chapter contained alternatives to the current conceptualizations of the roles of elected and administrative officials as they go about governing locally. This section proposed a new normative prospective that took into account differences attributable to context, especially a rural context. This new prospective eclipses many of the structural and procedural dictates associated with the dominant theories and models of the distribution of authority and roles between elected and administrative officials at the local level.

Also, the final section of this chapter offers some suggestions for future research. These suggestions result from various discoveries and experiences associated with this dissertation. It is the hope of this author that these research suggestions will further our understanding of role definitions at the local level.

Future research in this area should consider incorporating one or more of the following four insights gained during the conduct of this study. First, any future study should include a study group of sufficient size and character to allow the use of more stringent statistical techniques. Sufficient numbers of urban and rural local

governmental officials should be included in future studies in an effort to develop some inferential capabilities.

Future studies should also include rural municipalities as a representative of rural local governments. This study identified all municipalities as sharing an essential urban character. During the conduct of this study, it became apparent that the small, rural municipality shared many similar characteristics with rural counties. The inclusion of rural municipalities would balance the inclusion of large, urban cities.

A third suggestion for future research would be that it include provisions for making direct inquiries of elected and administrative officials as to the sources they relied upon as guides as they learned their job responsibilities. Such research efforts will help identify available sources of both operational and normative guidance for local government officials. This type of analysis would yield information that could be used to both develop new and improve existing training programs.

A fourth and final recommendation for future research in this area would be that it focus on efforts to both increase and improve citizen participation in the governance process. We should view each local government as if it were an experiment in democracy. The efforts and experiences of each community as they attempt to popularize their

governance systems will provide evidence as to what steps and procedures work best in particular situations. The insights gained through such an analysis will allow both rural and urban governments to rebuild their reputations and regain their legitimacy. These insights should also lead to a simultaneous improvement in the quality of public policy.

End Notes for Chapter Five

1. A similar attitude can be seen in President Andrew Jackson's call for a government run by the common man.
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3. Herbert J. Storing, The Anti-Federalist (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 4.
4. Jackson Turner Main, Political Parties before the Constitution. (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 80-81.
5. Shay's Rebellion demonstrated in dramatic fashion the need for a stronger, more capable national government than the one provided for under the Articles of Confederation. The Federalists viewed the proposed Constitution and its federal system of government as a means of rectifying many of the weaknesses associated with the Articles of Confederation.
6. Authur W. Bromage American County Government (New York: Sears Publishing Company, Inc., 1933), 16-35.
7. Robert. D. Putnam. Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), 163-185.
8. Jan Flora, Institute for Rural Development.
9. David Easton, The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science, 2nd. Edition. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971).
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12. John Gastil, "A Definition and Illustration of Democratic Leadership," Human Relations. August 1994, Vol 47, Number 8: 953-975.

13. Robert A. Dahl, Democracy and Its Critics. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989); and J. Fishkin, Democracy and Deliberation. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991).
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18. S. Morse, "Leadership for An Uncertain Century" Phi Kappa Phi Journal, 1991. Winter: 79.
19. Robert A. Dahl, Democracy and Its Critics. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989).
20. S. Evans, and H. Boyte, Free Spaces. (New York: Harper & Row, 1986).
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22. Several authors have reached similar conclusions and made similar statements. For example see, Barber, 1984; Cohen, 1989; Fishkin, 1991; Gastil 1992, 1993) Mathews, 1988; and Yankelovich, 1991).
23. John Gastil, "A Definition and Illustration of Democratic Leadership," Human Relations. August 1994, Vol 47, Number 8: 960.
24. Ibid., 960.
25. Ibid., 961.
26. Ibid., 962.
27. Ibid., 962.
28. Ibid., 963.

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APPENDIX - QUESTIONNAIRE

LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL PROCESS QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this questionnaire is to help us better understand the activities and roles of elected officials, managers and administrators, and other staff members representing and working for local governments across the Commonwealth of Virginia. This survey is being sent to the elected officials and key staff members of several local governments located throughout the Commonwealth. Your responses will be kept in strictest confidence. Please return the completed questionnaire sealed in the envelope provided. Thank you for your time and assistance.

Please provide some information about your locality.

Your Name _____

Your Title _____

Name of County _____ Population _____

Total number of county board of supervisor members: _____

Number elected at-large _____

Elected by district _____

a. Term of Office (In years) _____

b. Are terms staggered? Yes No

c. Is a partisan ballot used in the election of county board of supervisor members? Yes No

How long have you been the county administrator for this local government? (In years) _____

How much experience do you have as a county administrator in all positions? (In years) _____

How long have you been a departmental director for this local government? (In years) _____

How much experience do you have as a departmental director in all positions? (In years) _____



PART I

COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISOR'S AND STAFF'S INVOLVEMENT

For the activities listed below, please indicate the **ACTUAL** and **PREFERRED** level of involvement **BY THE COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS** and the **ACTUAL** and **PREFERRED** level of **COUNTY ADMINISTRATOR AND STAFF** involvement. Please note that it is possible for each group to share equal levels of **ACTUAL** and **PREFERRED** activity. The categories for these items are explained below.

ACTUAL LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT

- 1 - Very Low: Not Involved**
Handled entirely by someone else, who may report on what has been done.
- 2 - Low: Minimum Review or Reaction Appropriate to Situation**
Examples include making suggestions, reviewing recommendations, seeking information or clarification, ratifying proposals.
- 3 - Moderate: Advising or Reviewing**
Examples would be giving a routine OK to someone else's recommendations, providing the opportunity to react as courtesy, or making comments.
- 4 - High: Leading, Guiding, or Pressuring**
Examples are initiating; making proposals; advocating, promoting, or opposing; intensely reviewing and revising a proposal.
- 5 - Very High: Handle Entirely**
No one else directly involved but others may be informed of actions taken.

PREFERRED LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT

Whatever the level of actual involvement, there may be a differing degree of satisfaction with that level. For example, one person may prefer not to be involved in a specific activity, while another person may desire a greater level of involvement in the same activity. Please choose the appropriate number for the actual level of involvement, and then mark the number on the scale that reflects the level of involvement that you believe to be appropriate for either the county board of supervisors or the county administrator/county staff.

