

**This dissertation has been
microfilmed exactly as received 67-421**

**PRESENT, Phillip Edward, 1938-
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY
POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND DEFENSE CONTRACTING.**

**University of Southern California, Ph.D., 1966
Political Science, general**

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

© PHILLIP EDWARD PRESENT 1967

All Rights Reserved

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY POLITICAL
SYSTEMS AND DEFENSE CONTRACTING

by

Phillip Edward Present

A Dissertation Presented to the
FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
(Political Science)

August 1966

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY PARK
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90007

This dissertation, written by
Phillip Edward Present

*under the direction of his Dissertation Com-
mittee, and approved by all its members, has
been presented to and accepted by the Graduate
School, in partial fulfillment of requirements
for the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Walter C. Kloetzel

Dean

Date **August 1966**

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

Josanna J. ...
Chairman

Richard W. Graves

Gerald Ryby

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY
POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND
DEFENSE CONTRACTING

PREFACE

The interest in this research grew from two seminars in two apparently unrelated areas. The first was a seminar in Public Administration in the Spring of 1963. One section of the reading in this seminar dealt with the general area of the relationship between science and government with particular reference to the political and social consequences of government contracting.

The second seminar was in Political Behavior in the Spring of 1965. Part of this seminar was devoted to an examination of community power studies and community politics with particular attention to research methodology. The interest stimulated by these two seminars led the author to decide to do a dissertation in this area. The question remained as to what aspect of community politics warranted study and would generate fruitful results.

Discussions were held with members of the Department and one suggestion was to investigate the relationship between economics and politics in the community con-

text. This idea provided the opening to attempt to incorporate the earlier interest in government contracting with the current desire to investigate community politics.

In many ways the interdisciplinary background for this topic is significant as the research touches upon areas other than political science. Materials have been drawn and discussions have been held in such disciplines as business administration, economics, public administration and sociology. This dissertation has shown the writer the importance of being aware of developments in other disciplines, and the advantage of being able to use these fields for data and tools with which to investigate problems considered to be more in the area of political science. In a general sense, therefore, this dissertation represents such an approach to a particular community problem.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
 Chapter	
I. THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM AND THE STUDY . .	1
The Statement of the Problem	1
The Significance of the Study	4
The Theoretical Framework for the Study	12
Definitions of Terms Used in the Study	22
Hypotheses Used in the Study	25
The Methodology of the Study	27
II. A SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE	36
General Community Studies	38
Literature on Methodology	42
Studies Relating Politics and Economics	48
Studies in Community Change	51
Issues and Community Studies	53
Summary	54
III. THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL SETTING OF THE STUDY	56
Belhaven Valley	57
Centerville	75
Elmwood	80
Summary	87
IV. ELMWOOD AND CENTERVILLE: THEIR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REACTION TO DEFENSE CONTRACTING	95
The Entrance of the United States into the Korean Conflict	96
The Shift from Bombers to Missiles	100

Chapter	Page
A Contract Cancellation in 1962	108
Recent United States Involvement in Vietnam	110
Summary and Conclusions	111
V. LEADERSHIP STRUCTURES AND THE DEFENSE CONTRACTING ENVIRONMENT	117
Identification of the Leaders	118
Characteristics of the Leadership Structures	126
The Community Leadership Structures over Time	130
The Defense Environment and Leadership Procedures	138
Summary of the Findings	141
VI. INTEREST GROUP POLITICS AND DEFENSE CONTRACTING	145
The BVDA: Its Organization and Leaders .	146
The BVDA: Its Strategies and Tactics in the Political Process	164
The BVDA: An Evaluation	174
Summary and Conclusions	177
VII. THE DISTRIBUTION OF LEADERS IN BELHAVEN VALLEY	180
VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	194
APPENDIX	214
BIBLIOGRAPHY	222

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Analytical Political Model	14
2. Population Growth of Belhaven Valley Communities Compared to Larger Political Units, 1950-1965	62
3. Employment by Industries	70
4. New Residential Dwelling Units as Authorized by Building Permits, Centerville, Elmwood, and Belhaven Valley, 1950-1963	98
5. Employment: Air Force Facility	101
6. Employment: DeLong Air Force Base	103
7. Number of Years in Residence for Com- munity Leaders	129
8. BVDA Board of Directors Geographical Distribution	150
9. BVDA Board of Directors Occupational Background	151
10. Extent of Leadership Participation in Community and Valley Projects	188
11. Leaders and Their Memberships	189

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM AND THE STUDY

A. The Statement of the Problem

For the past two decades, there has been an ever-increasing emphasis on military and space production. Most Americans have tended to relate this only to national or international issues. For example, there is concern by many that continued and unrestrained spending for military and space programs may delay or impair the solutions of domestic problems. These people would prefer to have a share of the money appropriated for this production diverted to projects designed to alleviate social and economic conditions within the United States. Other individuals believe these military and space expenditures may have an adverse effect upon the arms race or upon our balance of payments.

There is still a third group of people who regard the military and space policies with misgivings. Their concern is the impact that military and space contracting activities have on local communities in the United States. They recognize that the manner in which defense contracting is implemented may alter the lives of individuals

living in certain communities. Indeed, the communities themselves may undergo considerable change as a result of government contracting activities. These changes are often sudden and jarring and the communities which have experienced this phenomenon have now become aware that government contracting is of great significance to them.

The purpose of this dissertation, therefore, is to examine the relationship between two community political systems¹ and government defense contracting. California, especially the Southern part of the State, provides many opportunities to study communities which are involved with defense contracting. Two such neighboring communities have been selected for this dissertation. These are Elmwood and Centerville, located within the Southern California area known as Belhaven Valley.²

Both communities are economically dependent either directly or indirectly upon companies and industries doing defense contract work for the national government in the military and aerospace fields. The magnitude of this

¹"Community political systems" and "community" are used interchangeably, although the former conveys a more precise description, while the latter is more general in meaning and boundaries. For a fuller definition of these and other terms, see Section D of this Chapter.

²The names used for the communities and Valley are fictitious, although their general location is accurate. This has been done to provide maximum anonymity to the individuals mentioned in the study.

dependence varies from 40 per cent to 80 per cent. Of the two communities, Elmwood is more dependent upon defense contracting than is Centerville. In addition, there are other significant differences between the two communities which will be elaborated in subsequent Chapters. Both communities, however, face one common issue: extensive reliance upon defense contracting activity for employment and income.

The manner in which Elmwood and Centerville have reacted and related to defense contracting since 1950 is the principal focus of the investigation. The specific differences and similarities between the two communities provide sufficient data for meaningful comparisons of the relationship between two community political systems and defense contracting.

Emphasis in this dissertation will be placed upon the following three major areas of investigation:

1. The political and economic reaction of the two communities to defense contracting.
2. The nature of the leadership structures of these two communities, particularly as the structures pertain to the defense contracting situation.
3. The political dynamics of the community leadership structure as that structure relates to defense contracting issues. Specifically, what are the modes of

operation and the strategies employed by the community leaders as they attempt to achieve certain defined goals?

While a large portion of the presentation will be concerned with recent events and developments, actual examination of the subject begins before 1950 when no defense contracting existed in Belhaven Valley. As a result of the Korean conflict which began in June, 1950, military contracting activity was hurriedly begun near Elmwood and Centerville. This eventually led to the economic, political and social conditions considered in this study.

Section E of this Chapter presents further elaboration of the above three areas of investigation. It contains the hypotheses around which the research for this study was organized. Some general justification of this dissertation, however, should be made before discussing these specific points.

B. The Significance of the Study

This study has both theoretical and practical values.

1. Theoretical Values

a) There is a theoretical value in the attempt to relate the concept of community to the single variable, government defense contracting. This study is believed to

be the first endeavor to relate politics and economics by this variable on the community level. Certain basic questions arise which need to be investigated: what is the relationship between economics and politics in a defense contract-oriented community? In what ways do local government policies influence the growth, change or decline of contracting activities? Conversely, how do these local defense contracting activities influence the growth, change or decline of the community political system itself?