To give an illustration, suppose that for the activity **NAMING ROADS**, the county board of supervisor's actual level of involvement is high and the county administrator's and county staff's is low. As a county administrator or county staff member, you would prefer that the county board of supervisors spend less time and simply accept or reject the staff's proposals. In this case, you would mark the scales as follows --

ACTIVITY	Involvement:	Board		County Administrator/ Staff	
		Board	Staff	Board	Staff
NAMING ROADS	Actual:	1	2 3 4 5	1	2 3 4 5
	Prefer:	1	2 3 4 5	1	2 3 4 5



PART II. CHAIRPERSON, COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISOR'S & COUNTY ADMINISTRATOR'S ROLES

A. CHAIR OF THE COUNTY BOARD

How would you rate the effectiveness of the chairperson in promoting communication within the board and a positive relationship between the board and the administrator?

Low Medium High

How would you rate the effectiveness of the chairperson in helping the board set goals and adopt policies?

Low Medium High

How would you rate the effectiveness of your board in performing the following functions?

- | | | | |
|--|------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Establishing long-term goals | <input type="checkbox"/> Low | <input type="checkbox"/> Med | <input type="checkbox"/> Hi |
| Establishing objectives and priorities | <input type="checkbox"/> Low | <input type="checkbox"/> Med | <input type="checkbox"/> Hi |
| Responding to constituent demands | <input type="checkbox"/> Low | <input type="checkbox"/> Med | <input type="checkbox"/> Hi |
| Addressing the county's real problems | <input type="checkbox"/> Low | <input type="checkbox"/> Med | <input type="checkbox"/> Hi |
| Reviewing and approving the budget | <input type="checkbox"/> Low | <input type="checkbox"/> Med | <input type="checkbox"/> Hi |
| Overseeing program effectiveness | <input type="checkbox"/> Low | <input type="checkbox"/> Med | <input type="checkbox"/> Hi |
| Overseeing administrative performance | <input type="checkbox"/> Low | <input type="checkbox"/> Med | <input type="checkbox"/> Hi |

B. COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS

For the following statements, based on how things are in your locality at the present time, indicate whether you agree completely (++), agree more than you disagree (+), disagree more than you agree(-), or disagree completely (-).

	<u>Agree Completely</u>	<u>Agree More Than Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree More Than Agree</u>	<u>Disagree Completely</u>
1) Board members devote too much time responding to requests from citizens for service.	++	+	-	--
2) Board members encourage citizens to refer complaints directly to staff rather than going through board members.	++	+	-	--
3) Intervention by a board member is necessary to get adequate response to citizen complaints.	++	+	-	--
4) Citizens get better treatment from staff if their request is referred through a board member.	++	+	-	--



APPENDIX - QUESTIONNAIRE

	<u>Agree Completely</u>	<u>Agree More Than Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree More Than Agree</u>	<u>Disagree Completely</u>
5) Board members try to get special services and benefits for their constituents.	++	+	-	--
6) The board deals with too many administrative matter and not enough policy issues.	++	+	-	--
7) The board understands its role in administration.	++	+	-	--
8) The board effectively draws on the expertise of professional staff.	++	+	-	--
9) The board and administrator have a good working relationship.	++	+	-	--
10) The board is more a reviewing and vetoing agency rather than a leader in policy making.	++	+	-	--
11) The board does not have enough time to deal effectively with important policy issues.	++	+	-	--
12) The board appraises the administrator's performance in a comprehensive and timely manner.	++	+	-	--
13) The board is too involved in administrative activities.	++	+	-	--
14) The board provides sufficient direction and overall leadership to county government.	++	+	-	--
15) The board has difficulty making clear decisions.	++	+	-	--
16) The board focuses too much on short-term problems and gives too little attention to long-term concerns.	++	+	-	--
17) The board makes excessive demands on staff for reports, studies, and information.	++	+	-	--
18) Board members have a good working relationship with each other.	++	+	-	--

Listed below are activities that some county boards of supervisors engage in. For each, indicate to what extent the board in your county is engaged in that activity and how effective it is at it.

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>WHAT EXTENT?</u>	<u>HOW EFFECTIVE?</u>
1) Clearly formulate the mission of the government.	[]Low []Med []Hi	[]Low []Med []Hi
2) Develop clear goals, objectives and service priorities.	[]Low []Med []Hi	[]Low []Med []Hi
3) Provide oversight and assessment of policy implementation and service delivery.	[]Low []Med []Hi	[]Low []Med []Hi
4) Periodically evaluate the performance of the administrator and county government as a whole.	[]Low []Med []Hi	[]Low []Med []Hi



APPENDIX - QUESTIONNAIRE
C. COUNTY ADMINISTRATOR

Here are some statements concerning what a county administrator **SHOULD** or **SHOULD NOT** do. Based on experience in your community, indicate whether you – agree completely (++) , agree more than disagree (+), disagree more than you agree (-), or disagree completely (--).

	<u>Agree Completely</u>	<u>Agree More Than Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree More Than Agree</u>	<u>Disagree Completely</u>
1) A county administrator should advocate major changes in policies.	++	+	-	--
2) A county administrator should maintain a neutral stand on any issues on which the community is divided.	++	+	-	--
3) A county administrator should consult with the board before drafting his/her own budget.	++	+	-	--
4) A county administrator should assume leadership in shaping county policies.	++	+	-	--
5) A county administrator should act as an administrator and leave policy matters to the board.	++	+	-	--
6) A county administrator should advocate policies to which important parts of the community may be hostile.	++	+	-	--
7) A county administrator should make it clear to the board when they are intruding in administrative areas.	++	+	-	--
8) A county administrator should actively promote equality and fairness in the distribution of existing county services.	++	+	-	--
9) A county administrator should promote new services in order to promote equity and fairness for low income groups and minorities.	++	+	-	--
10) A county administrator should facilitate the expression of citizen opinions even if they counter board views.	++	+	-	--
11) A county administrator should insist on having a free hand in directing the internal operations of county government.	++	+	-	--



APPENDIX - QUESTIONNAIRE

Listed below are activities that some county administrators engage in. For each, indicate how you would rate the performance of the administrator in your locality -- is performance poor, satisfactory, good, or very good?