Any defense contract will involve the national government at some point. Because the quantity of contracting has reached such proportions, there is now a closer interrelationship between local communities and the national government than ever before. Whether this has been desired by one, both, or none of the levels of government, the fact remains that federal-state-local government relationships no longer exist as they once did because of changing economic, social and technological conditions. Similarly, the relationships between politics and economics, and politics and business are becoming more fused and interrelated within the governmental process.

b) The second theoretical value is similar to the first. It is the attempt to relate the concept of community leadership structure to defense contracting. In

comparison to other community power structure studies of the past decade, this dissertation appears again to be first to consider the relationship and interaction of these two phenomena. Other studies, of course, have discussed community leaders in relation to specific issues such as schools, taxes and urban renewal. Defense contracting, however, is sufficiently important and complex that it should not be grouped with these more common community problems. As the hypotheses suggest in Section E, contracting activity may create the necessity for the formation of a separate and formal group of individuals in the community to handle this and related issues. Because of the many levels of government concerned with defense contracting, and the prevalent assumption of the politically sensitive nature of these awards, it may be necessary for community leaders to treat this issue with more tact and caution than is required for other community problems. For these reasons, it is important to study the community leaders who deal with defense contracting.

c) The third theoretically significant problem raised in this dissertation concerns disarmament and the peace-war issue as they relate to communities. These in effect link foreign policy and the international political system directly to community political systems. The amount of military spending is a direct reflection of the

state of our foreign relations. When there is a major shift in American foreign policy or military strategy, there probably will be corresponding changes in defense spending and contractual obligations with private industry. Similarly, to the extent there is a shift in defense contracting, this will result in consequences for those communities most dependent upon that type of economic activity. Political scientists have paid little attention to crisis analysis in this area. Important questions to be answered include: what are the economic, political and social consequences for communities when a change in defense spending occurs? What would happen to community political leaders if peace suddenly occurred and defense contracting became unnecessary?³ In short, what community reactions can be expected?

Because of the international situation today, it is unlikely that any major movement toward full or even partial disarmament will occur. Yet, there are various communities which have gone through or are going through what could be the equivalent of a disarmament policy. Production facilities have been reduced or closed as our military needs change or methods of manufacturing become obsolete. While newspapers and magazines report some of the economic and social disequilibrium which has subse-

³Yasumasa Kuroda, "Correlates of the Attitudes Toward Peace," Background, VIII, No. 3 (November, 1964),

quently resulted in communities, there has been little systematic study of the impact of defense contracting upon the political structures of communities.

d) The final theoretical value stems from the use of two theoretical frameworks in which the data can be ordered and various relationships observed. A systems analysis and a developmental model have been selected because it is felt they represent best the types of activities and processes under investigation. Section C of this Chapter will elaborate in greater detail the purposes and advantages of these models. At this point it should be noted that the developmental model has been associated more with studies of under-developed areas than with American community research.

2. Practical Values

This dissertation also has certain practical values, but before discussing these, some mention should be made about the background of defense contracting in the United States. Prior to World War II, the national government produced practically all Army ordnance items and many of those for the Navy through the government's own arsenals. Aircraft were the most important items not specifically manufactured by the government's facilities. By 1958, however, government-owned production plants

accounted for less than 10 per cent of all such facilities in the United States devoted to manufacturing weapon-systems.⁴ In short, the bulk of military construction had shifted from government to private hands through the technique of contracting.

The government decided it was more economical and politically astute to "contract out" to large firms whose facilities were already tooled for highly technical requirements. A greater flexibility and variety were possible under this system than if the government remained the sole manufacturer. As a result, the government became dependent upon private business for defense needs, and business became even more dependent upon the government for continued sales and employment. For instance, Republic Aviation Corporation, McDonnell Aircraft, and Grumman Aircraft sell less than 10 per cent of their production to customers other than the government and its prime contractors.⁵ The extent to which the contracting relationship between business and government is successful, therefore, determines in great measure the condition and nature of

⁴Merton Peck and Fred Scherer, The Weapons Acquisition Process, (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 98-99.

⁵Sumner Marcus, "Studies of the Defense Contracting Process," Law & Contemporary Problems, XXIX, No. 1 (Winter 1964), p. 19.

our economy.

a) The first practical implication of this study is that defense contracting has both national and local consequences. Communities across the nation have received benefits and setbacks as a result of having defense contractors within their area. The recent decision to close military installations in selected areas, and the subsequent Congressional protests, suggest the extent to which communities have become economically accustomed if not dependent upon defense activities.⁶ Even though some of the communities are suffering economic hardships while adjustments are being made in replacing these installations, still the quest for defense contracts continues by other communities. The unfortunate lesson of the past--that all good contracts can come to an end--may perhaps temper some communities, but from the evidence it appears communities are willing to undergo political, economic and social changes as a result of obtaining or in order to obtain defense contracts.

b) A second practical value of the study relates directly to the two communities under investigation. Statements of a general nature have been made about communities and their dependence on defense contracting.

⁶Los Angeles Times, November 13, 1965, p. 4.

Of greater interest, however, are the specific reactions of Elmwood and Centerville to the problems posed by this relationship between defense contracting and the community. A few statistics will show the importance of defense contracting to these two communities. About 40 per cent of all employed residents of the Los Angeles County portion of Belhaven Valley are on defense payrolls, while an additional 40 per cent are in non-basic activities supported by defense activities. Aircraft assembly alone accounts for close to 30 per cent of the employment in this area. Even more important is the fact that this employment has been cyclical with high rates of both employment and unemployment. The attempt, therefore, by these two communities to maintain economic stability is of practical significance.

c) The third practical value is to indicate something about the manner in which various community groups concerned with defense contracting operate within the political process. Data will be presented which will indicate how these groups affect and are affected by their economic and technical environment. The role that such formal and informal organizations play in relation to defense contracting appears to be unanswered in the literature.

This dissertation, therefore, has a practical

value from two standpoints. First, it can be used to indicate what has happened in two defense-oriented communities. Secondly, an awareness of what Elmwood and Centerville have done to meet specific contracting problems may also suggest solutions to other communities facing, or about to face, similar situations.

C. The Theoretical Framework for the Study

Two theoretical models were used in this study: a systems analysis and a developmental model. While neither necessarily conveys a static political situation, the former model tends to represent more the idea of a place in time while the latter model more easily denotes a progression of events or development along a chronological continuum. Within a "system" there may be a great deal of motion and political activity, yet the observer, when employing this conceptual framework, is less likely to be aware of the movement of the entire system toward someplace than he is of the action of the interdependent parts. On the other hand, the developmental model enables the researcher to observe the growth and direction of movement of a political unit--a community in this case--because less attention needs to be devoted to the unit's component parts.⁷

⁷Hypothesis Four of this study specifically illustrates the utility of the developmental model in analyzing community political systems.

The systems model⁸ suggests to the researcher that the phenomenon under study is delimited by boundaries, and that within these limits the component elements of the system are organized, interacting, interdependent and integrated with each other. The basic assumption of the systems model is that there will always be a tendency toward equilibrium and stability within any system, and instability is an abnormal condition which must be corrected. Also assumed in this closed network of relationships-- the system-- are "actors" who are the participants in whatever processes are going on, as well as political, economic and social structures and functions. These latter include maintenance functions, resources consumed, defenses, transactions, inputs and outputs. All of these are essential in enabling the system to remain stable.

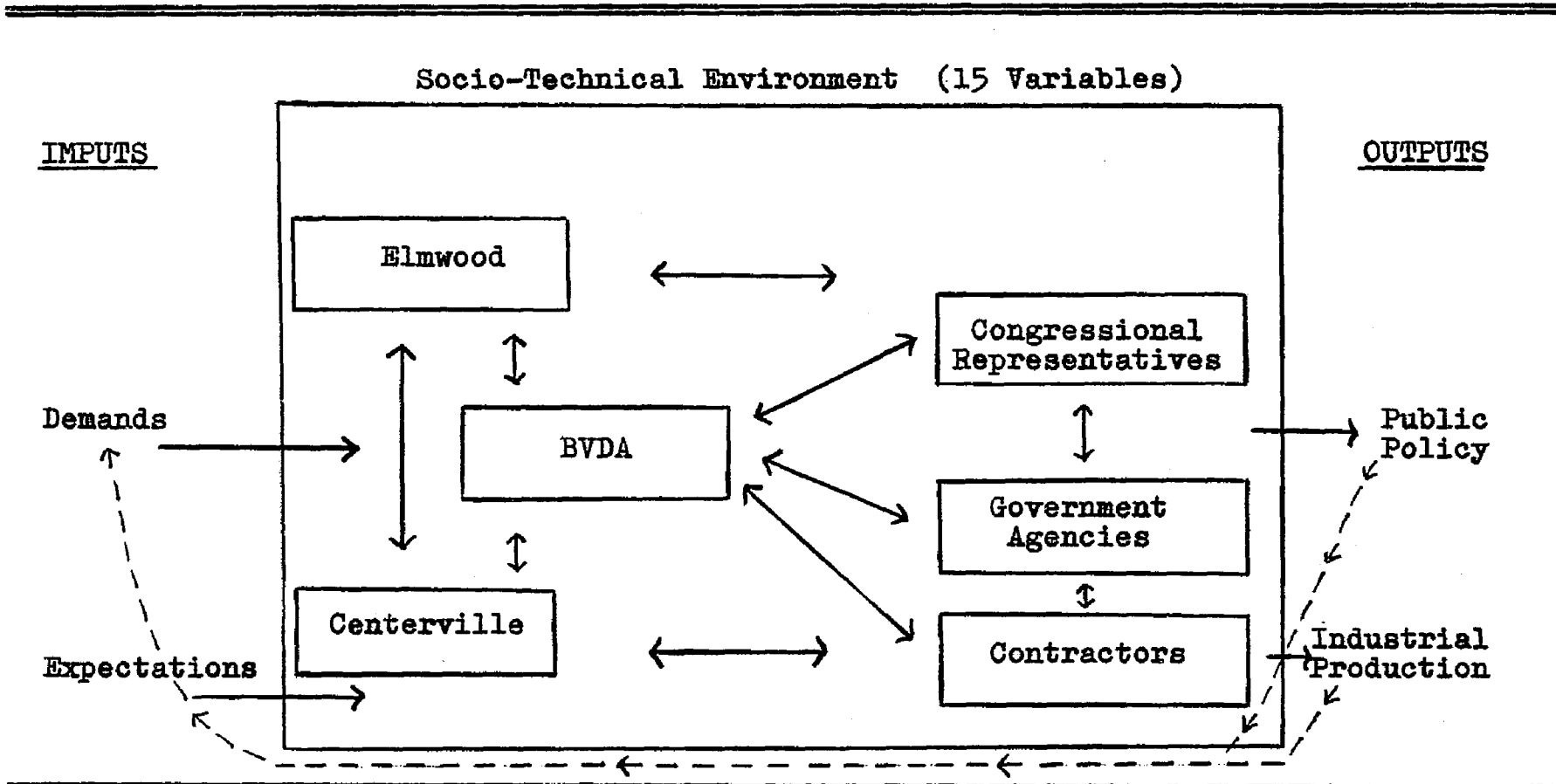
Every one of these characteristics is theoretically present in Figure 1 which shows the network of relationships among the five major component parts in the analytical model.⁹

These five major elements are the communities; the

⁸The term "system" used here has a very broad meaning. It implies a social system in which are found various sub-systems including the political and economic. See Section D for a more precise definition of "political system."

⁹This model has been adapted from theoretical suggestions made by David Easton in The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953) and other of his writings.

FIGURE 1
ANALYTICAL POLITICAL MODEL



Belhaven Valley Development Association referred to hereafter as the BVDA; the national government (including military and civilian agencies); the industrial defense contractors; and legislative representatives on three levels of government. Each of these component elements is in effect a system by itself and could be studied separately. Each has goals, networks of relationships and conflict resolution procedures. These parts placed together, however, form a larger and more complex network which is the total conceptual system under observation.

Surrounding the entire system is the socio-technical environment which is composed of fifteen environmental variables. The assumption behind these environmental factors is that they have a direct impact upon the communities and their political structures. Four variables in particular were used in this study to analyze and compare Elmwood and Centerville: size of the population; the age of the community; the type of economic base; and the extent the community is dependent upon defense contracts.¹⁰

¹⁰The remaining eleven environmental variables include: 5) size of labor force; 6) proportion of labor force employed; 7) growth-pattern of the community; 8) income of citizens; 9) type of local government structure; 10) political orientation of community; 11) the number of voluntary groups active in community issues; 12) the number of local groups with representation in Washington, D. C.; 13) the role of political parties in the communities; 14) the role of labor unions in the communities; 15) the degree of political and governmental subordination to economic institutions in the communities.

The figure shows more relationships and processes than actually will be covered in this dissertation. It is helpful, however, to be aware of the total system, for this makes the study of the smaller parts more meaningful, and it also suggests lines along which further research might be made.

Perhaps brief note should be taken of the three principal components of the system: the communities, the national government and the defense contractors. Their functions suggest the complexity and interrelatedness of the two communities to the other parts of the analytical model.

The community, as a basic political unit, has certain functions to fulfill, the most important of which are supplying basic needs and providing a livable environment in which men may raise their families. As society becomes more complex and interdependent, the demands upon community leaders increase, and subsequently, leadership functions are required to change as well.¹¹

Some of these variables have been drawn from other sources: Eugene C. Erickson (Washington State University), Duane W. Hill (Colorado State University), Robert G. Holloway (University of Chicago), and Yasumasa Kuroda (University of Southern California), "The Relation of a Defense Environment to the Social and Political Structures of Communities," an unpublished research design, 1963. See also, William Form and Delbert Miller, Industry, Labor and Community, (New York: Harper and Bros., 1960), p. 504.

¹¹This change in leadership functions was identified in the two communities studied and appears to be charac-

The national government (primarily the Executive branch) as the second part of the system has at least two distinct and sometimes irreconcilable clienteles with which it must deal on defense contracting issues. First, the government must fulfill the requirements set forth by Congress or Executive agencies for the letting of defense contracts. On the other hand, the government must also try to meet local community demands relating to contracting.

The third partner--the defense contractors-- also has mixed loyalties. The companies must show a profit and satisfy their stock-holders. Of equal importance, however, is their obligation to the government to meet contract requirements. Finally, there is also a direct communication link between contractors and the communities on matters of manpower training, zoning, taxes and other essential factors. Just as the community often needs the industry, so the industry also needs the community.

It is helpful in analyzing the above relationships to think of the system as having inputs and outputs. The inputs are the demands and expectations made upon each of the component elements. The degree to which these inputs are met will be one indicator of the amount of stability

teristic in defense-oriented communities.

present in the system. The outputs will be the results from each part, either in terms of public policy or material production. In cyclical fashion, the outputs influence new inputs which then produce further outputs.

The second theoretical framework-- the developmental model-- was used to order data concerning the growth, change or decline of the two communities over a period of time. As noted earlier, this conceptual tool has been associated more often with research on non-Western nations with little application so far to American political community studies.¹² A more detailed discussion therefore, will be given of this developmental model.

One suggestion for employing developmental models for research outside under-developed areas was made by Robert Chin.¹³ He discusses the advantages of adopting a developmental model and the ways in which it might be used.

First, what precisely is a developmental model?

¹²A notable political study of communities over a period of time is found in the book by Robert Agger, Daniel Goldrich and Bert Swanson, The Rulers and the Ruled, Political Power and Impotence in American Communities, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964). See also Robert Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

¹³Robert Chin, "The Utility of System Models and Development Models for Practitioners," in The Planning of Change, eds., Warren G. Bennis, Kenneth D. Berne and Robert Chin, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), pp. 201-214.

As Chin states:

By developmental models, we mean those bodies of thought that center around growth and directional change. Developmental models assume change; they assume that there are noticeable differences between states of a system at different times; that the succession of these states implies the system is heading somewhere; and that there are orderly processes which explain how the system gets from its present state to wherever it is going.¹⁴

He further adds:

The direction may be defined by (a) some goal or end state (developed, mature); (b) the process of becoming (developing, maturing); or (c) the degree of achievement toward some goal or end state (increased development, increase in maturity).¹⁵

As a political unit¹⁶ develops, different stages can be identified and differentiated over a period of time. Various labels may be used to describe these differences, such as levels, states, phases or periods.¹⁷

Chin continues in his essay to elaborate on four forms of progression which the developmental model assumes.¹⁸ These are also useful in studying the develop-

¹⁴Ibid., p. 208.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 209.