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>POOR</u>	<u>SATISFACTORY</u>	<u>GOOD</u>	<u>VERY GOOD</u>
1) Accomplishes the goals established by the board.	<input type="checkbox"/> Poor	<input type="checkbox"/> Satisfactory	<input type="checkbox"/> Good	<input type="checkbox"/> Very Good
2) Provides the board with sufficient alternatives for making policy decisions.	<input type="checkbox"/> Poor	<input type="checkbox"/> Satisfactory	<input type="checkbox"/> Good	<input type="checkbox"/> Very Good
3) Insures that county government is open to the participation of all groups in the community.	<input type="checkbox"/> Poor	<input type="checkbox"/> Satisfactory	<input type="checkbox"/> Good	<input type="checkbox"/> Very Good
4) Insures that staff respond positively to citizens and treat all with fairness and impartially.	<input type="checkbox"/> Poor	<input type="checkbox"/> Satisfactory	<input type="checkbox"/> Good	<input type="checkbox"/> Very Good
5) Provides the board with sufficient information to assess the quality of programs and services.	<input type="checkbox"/> Poor	<input type="checkbox"/> Satisfactory	<input type="checkbox"/> Good	<input type="checkbox"/> Very Good
6) Maintain high standards of personal conduct.	<input type="checkbox"/> Poor	<input type="checkbox"/> Satisfactory	<input type="checkbox"/> Good	<input type="checkbox"/> Very Good
7) Seeks to improve the efficiency of county government.	<input type="checkbox"/> Poor	<input type="checkbox"/> Satisfactory	<input type="checkbox"/> Good	<input type="checkbox"/> Very Good

D. RELATIONSHIPS

How would you assess the overall working relationship among elected officials and administrative staff in your county?

- Very Positive
 - Good
 - Satisfactory
 - Not Very Good
 - Very Negative
- Please describe this relationship in your own words in the space provided to the right:
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____



PART III
INFORMATION ABOUT YOU

Your responses will be used in strict confidence. Questions about you will be used for analysis, not to identify individuals.

A. Are you a member of the county board of supervisors? Yes [] No []

Are you a member of the administrative staff? Yes [] No []

If a board member, how many terms have you served? (In years) _____

If a staff member, how many years have you worked in this locality? (In years) _____

B. Age: (In years) _____

C. Education: [] Less than high school

[] Some College

[] High School graduate

[] College graduate

[] Technical school

[] Graduate/Professional study

a. [] Law

b. [] MPA

c. [] MBA

d. [] Education

e. [] Ph.D.

f. [] Other _____

D. Sex: Please indicate your sex. Male [] Female []

E. Race: Please indicate your race.

American Indian or Alaskan native

(Persons having origins in any of the original peoples of North America, and who maintain cultural identification through tribal affiliation or community recognition.)

Black

(Persons having origins in any of the black racial groups of Africa, not of Hispanic Origin.)

Asian or Pacific Islander

(Persons having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, the Indian Subcontinent, or the Pacific Islands. This includes for example, China, Japan, Korea, the Philippine Islands and American Samoa.)

Hispanic

(Persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race.)

White

(Persons having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, North Africa, or the Middle East and not of Hispanic Origin.)

Thank you! Please provide any comments you may have concerning this questionnaire.



APPENDIX - TABLES

**Table 3.6
Average Actual and Preferred Involvement
by Elected Officials**

	Roanoke City Council		Portsmouth City Council		Lynchburg City Council	
	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>
Mission						
Analyzing future needs	4.20	3.80	3.57	4.57	3.50	3.75
Strategies for development	3.60	4.60	3.67	4.67	3.67	4.00
Changing institutions	2.60	4.80	4.33	4.33	4.00	4.25
Initiating and canceling	3.40	3.20	3.33	3.83	3.00	3.25
Purpose and scope	<u>3.20</u>	<u>4.20</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.50</u>	<u>3.75</u>	<u>4.00</u>
Average	3.40	4.12	3.77	4.39	3.58	3.84
Policy						
Annual program goals	3.00	3.80	3.57	4.71	4.00	4.25
Planning and zoning	3.80	3.80	4.14	4.43	3.50	3.75
Formulating budget	3.40	3.20	3.00	3.83	2.50	3.00
Reviewing budget	<u>4.20</u>	<u>4.20</u>	<u>4.71</u>	<u>4.86</u>	<u>4.25</u>	<u>4.50</u>
Average	3.60	3.75	3.89	4.48	3.56	3.88
Administration						
Service decisions	2.80	2.80	2.00	2.50	3.00	3.25
Citizen complaints	4.20	3.80	3.83	2.83	3.00	3.33
Project decisions	3.60	3.80	3.33	3.83	2.25	2.25
Evaluating programs	<u>3.20</u>	<u>3.60</u>	<u>2.50</u>	<u>3.33</u>	<u>2.75</u>	<u>3.00</u>
Average	3.45	3.50	2.92	3.12	2.73	2.93
Management						
Hiring department heads	2.40	2.20	1.83	2.00	2.00	1.75
Hiring other staff	1.60	1.40	1.00	1.60	1.25	1.25
Contracts and purchasing	2.20	2.20	1.33	1.33	1.75	1.50
Change management	<u>3.60</u>	<u>3.20</u>	<u>2.50</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>3.50</u>	<u>3.75</u>
Average	2.45	2.25	1.70	2.26	2.13	2.06
Summary (Averages)						
Mission	3.40	4.12	3.77	4.39	3.58	3.84
Policy	3.60	3.75	3.89	4.48	3.56	3.88
Administration	3.45	3.50	2.92	3.12	2.73	2.93
Management	2.45	2.25	1.70	2.26	2.13	2.06