¹⁶For specific application of the discussion to this study, the term "community" should be substituted for "unit."

¹⁷Chin, loc. cit.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 210.

ment of communities. The first form assumes that once a stage is attained, the (political) unit will show a continued progression and normally will never turn back. If the unit does regress, this is considered abnormal.

The second form assumes that change, growth and development occur in a spiral pattern. For example, a community might return to a previous problem, but in doing so the situation is now handled on a higher level where "irrational components are less dominant" than before.¹⁹

The third assumption is that stages are actually phases which occur and then recur. While a political unit may not return or regress as suggested in the first form, nevertheless each stage is composed of repeating phases such as decision-making processes. These occur on any level of development.

The final form of progression assumes "a branching out into differentiated forms and processes, each part increasing in its specialization, and at the same time acquiring its own autonomy and significance."²⁰ This idea is similar to the term "epigenesis" used by Amitai Etzioni and which will be discussed in the next Chapter.

Forces, such as the environmental variables, are

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

recognized by researchers using this model as influencing the growth, change or decline of a political unit. This type of a cause and effect relationship is also similar to the inputs and outputs of the systems analysis. Both models, therefore, have a common assumption: all systems strive for internal equilibrium, but outside influences have a direct impact on those internal mechanisms which create stability and balance.

In summary, what are the advantages of using the developmental model? It enables the researcher to have a set of expectations about the future of the political unit he is studying, in this case a community. There is greater probability of a "directional focus" for his frame of reference because certain research questions will arise and these can be anticipated. Some of these include: what forms of progression are evident? What forces are causing the development of the unit? What is the next stage that can be anticipated? While few outcomes in the social sciences can be predicted with 100 per cent assurance, this type of analysis enables more intelligent speculation about future developments, especially when comparisons are made between similar phenomena using comparable categories and data. The utility of this model for studying communities over a period of time should prove helpful as more research along these lines is com-

pleted.

The foregoing Section has outlined two theoretical models which were used for ordering and classifying the data collected for this study. These models assisted in answering the three questions posed at the beginning of the Chapter. More specific guidelines, however, in the form of hypotheses were also employed and these will be covered in Section E.

D. Definitions of Terms Used in the Study

Community: "A group living in some locality or region under the same culture and having some common geographical focus for their major activities. The distinctive characteristic of the community is that a constellation of institutional organizations has grown up around a particular center of specialized function."²¹ In this study, "community" refers specifically to a sub-county group of residents within legal or commonly agreed upon boundaries.

Community Political System: Generally synonymous with the broader term "community." Community political system conveys the idea of patterned and structured relationships within prescribed boundaries, known as the community. These relationships are specifically concerned with the

²¹Form and Miller, op. cit., p. 681.

governmental decision-making processes for the entire community. (See Political System, below).

Contract: In this dissertation "contract" unless otherwise designated refers to a government defense contract. A contract is a procurement method whereby the government is able to obtain a desired product. Defense contracting is related to military and space projects concerned with protecting national security. There are various kinds of contracts such as fixed price, cost-plus-fixed fee, and incentive contracts. The specific forms, however, are not particularly relevant to this study.

Community Issue: Any question or problem involving community political action.

Economic Base: "The way in which the community makes its living."²²

Government: "A problem-solving group for members of a political system through which a monopoly of physical violence is maintained over individuals and groups within a society and through which effective policies are selected and effective decisions made for a society."²³

²²Edward K. Smith, A Guide to Economic Base Studies for Local Communities, (Boston: Bureau of Business and Economic Research, Northeastern Univ., 1955), p. 4.

²³Duane Hill and Yasumasa Kuroda, "Political Vocabulary," an unpublished manuscript, University of Southern

Influence: "One person has influence over another within a given scope to the extent that the first, without resorting to either a tacit or an overt threat of severe deprivations, causes the second to change his course of action."²⁴

Political Leaders: Those persons "exercising the most power within a political system."²⁵

Political Power: "The direct participation by a person or group in the selection of policies that determine the scope of government."²⁶

Political System: In the broadest sense it is a particular set of relationships and patterns of behavior connected with those actions related to problem-solving and authoritative decisions for a community, state or other social organization. The function of a political system is "to transform the inputs into effective decisions or actions on the output side."²⁷ The political system

California, 1963.

²⁴Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, "Decisions and Nondecisions: An Analytical Framework," American Political Science Review, LVII, No. 3 (September, 1963), p. 637.

²⁵Hill and Kuroda, loc. cit.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷William C. Mitchell, The American Polity, A Social and Cultural Interpretation, (New York: The Free Press, 1962), p.7.

includes generally more relationships than are found in just a "government." The political system is only one system of at least three others of the whole social system. According to this scheme, the economic system is concerned primarily with adapting the social system to the environment through the use, production, and distribution of resources.²⁸

E. Hypotheses Used in this Study

The following nine hypotheses were the basis of the research in this dissertation:²⁹

1. The greater the dependence of a community on government defense contracting, the greater the probability that a specific group for the community will be formed to cope with this dependency.

2. The greater the dependence of a geographic area on defense contracting, the greater the probability that a specific group for the area will be formed to cope with this dependency.

3. The greater the dependence of an area on defense contracting, the greater the probability that an inter-

²⁸Ibid., p. 5.

²⁹Some of these have been slightly modified from previous suggestions by other writers, especially Form and Miller, op. cit., pp. 535-536, where a number of hypotheses are listed.

community group will replace local community groups in importance for issues concerning defense contracting.

4. The greater the number of economic changes an area experiences, the greater the probability there will be corresponding political changes as a result of those economic changes.³⁰

5. The more rapid the impact of defense contracting upon the community, the more rapid a change in the overall leadership structure of the community.

6. The greater the dependence of a community on defense contracting, the greater the probability the community and its leaders will be in agreement on community policies relating to defense contracting.

7. The greater the dependence of a community on defense contracting, the more cohesive the community's leadership will be.³¹

8. The greater the dependence of a community on defense contracting, the greater the probability the community's leaders for contracting issues will decide these issues through informal channels in addition to formal community meetings.

³⁰Hypotheses Four and Five are drawn with variation from Ernest A.T. Barth, "Community Influence Systems: Structure and Change," Social Forces, XL, No. 1 (October, 1961), pp. 58-63.

³¹Erickson et al., op. cit., p. 12.

9. The greater the dependence of a community on defense contracting, the greater the probability the community's leaders for contracting issues will confer with administrative and executive agencies instead of legislative representatives.

F. The Methodology of the Study

Depending on the type of information desired, certain specific methodological tools can be employed. In many ways the selection of the research procedures can influence the quantity and analysis of the empirical findings. The researcher, therefore, must know either specifically what he wants to investigate, or else he must be aware of the type of data certain methodological procedures tend to produce. If these built-in biases are not anticipated and recognized, the investigator can easily draw the wrong conclusions about his findings.³² Even though the methodology of data collection may be the single most important contribution in the entire research project, this usually will not be evident until the analysis of that data has been completed. Methodological procedures are important, therefore, only to the extent that they are useful in obtaining desired information or pro-

³²John Walton, "Substance and Artifact: The Current Status of Research on Community Power Structure," American Journal of Sociology, LXXI, No. 4 (January, 1966), pp. 430-438. Further elaboration about advantages and disadvantages of various methodologies will be made in the

viding insights into the subject of study.

The community study method is a universal research tool for certain purposes which provides comparable categories for study from the most primitive human grouping to the most advanced. Practically all communities perform the same basic functions and contain the same institutional arrangements. The degree of complexity and the formal names of these structures will differ, but there are universal characteristics observable in all communities. These provide the bases for comparison at all levels of societal organization.

Various academic disciplines approach the study of communities from differing perspectives. For example, the economist may view the community "as a center of production, trade and distribution whose basic units are economic organizations." The community might be perceived further as a "super firm, based upon relations between importers and exporters, contractors and subcontractors."³³

Political scientists, on the other hand, tend to approach the community as an autonomous governmental unit

next Chapter.

³³Scott Greer, The Emerging City, Myth and Reality (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1962), p. 7. Greer is referring specifically to cities in this quotation. The interchangeability of community and city, however, is appropriate in this context.

legally empowered with specific duties and functions. The community possesses a "legal personality" and acts as an arbiter among competing interests within the community.³⁴

Both of the views are accurate, but only as far as they go in their description. The community fulfills other functions besides the political and economic. These two approaches are pointed out because the research of this dissertation was concerned with the relationship of politics to economics in a defense-oriented community. To begin to synthesize the findings and observations of people working and studying in politics and economics, it is essential to have an idea of their orientation and perspective of the community and its component parts.

With these introductory comments on the role and appropriateness of methodology and community studies, attention can now be directed specifically to the procedures used in this dissertation.

Over a period of five months, interviews and other field research were conducted in Elmwood, Centerville, and other parts of Belhaven Valley. This investigation was to answer four principal questions by doing the following: (1) provide historical and contemporary data on the two communities and the Valley; (2) identify community and

³⁴Ibid., p. 6.

Valley leaders in general, and those leaders connected with defense contracting issues in particular; (3) identify important community issues and their leaders other than those in the defense contracting area; and (4) identify the modes of operation in the political process by these defense leaders.

The primary data sources for the study were published materials and interviews with thirty Valley residents. The two local newspapers provided historical facts and information as well as current news of the community issues and leaders. Except for short excerpts from two M.A. theses, there were no other published historical accounts of either the communities or the Valley. This type of data was collected from newspapers or interviews with residents in the Valley. The two Chambers of Commerce also had recent economic statistics. The local office of the Department of Employment and the public information office of nearby DeLong Air Force Base were equally helpful in supplying information and answering questions about economic and defense contracting activities.

Obtaining information by interviews, however, was a more challenging assignment. Discussions with community residents were held to determine first, who the leaders were, and second, to find out more about these leaders and what they did. With some modifications, three methods of

leader-identification were used. The reputational and positional approaches were employed to determine initially who might be the leaders. Then, the decision-making approach in specific issues acted as a verification of these earlier findings.

The lack of time and money made it impossible to carry out an extensive survey. However, identification of leaders was accomplished in the following manner. Eight community informants were selected and questioned for new information and a substantiation of findings already acquired. The informants were chosen from those individuals who had resided in the area during the time under study, and who would have been in a position to observe and to know the inner-workings of the contracting process. As it turned out, only one of the informants was actually designated later a community leader who was directly participating in defense activities.³⁵

The eight informants included: (1) the Executive Director of the BVDA; (2) the City Manager of Elmwood; (3) the Business Manager of the Centerville Chamber of Commerce; (4) the Business Manager of the Elmwood Chamber of Commerce; (5) A social science professor from the local

³⁵It is not considered methodologically advisable to have informants who are also leaders, but in this case it was unavoidable.

college; (6) A former Superintendent of the Valley school district now retired; (7) A bank manager from Elmwood; and (8) the newspaper editor from Elmwood.

By crosschecking names with these informants, plus using information obtained from other interviewees, it was possible to construct lists of leaders for the two communities and Valley in general and for leaders in contracting issues in particular. As mentioned previously these names were then verified by examining specific defense issues within the communities and also by studying community issues not related to contracting.

Once the leaders were identified, personal contact was made with them for interviews.³⁶ Of the twenty-five members of the Board of Directors for the BVDA, twelve were available for interviews.

The number of individuals considered community or defense contracting leaders was less than fifteen, and some of these were also Directors of the BVDA. Generally, the conversations ranged in length from thirty to seventy-five minutes.

There were some methodological difficulties encountered in this study. These should be mentioned for they provide additional information about the communities,

³⁶See the Appendix for the interview schedules.

the leaders and the general findings. The first overall difficulty concerned the identification of the leaders. Even though it was not possible to canvass the community as thoroughly as desired, it was concluded that a systematic identification of the leaders was accomplished in the selected issue-areas. What was lacking, however, was a great deal of quantitative socio-economic-status (S-E-S) data about the leaders.

Originally these data were to have been collected from the questionnaire left with the respondents after the oral interview. In order to save time, it was believed that the interviewees could more easily check the charts and questions about their social background and then mail the questionnaire to the researcher. Of the first sixteen schedules left, only eight were returned even though additional notes were sent asking that the respondents fill in the questionnaire. Because the data were not coming in, it was decided to ask the S-E-S questions directly to the remaining leaders. Unfortunately, most of the leaders had already been contacted, so there remained only three or four who could be interviewed by this method. In brief, the unwillingness of the leaders to answer this particular questionnaire left gaps in the profiles of the leadership.

A second difficulty encountered relates to this

first one. Generally persons most active in community affairs, except the informants, were reluctant to name or discuss individuals when asked about community influentials. This was also true about some issues as well. Even though the respondents were assured of anonymity, they were not necessarily eager to discuss personalities. Two reasons for this characteristic can be advanced. First, the communities have a small population with a homogeneous social composition. The leadership structures are also small with close personal relationships among the members. Practically all of the leaders have formal and informal contact with one another. Under these conditions, it would be natural for an individual to weigh carefully any comments made about other people.

A second reason for the general reluctance to discuss some issues and people stems from the sensitivity surrounding defense contracting activity. Some leaders mentioned that it would be better not to discuss a question until an expected event had occurred, or that it would be better for another individual to answer. The leaders were cautious not to be critical of any person or group that might be helping, or that could help, the Valley.

Despite these difficulties, the overall attitude

of the respondents was very cooperative.³⁷ Some individuals in particular expended a great deal of time and effort to provide materials and information that were needed. Aside from a personal attitude of friendliness among the respondents, there was also an apparent feeling by them that a very favorable picture of Belhaven should be shown in order to correct impressions held by most "outsiders" of the Valley. Therefore, time was taken by these interviewees to explain why events have occurred and what has been done to improve conditions. This willingness of the residents to cooperate was helpful, but it was necessary for the researcher to be alert to avoid getting a one-sided story. Only by cross-checking and interviewing as many different people as possible, could valid and reliable conclusions be developed.

³⁷The author wishes to thank the respondents and the other residents in Belhaven who so generously contributed their time and information in the preparation of this dissertation.

CHAPTER II

A SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

The community has been the focus of political interest since the earliest days of political writing. In the works of Plato and Aristotle, the concept of community is discussed at length.¹ Even though these theorists held different ideas about communities, they both considered communities in a functional sense; that is, a necessary prerequisite for the achievement of a worthwhile and productive life.

Using Plato and Aristotle as a basis, many other writers have offered descriptive and prescriptive contributions about community. For purposes of this survey, however, the primary emphasis is on the literature dating from 1953 when Floyd Hunter's Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers² was published. Before that time, political science inquiry into communities was not

¹Politics of Aristotle, trans. Ernest Barker, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1948), VII, pp. 4-6; Republic of Plato, trans. Francis Cornford, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945), pp. 41-66.

²Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

appreciably different from that of the other social sciences, nor was there a great distinction between the academic and non-academic analysis of the question, Who governs? in a community. Hunter's book was an attempt to go beneath the surface and behind the facades of a community in order to determine the real decision makers. His methodological technique was systematic and many of the findings stemming from its use challenged existing ideas about community leadership.

There are a number of comprehensive surveys of the literature dealing with community studies;³ therefore, this Chapter will not attempt to duplicate these efforts. Rather, a review will be made only of those works most pertinent to this particular dissertation topic and from which useful suggestions were found for the study of Elmwood and Centerville as they related to defense contracting. The value of any research publication is that it either synthesizes previous contributions or that it suggests new directions for investigation. The survey of the literature in this Chapter, therefore, is based upon these two assumptions. For purposes of organization, the

³Charles Press, Main Street Politics, Policy-Making at the Local Level (East Lansing: Institute for Community Development, 1962); and John Walton, "Substance and Artifact: The Current Status of Research on Community Power Structure," American Journal of Sociology, LXXI, No. 4 (January, 1966), pp. 430-438.

literature has been grouped into five categories.

A. General Community Studies

In addition to Hunter's book, another general community study should be mentioned. Robert Dahl's Who Governs?⁴ was a survey of New Haven, Connecticut. This study was helpful in two ways. First, its methodological approach was adopted to some extent in the research of the communities in Belhaven Valley. Second, the general format of the book and its orientation to community questions were utilized in this investigation. Often it was beneficial to re-read portions of Who Governs? to see how a particular research or community problem was handled. In short, Dahl's contribution provided general guidelines for this dissertation.