APPENDIX - TABLES

**Table 3.6 - Continued...
Average Actual and Preferred Involvement
by Elected Officials**

	Roanoke County Board		Chesterfield County Board		Henrico County Board	
	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>
Mission						
Analyzing future needs	4.00	4.60	3.80	4.00	3.75	3.75
Strategies for development	3.60	4.80	3.20	3.40	3.50	4.25
Changing institutions	4.20	4.60	4.80	4.60	3.25	3.50
Initiating and canceling	2.80	3.40	3.40	3.40	2.75	4.00
Purpose and scope	<u>4.20</u>	<u>5.00</u>	<u>4.20</u>	<u>4.60</u>	<u>3.25</u>	<u>4.50</u>
Average	3.76	4.48	3.88	4.00	3.30	4.00
Policy						
Annual program goals	3.60	4.60	3.40	3.60	2.25	3.00
Planning and zoning	3.80	3.80	4.00	3.60	4.00	4.00
Formulating budget	2.40	4.00	3.40	3.20	2.25	3.50
Reviewing budget	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.80</u>	<u>4.20</u>	<u>4.40</u>	<u>3.75</u>	<u>4.50</u>
Average	3.45	4.30	3.75	3.70	3.06	3.75
Administration						
Service decisions	2.60	2.40	2.40	2.00	2.75	3.25
Citizen complaints	3.20	2.80	3.60	3.80	4.33	4.33
Project decisions	2.80	2.80	2.20	2.00	3.75	4.25
Evaluating programs	2.00	3.00	3.40	3.40	3.00	4.25
Average	2.65	2.75	2.90	2.80	3.40	4.00
Management						
Hiring department heads	1.80	2.00	3.20	2.80	2.75	3.25
Hiring other staff	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Contracts and purchasing	1.20	1.40	1.00	1.00	1.75	2.50
Change management	2.60	3.40	3.20	3.20	2.50	3.50
Average	1.65	1.95	2.16	2.05	2.07	2.67
Summary (Averages)						
Mission	3.76	4.48	3.88	4.00	3.30	4.00
Policy	3.45	4.30	3.75	3.70	3.06	3.75
Administration	2.65	2.75	2.90	2.80	3.40	4.00
Management	1.65	1.95	2.16	2.05	2.07	2.67



APPENDIX - TABLES

**Table 3.6 - Continued...
Average Actual and Preferred Involvement
by Elected Officials**

	Giles County Board		King William County Board		Franklin County Board	
	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>
Mission						
Analyzing future needs	3.50	3.33	3.00	4.00	3.75	4.00
Strategies for development	4.00	4.00	3.00	4.00	2.75	3.50
Changing institutions	3.75	4.33	4.00	4.67	4.50	4.50
Initiating and canceling	4.25	3.67	3.00	3.67	3.00	3.25
Purpose and scope	<u>3.75</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>3.67</u>	<u>4.67</u>	<u>3.25</u>	<u>3.75</u>
Average	3.85	3.87	3.33	4.21	3.45	3.80
Policy						
Annual program goals	3.75	3.00	3.33	4.00	4.00	4.25
Planning and zoning	4.00	3.33	4.67	4.33	4.50	4.25
Formulating budget	4.00	3.33	3.00	3.67	3.50	3.50
Reviewing budget	<u>4.50</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.67</u>	<u>4.33</u>	<u>4.25</u>	<u>4.50</u>
Average	4.06	3.42	3.92	4.08	4.06	4.13
Administration						
Service decisions	3.75	4.00	3.67	3.33	3.50	3.75
Citizen complaints	3.67	2.67	4.33	4.33	3.67	3.33
Project decisions	4.00	3.67	3.33	3.67	4.00	4.50
Evaluating programs	<u>4.33</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>3.00</u>	<u>3.67</u>	<u>3.00</u>	<u>3.25</u>
Average	3.93	3.58	3.58	3.75	3.53	3.73
Management						
Hiring department heads	4.25	3.67	4.00	4.33	3.75	3.50
Hiring other staff	3.75	3.33	3.33	3.00	2.00	2.25
Contracts and purchasing	3.33	3.33	2.33	2.67	2.75	2.75
Change management	<u>4.25</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.33</u>	<u>4.25</u>	<u>4.50</u>
Average	3.93	3.58	3.42	3.58	3.19	3.25
Summary (Averages)						
Mission	3.85	3.87	3.33	4.21	3.45	3.80
Policy	4.06	3.42	3.92	4.08	4.06	4.13
Administration	3.93	3.58	3.58	3.75	3.53	3.73
Management	3.93	3.58	3.42	3.58	3.19	3.25



APPENDIX - TABLES

**Table 3.7
Average Actual and Preferred Involvement
by Chief Administrative Officers**

	Roanoke City Manager		Portsmouth City Manager		Lynchburg City Manager	
	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>
Mission						
Analyzing future needs	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00
Strategies for development	5.00	5.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	4.00
Changing institutions	4.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00
Initiating and canceling	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00
Purpose and scope	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>2.00</u>	<u>3.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>
Average	4.20	4.00	3.00	3.20	3.80	3.80
Policy						
Annual program goals	5.00	5.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	4.00
Planning and zoning	2.00	2.00	4.00	4.00	3.00	3.00
Formulating budget	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	3.00	3.00
Reviewing budget	<u>5.00</u>	<u>5.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>
Average	4.25	4.25	3.75	4.00	3.50	3.50
Administration						
Service decisions	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	3.00	3.00
Citizen complaints	4.00	3.00	4.00	5.00	4.00	3.00
Project decisions	4.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	3.00
Evaluating programs	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>3.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>
Average	4.00	3.75	3.50	3.75	3.50	3.25
Management						
Hiring department heads	4.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	4.00
Hiring other staff	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Contracts and purchasing	4.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	3.00	2.00
Change management	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>5.00</u>	<u>5.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>
Average	3.25	3.25	4.25	4.25	3.25	3.00
Summary (Averages)						
Mission	4.20	4.00	3.00	3.20	3.80	3.80
Policy	4.25	4.25	3.75	4.00	3.50	3.50
Administration	4.00	3.75	3.50	3.75	3.50	3.25
Management	3.25	3.25	4.25	4.25	3.25	3.00



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**Table 3.7 -- Continued...
Average Actual and Preferred Involvement
by Chief Administrative Officers**

	Roanoke County Administrator		Chesterfield County Administrator		Henrico County Manager	
	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>
Mission						
Analyzing future needs	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00
Strategies for development	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00
Changing institutions	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	3.00	3.00
Initiating and canceling	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00
Purpose and scope	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>
Average	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	3.80	3.80
Policy						
Annual program goals	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00
Planning and zoning	3.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	5.00
Formulating budget	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	5.00	5.00
Reviewing budget	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>
Average	3.75	3.75	4.00	4.00	4.25	4.50
Administration						
Service decisions	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	4.00
Citizen complaints	4.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	.00	.00
Project decisions	4.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	5.00	5.00
Evaluating programs	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>3.00</u>	<u>3.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>
Average	3.75	3.50	3.25	3.25	4.33	4.33
Management						
Hiring department heads	2.00	2.00	4.00	4.00	5.00	5.00
Hiring other staff	.00	.00	3.00	3.00	5.00	5.00
Contracts and purchasing	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	5.00	5.00
Change management	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>
Average	3.00	3.00	3.50	3.50	4.75	4.75
Summary (Averages)						
Mission	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	3.80	3.80
Policy	3.75	3.75	4.00	4.00	4.25	4.50
Administration	3.75	3.50	3.25	3.25	4.33	4.33
Management	3.00	3.00	3.50	3.50	4.75	4.75

APPENDIX - TABLES

**Table 3.7 -- Continued...
Average Actual and Preferred Involvement
by Chief Administrative Officers**

	Giles County Administrator		King William County Administrator		Franklin County Administrator	
	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>	<u>ACT.</u>	<u>PREF.</u>
Mission						
Analyzing future needs	3.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	4.00
Strategies for development	3.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	3.00
Changing institutions	3.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00
Initiating and canceling	.00	.00	5.00	5.00	3.00	4.00
Purpose and scope	<u>3.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>5.00</u>	<u>5.00</u>	<u>3.00</u>	<u>3.00</u>
Average	3.00	4.00	4.40	4.40	3.40	3.40
Policy						
Annual program goals	3.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	4.00
Planning and zoning	3.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	3.00	3.00
Formulating budget	4.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Reviewing budget	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>5.00</u>	<u>5.00</u>	<u>3.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>
Average	3.50	3.75	5.00	5.00	3.75	4.00
Administration						
Service decisions	4.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Citizen complaints	3.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	4.00
Project decisions	3.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	4.00
Evaluating programs	<u>3.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>5.00</u>	<u>5.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>
Average	3.25	3.75	5.00	5.00	4.25	4.25
Management						
Hiring department heads	3.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Hiring other staff	3.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Contracts and purchasing	4.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	4.00
Change management	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>5.00</u>	<u>5.00</u>	<u>5.00</u>	<u>5.00</u>
Average	3.50	4.00	5.00	5.00	4.75	4.75
Summary (Averages)						
Mission	3.00	4.00	4.40	4.40	3.40	3.40
Policy	3.50	3.75	5.00	5.00	3.75	4.00
Administration	3.25	3.75	5.00	5.00	4.25	4.25
Management	3.50	4.00	5.00	5.00	4.75	4.75

APPENDIX - TABLES

Table 4.1
Actual and Preferred Involvement by
Elected and Administrative Officials
Averages for the Four Decisional Models (N=93)

	<u>ELECTED</u>			<u>ADMINISTRATIVE</u>		
	<u>Act.</u>	<u>Pref.</u>	<u>Diff.</u>	<u>Act.</u>	<u>Pref.</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
Mission						
Analyzing future needs	3.35	3.92	.57	3.84	4.04	.20
Strategies for development	3.21	4.05	.83	3.90	4.11	.21
Changing institutions	3.82	4.20	.38	3.33	3.35	.02
Initiating and canceling	3.22	3.36	.15	3.94	3.96	.03
Purpose and scope	<u>3.56</u>	<u>4.07</u>	<u>.51</u>	<u>3.89</u>	<u>3.95</u>	<u>.06</u>
Average	3.43	3.92	.49	3.78	3.88	.10
Policy						
Annual program goals	2.90	3.62	.72	3.94	4.14	.20
Planning and zoning	3.89	3.78	-.11	3.44	3.54	.11
Formulating budget	2.83	3.13	.30	4.35	4.31	-.05
Reviewing budget	<u>4.10</u>	<u>4.29</u>	<u>.19</u>	<u>3.67</u>	<u>3.68</u>	<u>.01</u>
Average	3.43	3.71	.28	3.85	3.92	.07
Administration						
Service decisions	2.74	2.64	-.10	3.85	4.00	.15
Citizen complaints	3.50	2.98	-.52	3.79	4.17	.37
Project decisions	3.14	3.13	-.01	3.99	4.09	.10
Evaluating programs	<u>2.69</u>	<u>3.15</u>	<u>.45</u>	<u>3.81</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>.19</u>
Average	3.01	2.97	-.04	3.86	4.06	.20
Management						
Hiring department heads	2.49	2.32	-.17	4.32	4.41	.08
Hiring other staff	1.55	1.44	-.10	3.95	4.00	.05
Contracts and purchasing	1.93	1.86	-.07	4.16	4.28	.11
Change management	<u>2.97</u>	<u>3.11</u>	<u>.15</u>	<u>4.04</u>	<u>4.06</u>	<u>.02</u>
Average	2.24	2.19	-.05	4.12	4.18	.07
Summary (Averages)						
Mission	3.43	3.92	.49	3.78	3.88	.10
Policy	3.43	3.71	.28	3.85	3.92	.07
Administration	3.01	2.97	-.04	3.86	4.06	.20
Management	2.24	2.19	-.05	4.12	4.18	.07

Note: Elected and Administrative responses for each category are combined.



APPENDIX - TABLES

TABLE 4.2

Comparison of Svava's Four Models With Survey Data

Models and Decision-making Dimensions	Svava's Models		General Results		Difference (*)	
	Elect.	Adm.	Elect.	Adm.	Elect.	Adm.
Dichotomy Model						
Mission	4.00	3.00	3.92	3.88	.08	+ .88
Policy	4.00	3.00	3.71	3.92	.29	+ .92
Administration	2.00	4.00	2.97	4.06	+.97	+ .06
Management	1.50	4.50	2.19	4.18	+.69	- .32
Council Dominance Model						
Mission	4.00	2.50	3.92	3.88	-.08	+1.38
Policy	4.00	3.00	3.71	3.92	-.29	+ .92
Administration	3.50	3.50	2.97	4.06	-.53	+ .56
Management	3.00	4.00	2.19	4.18	-.81	+ .18
Executive Dominance Model						
Mission	3.00	4.00	3.92	3.88	+.92	- .12
Policy	3.00	4.00	3.71	3.92	+.71	- .08
Administration	2.00	4.50	2.97	4.06	+.97	- .44
Management	1.50	4.50	2.19	4.18	+.69	- .32
Dichotomy/Duality Model						
Mission	4.00	3.50	3.92	3.88	-.08	+ .38
Policy	3.50	4.00	3.71	3.92	+.21	- .08
Administration	3.00	4.00	2.97	4.06	-.03	+ .06
Management	2.00	4.50	2.19	4.18	+.19	- .32

* Differences were calculated by subtracting the means generated for each decisional dimension from the means associated with Svava's four decision-making models.