Two community case studies, dating before Hunter's Community Power Structure, illustrated in-depth study over a period of time and the impact that industry can have on a community. Steeltown, An Industrial Case History of the Conflict Between Progress and Security⁵ by Charles Walker related the story of Ellwood City, Pennsylvania, which was faced with the transfer of its major industry. Walker

⁴Robert Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

⁵Charles Walker, Steeltown, An Industrial Case History of the Conflict Between Progress and Security, (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950).

discussed the manner in which different segments of the community reacted to the changing industrial situation. The book's limitation as it pertained to this dissertation was that it did not discuss in any detail the internal changes, if any, that occurred within the decision-making groups of Ellwood City.

The second case history was Robert Havighurst's The Social History of a War-Boom Community.⁶ This traced the events in Seneca, Illinois, during the World War II period. At that time, Seneca was hurriedly converted from a quiet village environment to a major ship-building town. This community survey also detailed the reactions of the social and economic segments of Seneca, but failed to give much attention to the relationship that the changing economy had to the political decision-making process.

One book which was helpful in relating the defense-contracting environment to the political and social structures of the communities was Organizational Change--The Effect of Successful Leadership by Robert Guest.⁷ This was a study of change over a period of time in complex organizations. The significant application of

⁶Robert Havighurst and H. Gerthson Morgan, The Social History of A War-Boom Community, (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1951).

⁷Robert Guest, Organizational Change--The Effect of Successful Leadership, (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1962).

the book to this dissertation rested with its concept of the "socio-technical" system. This term was originally used by Guest in his discussion of organizations, but was adopted in this dissertation because its basic assumption was considered valid in the community context. For example, Guest writes:

On his part, the social scientist often makes the error of concentrating on human motivation and group behavior without fully accounting for the technical environment which circumscribes, even determines, the roles which the actors play. Motivation, group structure, interaction processes, authority--none of these abstractions of behavior takes place in a technological vacuum.⁸

Later on, he adds:

The degree of success or lack of success [in leadership] depends on management's skills in anticipating the reciprocal effect of technology and organization.⁹

By substituting "community" for "organization," one focuses on a key research area in this dissertation: the interrelationship between technology and community leadership.

Another variable which affects communities is economic production based upon geographic location. Douglass North in an article "re-examines location theory and the theory of regional economic growth in the light

⁸Ibid., p. 4.

⁹Ibid., p. 135.

of the historical development of regions in America...."¹⁰

One part of this discussion was relevant to the study of Elmwood and Centerville. North suggested that the "success of the export base has been the determining factor in the rate of growth in regions." In addition,

the export base influences the level of income, the character of subsidiary industry, the distribution of population and pattern of urbanization, the character of the labor force, the social political attitudes of the region, and its sensitivity to fluctuations of income and employment."¹¹

These statements suggested two ideas. First, for the communities of Elmwood and Centerville, the results of defense contracting could be viewed as "export" products in the same way other communities regard agriculture or automobiles. Second, this article tended to support the assumption of this study that there is a correlation between political and economic structures in a community, and that defense contracting affects and is affected by these structures.

A final book which dealt in part with communities was helpful in the formulation of this dissertation.

¹⁰Douglass C. North, "Location Theory and Regional Economic Growth," Journal of Political Economy, LXIII, No. 3 (June, 1955), p. 253.

¹¹Ibid., p. 254.

American Business and Public Policy¹² contained a section of eight case studies illustrating the manner in which communities interacted within the political process. Specifically, the eight communities were concerned with reciprocal trade legislation from 1953-1962. Through these case studies, the reader saw the direct influence that government policy had on the communities, and in turn, how communities attempted to influence national policy. The analysis of this relationship was handled through a communications model, and the data presented provided some guidelines for looking at the network of inter-relationships between Elmwood and Centerville and their legislative representatives.

The next important area in which a review of the literature was valuable was methodology. Because this dissertation was involved with the identification of community leaders, it was important to select a means that would produce such findings with a degree of validity. Some of the published works most useful in this task are discussed in the following section.

B. Literature on Methodology

An extensive dialogue has been carried on within

¹²Raymond Bauer, Ithiel De Sola Pool and Lewis Dexter, American Business and Public Policy: The Politics of Foreign Trade (New York: Atherton Press, 1963).

the scholarly publications concerning methodology and its application to community studies. These comments have been mostly in the form of a defense or criticism of the recognized approaches: positional, reputational and decision-making. To fully discuss the particular publications would go beyond the scope of this Chapter. Instead, attention will be drawn to those works which provided clues or warnings about the advantages and disadvantages of various methodological techniques. By being aware of these, the investigator was able to interpret his data more accurately in this dissertation.

The three common leadership identification approaches can be briefly summarized as follows. The positional approach was the method used most widely in determining the governing leadership of communities before 1953 and the publication of Hunter's Community Power Structure.¹³ The basic assumption of this approach is that those persons holding key positions of authority--the important offices--actually make the key decisions. Its advantage is the ease in identifying community leaders. There usually is little research difficulty in determining the important office-holders; therefore, this method

¹³Charles M. Bonjean, and David M. Olson, "Community Leadership: Directions of Research," Administrative Science Quarterly, IX, No. 3 (December, 1964), p. 279.

quickly produces the desired data. A major limitation of this method is that there may not always be a correlation between the office-holders and those wielding the most influence. This approach does not account for covert power relationships because its focus of attention is on those people located in prominent offices or positions. Even though these individuals are a useful reference point for investigation, Hunter in his book showed that a more precise survey was necessary to fully understand community leadership structures.

The reputational approach employed by Hunter seriously challenged the assumptions of the positional method. In this method the researcher asks community informants to name individuals considered influential even though they may not occupy official positions or public offices. From these nominations, a list of names is compiled and other community residents are asked to rank these in their order of importance. The reputational approach has utility because it goes beyond office-holders of the community and seeks to identify the influentials even though they have no official positions.

The reputational approach also has its limitations. First, it does not measure leadership per se, but only reputation for leadership.¹⁴ Secondly, it does not

¹⁴Ibid., p. 284.

measure power acts, but rather opinions on who has power or who is perceived to have power as opposed to those individuals who actually possess power.¹⁵

A third criticism is that the reputational method assumes a static distribution of power.¹⁶ "Changes in the nature and distribution of the sources of power are assumed to occur very slowly, so that the only strategy for a group engaged in political action is to persuade the real elite to go along with it."¹⁷ Other studies using different methodological techniques have shown that a shifting distribution of power is not uncommon, and that some groups create "new" power by effectively manipulating political resources.

A final criticism of the reputational approach is that it "enables the researcher to find a monolithic power structure when in fact one doesn't exist."¹⁸ This

¹⁵William D'Antonio and Eugene C. Erickson, "The Reputational Technique As A Measure of Community Power: An Evaluation Based on Comparative and Longitudinal Studies," American Sociological Review, XXVII, No. 3 (June, 1962), pp. 362-376.

¹⁶Raymond E. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power," American Sociological Review, XXV, No. 5 (October, 1960), p. 636.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 644.

¹⁸Charles M. Bonjean, "Community Leadership: A Case Study and Conceptual Refinement," American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII, No. 6 (May, 1963), p. 672.

approach, therefore, determines by opinion and reputation those leaders thought to be the most influential, although this may not be an adequate description of the leadership structure.

The third technique in leader identification is the decision-making or issue-event analysis approach. This traces the actions of leaders or key officials in regard to a specific event with the intent of analyzing the decision-making procedures. Conversely, an event can be examined in order to identify those leaders most active and influential with it. By confining the investigation to specific issues rather than to general community concerns, this method can "penetrate the veil of official position and overt participation in order to determine, as far as possible, who really influences decisions."¹⁹

The issue-event approach also has limitations.²⁰ In the first place, the investigator may not know whether the decision reached was done so formally at a particular meeting or informally by a small group of men prior to the meeting. For the researcher to establish rapport with the group that he is investigating, he must often spend a great deal of time at meetings. This may not always be

¹⁹Dahl, op. cit., p. 332.

²⁰Bonjean and Olson, op. cit., p. 287.

possible. Furthermore, the selection of a particular issue can color the conclusions of the research by limiting the area from which to identify leaders. Finally, the most important issues within a community may be hidden from public sight by the real power leaders, in which case the investigator is covering only a superficial community issue.