Involvement Scale: 1-Very Low/No Involvement; 2-Low; 3-Moderate; 4-High; 5-Very High/Handle Entirely.



APPENDIX - TABLES

Table 4.3
Involvement Levels of Elected and Administrative Officials
Assessment by Elected Officials (N=41)

	<u>ELECTED</u>			<u>ADMINISTRATIVE</u>		
	<u>Act.</u>	<u>Pref.</u>	<u>Diff.</u>	<u>Act.</u>	<u>Pref.</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
Mission						
Analyzing future needs	3.71	4.05	.34	3.86	4.00	.14
Strategies for development	3.46	4.19	.73	4.03	4.17	.14
Changing institutions	3.95	4.41	.46	3.40	3.23	-.17
Initiating and canceling	3.23	3.51	.28	3.97	3.83	-.14
Purpose and scope	<u>3.72</u>	<u>4.38</u>	<u>.66</u>	<u>4.10</u>	<u>3.90</u>	<u>-.20</u>
Average	3.62	4.11	.49	3.87	3.83	-.04
Policy						
Annual program goals	3.44	4.00	.56	4.10	4.07	-.03
Planning and zoning	4.02	3.95	-.07	3.45	3.52	.07
Formulating budget	3.05	3.49	.44	4.43	4.27	-.16
Reviewing budget	4.29	4.50	<u>.21</u>	<u>3.27</u>	<u>3.07</u>	<u>-.20</u>
Average	3.71	3.99	.28	3.82	3.74	-.08
Administration						
Service decisions	2.85	2.92	.07	4.00	4.13	.13
Citizen complaints	3.75	3.42	-.33	3.67	4.34	.67
Project decisions	3.22	3.38	.16	3.93	3.97	.04
Evaluating programs	<u>2.95</u>	<u>3.46</u>	<u>.51</u>	<u>3.94</u>	<u>3.87</u>	<u>-.07</u>
Average	3.18	3.29	.11	3.89	4.08	.19
Management						
Hiring department heads	2.78	2.69	-.09	4.47	4.33	-.14
Hiring other staff	1.68	1.65	-.03	4.13	4.27	.14
Contracts and purchasing	1.87	1.97	.10	4.30	4.52	.22
Change management	<u>3.30</u>	<u>3.72</u>	<u>.42</u>	<u>3.84</u>	<u>3.65</u>	<u>-.19</u>
Average	2.42	2.52	.10	4.18	4.18	.00
Summary (Averages)						
Mission	3.62	4.11	.49	3.87	3.83	-.04
Policy	3.71	3.99	.28	3.82	3.74	-.08
Administration	3.18	3.29	.11	3.89	4.08	.19
Management	2.42	2.52	.10	4.18	4.18	.00

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Table 4.4
Involvement Levels of Elected and Administrative Officials
Assessment by Administrative Officials (N=52)

	<u>ELECTED</u>			<u>ADMINISTRATIVE</u>		
	<u>Act.</u>	<u>Pref.</u>	<u>Diff.</u>	<u>Act.</u>	<u>Pref.</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
Mission						
Analyzing future needs	3.06	3.82	.76	3.82	4.06	.24
Strategies for development	3.02	3.94	.92	3.82	4.08	.26
Changing institutions	3.71	4.04	.33	3.28	3.41	.13
Initiating and canceling	3.21	3.24	.03	3.91	4.04	.13
Purpose and scope	3.43	3.82	.39	3.76	3.98	.22
Average	3.28	3.78	.50	3.72	3.91	.19
Policy						
Annual program goals	2.45	3.32	.87	3.84	4.17	.33
Planning and zoning	3.78	3.64	-.14	3.43	3.56	.13
Formulating budget	2.66	2.86	.20	4.29	4.33	.04
Reviewing budget	3.94	4.12	.18	3.90	4.02	.12
Average	3.20	3.48	.28	3.87	4.02	.15
Administration						
Service decisions	2.65	2.42	-.23	3.76	3.92	.16
Citizen complaints	3.31	2.65	-.66	3.87	4.06	.19
Project decisions	3.08	2.94	-.14	4.02	4.16	.14
Evaluating programs	2.49	2.90	.41	3.73	4.08	.35
Average	2.88	2.73	-.15	3.85	4.06	.21
Management						
Hiring department heads	2.25	2.02	-.23	4.23	4.45	.22
Hiring other staff	1.44	1.29	-.15	3.84	3.84	.00
Contracts and purchasing	1.98	1.78	-.20	4.08	4.14	.06
Change management	2.69	2.63	-.06	4.16	4.32	.16
Average	2.09	1.93	-.16	4.08	4.19	.11
Summary (Averages)						
Mission	3.28	3.78	.50	3.72	3.91	.19
Policy	3.20	3.48	.28	3.87	4.02	.15
Administration	2.88	2.73	-.15	3.85	4.06	.21
Management	2.09	1.93	-.16	4.08	4.19	.11



APPENDIX - TABLES

**Table 4.5
Involvement by Elected Officials
General Assessment by Urban/Rural Category**

	<u>ACTUAL</u>			<u>PREFERRED</u>		
		URBAN	RURAL		URBAN	RURAL
	<u>CITY</u>	<u>COUNTY</u>	<u>COUNTY</u>	<u>CITY</u>	<u>COUNTY</u>	<u>COUNTY</u>
	N=33	N=38	N=22	N=33	N=38	N=22
Mission						
Analyzing future needs	3.47	3.39	3.10	3.94	3.92	3.90
Strategies for development	3.37	3.21	3.00	4.20	4.00	3.90
Changing institutions	3.77	4.05	3.45	4.35	4.18	4.00
Initiating and canceling	3.16	3.19	3.33	3.32	3.31	3.52
Purpose and scope	<u>3.48</u>	<u>3.73</u>	<u>3.38</u>	<u>4.06</u>	<u>4.11</u>	<u>4.00</u>
Average	3.45	3.52	3.25	3.97	3.91	3.86
Policy						
Annual program goals	2.91	2.70	3.24	3.72	3.43	3.81
Planning and zoning	3.75	3.92	4.05	3.78	3.78	3.76
Formulating budget	2.65	2.59	3.50	2.87	3.19	3.43
Reviewing budget	<u>4.19</u>	<u>3.94</u>	<u>4.23</u>	<u>4.38</u>	<u>4.25</u>	<u>4.24</u>
Average	3.38	3.29	3.76	3.69	3.66	3.81
Administration						
Service decisions	2.55	2.55	3.40	2.61	2.37	3.20
Citizen complaints	3.60	3.43	3.47	2.93	3.06	2.90
Project decisions	2.97	3.08	3.52	3.03	2.97	3.57
Evaluating programs	<u>2.58</u>	<u>2.68</u>	<u>2.90</u>	<u>3.06</u>	<u>3.14</u>	<u>3.29</u>
Average	2.92	2.93	3.32	2.91	2.88	3.24
Management						
Hiring department heads	1.94	2.33	3.57	1.87	2.22	3.14
Hiring other staff	1.30	1.26	2.38	1.30	1.17	2.10
Contracts and purchasing	1.87	1.65	2.55	1.77	1.59	2.48
Change management	<u>2.71</u>	<u>2.76</u>	<u>3.71</u>	<u>2.94</u>	<u>2.81</u>	<u>3.95</u>
Average	1.96	2.01	3.06	1.98	1.96	2.90
Summary (Averages)						
Mission	3.45	3.52	3.85	3.97	3.91	3.86
Policy	3.38	3.29	3.76	3.69	3.66	3.81
Administration	2.92	2.93	3.32	2.91	2.88	3.24
Management	1.96	2.01	3.06	1.98	1.96	2.90

Note: Elected and Administrative responses for each category are combined.

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Table 4.6
Involvement by Administrative Officials
General Assessment by Urban/Rural Category (N=93)

	<u>ACTUAL</u>			<u>PREFERRED</u>		
	<u>CITY</u>	<u>URBAN COUNTY</u>	<u>RURAL COUNTY</u>	<u>CITY</u>	<u>URBAN COUNTY</u>	<u>RURAL COUNTY</u>
Mission						
Analyzing future needs	3.81	4.03	3.50	3.85	4.20	4.00
Strategies for development	4.00	3.91	3.72	3.96	4.20	4.16
Changing institutions	3.32	3.46	3.06	3.21	3.49	3.28
Initiating and canceling	3.68	4.16	3.94	3.75	4.09	4.06
Purpose and scope	<u>3.86</u>	<u>4.03</u>	<u>3.67</u>	<u>4.04</u>	<u>3.91</u>	<u>3.89</u>
Average	3.73	3.91	3.58	3.76	3.98	3.88
Policy						
Annual program goals	3.89	4.11	3.67	3.96	4.26	4.16
Planning and zoning	3.07	3.58	3.72	3.11	3.64	4.00
Formulating budget	4.29	4.36	4.40	4.29	4.18	4.58
Reviewing budget	<u>3.52</u>	<u>3.85</u>	<u>3.55</u>	<u>3.52</u>	<u>3.79</u>	<u>3.68</u>
Average	3.70	3.98	3.84	3.72	3.97	4.11
Administration						
Service decisions	3.64	4.06	3.78	3.78	4.09	4.17
Citizen complaints	3.79	3.97	3.53	4.18	4.16	4.16
Project decisions	3.93	4.18	3.72	4.00	4.15	4.11
Evaluating programs	<u>3.85</u>	<u>3.79</u>	<u>3.79</u>	<u>3.96</u>	<u>3.91</u>	<u>4.21</u>
Average	3.80	4.00	3.70	3.98	4.08	4.16
Management						
Hiring department heads	4.39	4.44	4.00	4.32	4.56	4.26
Hiring other staff	3.64	4.12	4.11	3.61	4.24	4.16
Contracts and purchasing	4.30	4.24	3.84	4.37	4.27	4.16
Change management	<u>4.07</u>	<u>4.27</u>	<u>3.58</u>	<u>3.90</u>	<u>4.24</u>	<u>4.00</u>
Average	4.10	4.27	3.88	4.04	4.33	4.14
Summary (Averages)						
Mission	3.73	3.91	3.58	3.76	3.98	3.88
Policy	3.70	3.98	3.84	3.72	3.97	4.11
Administration	3.80	4.00	3.70	3.98	4.08	4.16
Management	4.10	4.27	3.88	4.04	4.33	4.14

Note: Elected and Administrative responses for each category are combined.



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**Table 4.7
Comparison of Involvement by Elected Officials
Assessment by Elected Officials**

	City Council Members (N=16)			Urban County Board Members (N=14)			Rural County Board Members (N=11)		
	Act.	Pref.	Diff.	Act.	Pref.	Diff.	Act.	Pref.	Diff.
MISSION									
Analyzing Future Needs	3.75	4.13	.38	3.86	4.14	.29	3.45	3.80	.35
Developing Strategies	3.64	4.50	.86	3.43	4.14	.71	3.27	3.78	.51
Changing Institutions	3.67	4.47	.80	4.14	4.29	.14	4.09	4.50	.41
Initiating & Canceling Purpose & Scope	3.27	3.47	.20	3.00	3.57	.57	3.45	3.50	.05
Average	3.60	4.16	.56	3.67	4.17	.50	3.56	3.94	.38
POLICY									
Annual Program Goals	3.00	3.40	.40	2.71	3.57	.86	3.55	3.50	-.05
Planning & Zoning	4.44	4.56	.13	4.00	4.57	.57	4.45	4.30	-.15
Formulating Budget	3.88	4.06	.19	3.93	3.79	-.14	4.36	4.00	-.36
Reviewing Budget	3.50	4.31	.81	3.14	3.79	.64	3.73	3.80	.07
Average	3.71	4.10	.38	3.45	3.93	.48	4.02	3.90	-.12
ADMINISTRATION									
Service Decisions	2.53	2.80	.27	2.57	2.50	-.07	3.64	3.70	.06
Citizen Complaints	3.79	3.29	-.50	3.62	3.54	-.08	3.89	3.44	-.44
Project Decisions	3.13	3.40	.27	2.86	2.93	.07	3.82	4.00	.18
Evaluating Programs	2.80	3.33	.53	2.79	3.50	.71	3.40	3.60	.20
Average	3.05	3.20	.15	2.95	3.11	.16	3.68	3.69	.01
MANAGEMENT									
Hiring Dep't Heads	2.07	2.00	-.07	2.57	2.64	.07	4.00	3.80	-.20
Hiring Other Staff	1.29	1.43	.14	1.00	1.00	.00	3.00	2.80	-.20
Contracts & Purchasing	1.73	1.67	-.07	1.31	1.62	.31	2.80	2.90	.10
Change Management	3.13	3.67	.53	2.79	3.36	.57	4.18	4.30	.12
Average	2.07	2.20	.14	1.94	2.19	.24	3.51	3.45	-.06
SUMMARY (Averages)									
Mission	3.60	4.16	.56	3.67	4.17	.50	3.56	3.94	.38
Policy	3.71	4.10	.38	3.45	3.93	.48	4.02	3.90	-.12
Administration	3.05	3.20	.15	2.95	3.11	.16	3.68	3.69	.01
Management	2.07	2.20	.14	1.94	2.19	.24	3.51	3.45	-.06