One might conclude that since all the above approaches have limitations it is not feasible to employ any of them. It is not necessary to draw this extreme conclusion but simply to realize the limitations of the three. In general, one can say that different methods of identifying leaders will locate different types of leaders,²¹ and different methods of locating leaders may also produce different types of community leadership structures. A decisional approach might indicate a polymorphic structure while the positional approach might suggest a single elite clique.

A combination of methods appears to be a satisfactory answer to the dilemma.²² By combining the best of

²¹Linton C. Freeman, Thomas Fararo, Warner Bloomberg Jr., and Morris H. Sunshine, "Locating Leaders in Local Communities: A Comparison of Some Alternative Approaches," American Sociological Review, XXVIII, No. 5 (October, 1963), p. 798.

²²Robert Presthus, Men at the Top: A Study in Community Power, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

each, the investigator attains not only more accuracy in identification, but also a built-in check on the findings. For this reason, this dissertation did not rely exclusively upon one technique, but attempted to incorporate all three.

C. Studies Relating Politics and Economics

There were five specific studies that dealt with the relationships between politics and economics which were useful in this dissertation. Politics, Economics, and Welfare²³ by Robert Dahl and Charles Lindblom explored the prerequisites of rational social action in the political-economic area. The authors attempted an integration of politics and economics in a general sense and specifically as these two fields apply to the decision-making process.²⁴

Dahl and Lindblom discussed social techniques which are used for rational social action and made the following observation:

In economic life the possibilities for rational social action, for planning, for reform--in short, for solving problems--depend not upon our choice among mythical grand alternatives but largely

²³Robert Dahl and Charles Lindblom, Politics, Economic and Welfare, Planning and Politico-Economic Systems Resolved into Basic Social Process, (New York: Harper and Bros., 1953).

²⁴Ibid., p. 18.

upon choice among particular social techniques.²⁵

One new social technique was then pointed out, the government contract. As a result of contracting, the major contractors have begun to operate "under a different structure of cues and incentives" from those companies not doing contract work for the government.²⁶ The previous sets of decision-making procedures for these contractors no longer are applicable because the companies are dealing in different relationships. These ideas presented by Dahl and Lindblom were useful, for they indicated possible leadership and political transformations that communities, like contractors, probably undergo as a result of changing economic relationships.

William Form and Delbert Miller's Industry, Labor and Community²⁷ discussed the relationship between industry and community, especially the manner in which industry affects a community. The authors employed variables in their conceptual framework--mentioned in Chapter I--which accounted for the relationships between industries and communities.

²⁵Ibid., p. 6.

²⁶Ibid., p. 7.

²⁷William Form and Delbert Miller, Industry, Labor and Community, (New York: Harper and Bros., 1960).

In addition to these variables, Form and Miller presented five kinds of community power systems through which to view communities comparatively. These provided general guidelines to this study by suggesting models of community leadership structures: (1) Pyramidical structure centering in one person; that is, an autocratic form found in some company or one-industry towns. (2) Pyramidical structure centering in an aristocracy where power is usually hereditary. (3) Stratified pyramidical structure centering in a top group of policy-makers. (4) Ring or cone structure in which heterogeneity of interests within the community is characterized and these interests participate actively. (5) Segmented power pyramids in which various sectors are separated from each other, yet each has its own pyramid.²⁸

Two articles dealing with economic leaders in communities suggested the relationship of economics to political decision-making. The first article was by Robert Schulze.²⁹ In his study of Cibola, Schulze found that economic dominants tended to withdraw from community leadership positions as the community grew and changed.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 538-543.

²⁹Robert Schulze, "The Role of Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," American Sociological Review, XXIII, No. 1 (February, 1958), pp. 3-9.

Similarly, Donald Clelland and William Form in their article discovered that as local business became integrated with national markets, the economic dominants also tended to play less of a role in community politics.³⁰ Both of these articles provided data from which comparisons were made with the experiences of Elmwood and Centerville as these two communities changed over a period of time.

D. Studies in Community Change

One area of investigation considered in this dissertation was the ability of Elmwood and Centerville to adjust to their economic conditions as these changed over a period of time. An important book covered this type of inquiry. The Rulers and the Ruled³¹ has as its central focus the problem of stability and change as functions of two conflicting tendencies in the political process. The authors made the following comment:

Types of power structures are inferred from political decisions that may change over periods of time; therefore, the types of power structures also may change over periods of time within

³⁰Donald Clelland and William Form, "Economic Dominants and Community Power," American Journal of Sociology, LXIX, No. 5 (March, 1964), pp. 511-521.

³¹Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich and Bert E. Swanson, The Rulers and the Ruled, Political Power and Impotence in American Communities (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964).

communities.³²

Agger et al. explained conditions which could cause change and also circumstances under which a static power structure might continue to exist. The significance of The Rulers and the Ruled went beyond the scope of this dissertation, but the book's material on change was especially useful.

A theoretical model for a functional analysis of social change was provided by Amitai Etzioni in "The Epigenesis of Political Communities at the International Level."³³ Even though the article referred to a different level of government, many of Etzioni's assumptions appear to be valid for local communities. Epigenesis deals with the changes in units as they acquire functions not previously performed by the unit. On the international scene, super-national organizations illustrate this process. These "umbrella" structures may be loosely organized with only vague goals; yet, as time goes on, and requirements and demands change, they will shift emphasis and begin to fill more specific needs.

It can be assumed that local communities and organizations experience transformations similar to inter-

³²Ibid., p. 80.

³³Amitai Etzioni, "The Epigenesis of Political Communities at the International Level," American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII, No. 4 (January, 1963), pp. 407-421.

national organizations. Because of increasing social and economic demands, local governments must assume new responsibilities. This is especially true in communities which have been changed by the introduction of new industries created by defense contracting demands. The model of epigenesis aids in studying community change because it accounts for the influence of these environmental factors. It

includes statements about the sector [unit organization] in which the process starts; the functional sequence in which other sectors are added; and the relationships between growth in performance, power and communication capabilities.³⁴

This model was helpful in analyzing the two communities and the Belhaven Valley Development Association because all three have changed in the past 10 years.

E. Issues and Community Studies

The final category of the review of pertinent literature covers the importance of community issues to community studies. Ernest Barth indicated the impact community growth has on issues which then influence community leadership systems and the distribution of power:

A rapid rate of urban growth is associated with a rapid increase in the number of issues facing community leaders and also with the complexity of these issues. At the same time, the expansion

³⁴Ibid., p. 407.

produces new positions of influence and new sources of power. These processes are associated with the development of power cliques and with a reduction of the integration of the influence system.³⁵

The relationships observed by Barth were very similar to the ones studied in Elmwood and Centerville. This article was perhaps the closest study to the overall purpose of this dissertation. Other points from the article will be referred to in subsequent Chapters.

Another article pertained to the study of issues in a community. Robert Agger's "Power Attributions in the Local Community: Theoretical and Research Considerations,"³⁶ discussed the concepts of "polymorphic" and "monomorphic" which refer to the number of areas in which a leader is influential. This dissertation determined the extent of overlapping membership by the leaders in Belhaven in various issue-areas. Some of the questions used by Agger were adopted in the questionnaire for this study. In general, this article and its references were the basis of Chapter VII.

F. Summary

Some of the most important books and articles

³⁵Ernest A. T. Barth, "Community Influence Systems: Structure and Change" Social Forces, XL, No. 1 (October, 1961), p. 63.

³⁶Robert E. Agger, "Power Attributions in the Local Community: Theoretical and Research Considerations," Social Forces, XXXIV, No. 4 (May, 1956), pp. 322-331.

relating to this dissertation have been cited. In order to keep the number of works to a manageable size, not all that had some bearing on the topic were covered in this Chapter. Others will be discussed in the text. From the presentation, it is possible to see the type of research that has been done which relates generally to the subject. In some ways, this study is exploring new areas, while at the same time, it is drawing from previous studies or suggested research pursuits. All the works mentioned have influenced either the formulation, investigation or the analysis of the problems studied. By using these scholarly efforts as a basis and foundation for this study, a degree of research continuity is maintained, while at the same time fresh avenues of investigation may be suggested. It is hoped that this dissertation will also produce a new contribution which will assist future political research.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL SETTING OF THE STUDY

In the course of the past ninety years, Belhaven Valley and its two principal communities have experienced noticeable political, economic and social changes. The Valley has moved from an isolated and predominately agricultural economic base to one that is becoming increasingly industrial and integrated with the Los Angeles area. This transformation has been neither smooth nor gradual. Belhaven Valley, Elmwood and Centerville have been forced to make political, economic and social adjustments under adverse conditions. An assumption of this study (Hypothesis Four) is that there should be a corresponding relationship between political and economic changes. This Chapter will begin to investigate this proposition by focusing on the general development of the Valley and the two communities. It will also compare Elmwood and Centerville through the use of identical descriptive categories. These include the history, setting, economic basis and issues of the communities.