APPENDIX - TABLES

**Table 4.8
Comparison of Involvement by Administrative Officials
Assessment by Administrative Officials**

	City Managers (N=3)			Urban County Administrators (N=3)			Rural County Administrators (N=3)		
	Act.	Pref.	Diff.	Act.	Pref.	Diff.	Act.	Pref.	Diff.
MISSION									
Analyzing Future Needs	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.33	.33
Developing Strategies	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.00	.00
Changing institutions	3.00	2.67	-.33	3.67	3.67	.00	2.67	3.00	.33
Initiating & Canceling Purpose & Scope	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.50	.50
	<u>3.33</u>	<u>3.67</u>	<u>.33</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>.00</u>	<u>3.67</u>	<u>4.00</u>	<u>.33</u>
Average	3.67	3.67	.00	3.93	3.93	.00	3.60	3.93	.33
POLICY									
Annual Program Goals	4.33	4.33	.00	4.33	4.33	.00	4.67	4.67	.00
Planning & Zoning	4.33	4.33	.00	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.33	.33
Formulating Budget	3.00	3.00	.00	3.67	4.00	.33	3.67	3.67	.00
Reviewing Budget	3.67	4.00	.33	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.33	.33
Average	3.83	3.92	.08	4.00	4.08	.08	4.08	4.25	.17
ADMINISTRATION									
Service Decisions	3.67	3.67	.00	3.33	3.33	.00	4.67	4.67	.00
Citizen Complaints	4.00	3.67	-.33	4.00	3.50	-.50	4.00	4.00	.00
Project Decisions	3.33	3.00	-.33	4.00	4.00	.00	4.00	4.33	.33
Evaluating Programs	3.67	4.00	.33	3.67	3.67	.00	4.00	4.33	.33
Average	3.67	3.58	-.08	3.78	3.69	-.08	4.17	4.33	.17
MANAGEMENT									
Hiring Dep't Heads	4.33	4.33	.00	3.67	3.67	.00	4.33	4.67	.33
Hiring Other Staff	1.67	1.67	.00	4.00	4.00	.00	4.33	4.67	.33
Contracts & Purchasing	4.00	3.67	-.33	3.67	3.67	.00	4.33	4.33	.00
Change Management	4.33	4.33	.00	4.00	4.00	.00	4.67	4.67	.00
Average	3.58	3.50	-.08	3.75	3.75	.00	4.42	4.58	.17
SUMMARY (Averages)									
Mission	3.67	3.67	.00	3.93	3.93	.00	3.60	3.93	.33
Policy	3.83	3.92	.08	4.00	4.08	.08	4.08	4.25	.17
Administration	3.67	3.58	-.08	3.78	3.69	-.08	4.17	4.33	.17
Management	3.58	3.50	-.08	3.75	3.75	.00	4.42	4.58	.17



APPENDIX - TABLES

TABLE 4.9

Critical Chi-Square Values for Decisions Showing Statistically Significant Differences Between the Attitudes and Perceptions of Elected Officials from Urban and Rural Localities

Actual Levels of Involvement of Elected Officials			
Decisional Area	Chi-Square Statistic	D.F.	Significance
Decisions concerning the Provisions of Services			
Chi-square	9.07951	2	0.01068
Gamma	-.78632		
Hiring Decisions About Department Heads			
Chi-square	12.90233	2	0.00158
Gamma	-.87251		
Hiring Decisions About Employees Below the Department Head Level			
Chi-square	17.90393	2	0.00013
Gamma	-.50693		
Decisions Involving Contracting and Purchasing			
Chi-square	14.73146	2	0.00063
Gamma	-.80612		
Proposing Changes in the Management System			
Chi-square	6.10221	2	0.04731
Gamma	-.68037		

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TABLE 4.9 (Continued...)

Decisional Area	Chi-Square Statistic	D.F.	Significance
Preferred Levels of Involvement of Elected Officials			
Hiring Decisions About Department Heads			
Chi-square	7.31507	2	0.02580
Gamma	-.71429		
Hiring Decisions About Employees Below the Department Head Level			
Chi-square	15.55959	2	0.00042
Gamma	-.87251		
Decisions Concerning Contracting and Purchasing			
Chi-square	20.09877	2	0.00004
Gamma	-.73874		
Resolving Citizen Complaints			
Chi-square	5.63889	2	0.01757
Gamma	1.00000		



APPENDIX - TABLES

Table 4.10
Critical Chi-Square Values for Decisions Showing
Statistically Significant Differences Between the
Attitudes and Perceptions of Administrative Officials
from Urban and Rural Localities

Actual Levels of Involvement of Administrative Officials			
Decisional Area	Chi-Square Statistic	D.F.	Significance
Hiring Decisions About Employees Below the Department Head Level			
Chi-square	6.40754	2	0.04061
Gamma	-.15909		
Hiring Decisions About Department Heads			
Chi-square	8.98295	2	0.01120
Gamma	.91011		
Development Strategies for the Future			
Chi-square	7.26258	2	0.02648
Gamma	.68224		
Decisions Concerning Development Projects			
Chi-square	8.08441	2	0.01756
Gamma	.78182		
Decisions Concerning Contracting and Purchasing			
Chi-square	10.31746	2	0.00575
Gamma	.92381		
Preferred Levels of Involvement of Administrative Officials			
Hiring Decisions About Department Heads			
Chi-square	6.13636	2	0.04651
Gamma	.15111		