A. Belhaven Valley

1) History: The history of Belhaven really does not begin until 1876 when the Southern Pacific Railroad completed its rail line from San Francisco to Los Angeles through Belhaven Valley. Prior to that date, there had been no significant attempts at settlement in the Valley. The only inhabitants before 1876 were a few groups of Indians, various survey and exploration parties and a limited number of ranchers.

The initial migration to Belhaven Valley was prompted by a land boom in the Los Angeles area from 1885-1888. The completion of the Santa Fe Railroad line into Los Angeles in 1885 was a contributing factor even though its tracks did not pass through Belhaven as did Southern Pacific's. There were now two railroads servicing Los Angeles, and, as a result, a passenger rate war followed which enabled large numbers of people to get into the Los Angeles area inexpensively. Before long, some of these new residents were establishing little colonies in Belhaven Valley or joining ones already there.

A townsite for the community of Centerville was recorded in 1884. One of the founders placed advertisements in newspapers across the country to promote the area. Elmwood was founded in 1886 in much the same way, and so were other settlements, some of which are still in

existence today.

The economies of these communities were based on agriculture. Their products consisted of stock raising, grains, and fruit orchards, particularly almonds. Water was a major problem, but the California Legislature encouraged land settlement at this time by passing the Wright Act of 1887. This bill "sought to confer on farming communities powers of municipalities in the purchase or construction and the operation of irrigation works."¹ The act was particularly beneficial for this area because it enabled six irrigation districts to be organized.

These districts, however, were unable to provide sufficient water to offset the severe drought years of 1893-1904. For eight of these eleven years the annual rainfall was considerably below the average. As a consequence, the early population influx was reversed because many of the farmers were forced to give up their homesteads and to leave the Valley.

There appear to be no specific population figures for the Valley before the 1900 Census, so it is difficult to estimate how many people were there and then left. It is believed that no more than 3,000 ever lived in the

¹Some of the data for this Chapter have come from the Regional Planning Commission of Los Angeles County. Precise references are not cited, however, in order to conceal the identity of the communities.

Valley before 1900. In that year, the first official Census for the Valley showed 842 inhabitants. By 1910 the population was 1,979.

A more precise indication of the impact the drought years had on the area can be shown by a comparison of the number of acres under cultivation. In 1893 there were from 12,000 to 15,000 acres bought and developed into orchards. By 1910, this figure was down to less than 5,000 acres under irrigation in the entire Valley.

From 1885 to 1900 Belhaven experienced on a much smaller scale what was to happen again in 1950. The Valley saw an influx of people with hopes for quick profits and easy money. Land speculation was widespread and prices soared. The settlers were generally unaware, however, of the local conditions, especially the water supply. This same lack of knowledge and caution by new investors would be evident fifty years later.

The drought years revealed that Belhaven was a rugged area for settlement and that water was needed for the development and growth of the Valley. Artisian wells were first drilled around 1883, but it was not until 1898 that a sizable number were begun. The main problem was that borings to a depth of at least 100 feet were needed to reach the water table. Depths of 200 to 500 feet were not uncommon. It became evident, therefore, that these

wells alone were not going to be sufficient to support large-scale development in the Valley.

The city of Los Angeles was also looking for additional water and part of its solution would prove to be of benefit to Belhaven. Los Angeles's answer was to bring in water from the High Sierras by an aqueduct. The famous Owens River Aqueduct, under the direction of William Mulholland, was begun in 1908. The main pipe lines cut across Belhaven Valley and this new source of water enabled the irrigation districts to purchase the water as it flowed into Los Angeles.

The water problems for the Valley have by no means been entirely solved by this Aqueduct. A solution is not anticipated until 1972 and the completion of the Feather River water project. The Owens Aqueduct, however, served two useful purposes for the Valley in 1912 when it was finally completed. First, it made possible the irrigation and cultivation of formerly dry lands and this in turn increased the agricultural production of the Valley. Second, the construction brought several thousand men into the area. Some of them stayed for additional construction projects such as dams, irrigation tunnels, and even housing for the workers themselves. A great deal of activity for Belhaven was generated, therefore, as a result of the original Aqueduct project.

Another important technological advance for the Valley was the introduction of electricity into the area in 1915. Farmers and ranchers were able to farm more productively and extensively since, for the first time, they could operate various motors including electric water pumping stations.

All these developments were reflected to some extent in the increase in irrigated land. In 1910 there were 5,000 acres under irrigation. By 1919, the total had risen to 11,900. The population also showed a marked increase as it rose from 1,979 in 1910 to 3,036 in 1920.

The period from 1900 to 1940 was one of steady, but not spectacular growth. In 1930, the total population of the Valley was 5,960. In the next ten years it increased to 8,155. Figure 2 shows the population growth since 1950 of Belhaven Valley communities in comparison to larger political units.

The substantial increase in population from 1940 to 1950 was primarily the result of World War II, during which a nearby Air Force Base was widely used for the first time. This Base--DeLong Air Force Base--was to play a secondary economic role to another Air Force installation in Elmwood during most of the 1950's, but from 1958 on the Base would be a major economic influence on the Valley.

FIGURE 2

POPULATION GROWTH OF BELHAVEN VALLEY COMMUNITIES
 COMPARED TO LARGER POLITICAL UNITS, 1950-1965

Year	Elmwood ^a	Centerville ^a	Belhaven ^a Valley	County of Los Angeles	State of California
1950	2,000	3,594	16,364	4,151,687	10,586,223
1958	16,964	25,000	61,172	5,614,212	14,317,000
1960	20,861 ^b	29,019	82,000	6,038,771	15,717,204
1965	10,000 ^b	33,000	118,000	6,878,200	18,756,000
PER CENT OF INCREASE, 1950-1965					
1950-1958	701	600	274	38	35
1958-1960	23	16	34	7	10
1960-1965	c	16	44	14	17

a. Estimates by the Los Angeles County Regional Planning Commission and the BVDA.

b. Incorporated area only.

c. 1962 incorporation changed geographic boundaries, so no accurate comparison can be made.

Source: Los Angeles County Regional Planning Commission, the BVDA, and the
California Statistical Abstract, 1965.

The history of the Valley to 1950 does not reveal anything that would forecast or account for the area's importance after that date. Belhaven was too far from metropolitan Los Angeles to fully participate in that community's expansion. Further, the Valley lacked water or natural resources in sufficient quantity to attract people in any great number. Perhaps the only hint of what was to occur in Belhaven was the establishment of DeLong Air Force Base in 1933, primarily as a bombing practice range. The selection of this location was based on the fortunate coincidence that the Valley had wide open flat spaces and almost year-round flying weather. These two factors eventually would change Belhaven drastically from a sparsely populated Valley into a booming defense contract-oriented area. Ironically, this new vitality brought with it one great weakness--the far-reaching dependence of the Valley upon the future of aircraft and defense contracting.

The one event which stimulated this growth was the Korean conflict in June of 1950. With the entrance of the United States into the fighting, there was an immediate demand for aircraft. Los Angeles had already become one of the nation's leading areas for the production of aircraft, and naturally new contracts flowed to the contractors located there. A common problem was faced by

these manufacturers. Los Angeles had become so large and expansive, it was difficult, and unsafe, to flight test airplanes over the basin. The answer was to find another location in which final assembly and testing could be conducted. Within a few months a place was agreed upon by the manufacturers and the Air Force, a County airport located within the unincorporated area of Elmwood.

As early as 1949, a prime contractor had begun investigating the possibility of using the airport for its own needs. When the Korean conflict arose, it was decided that all contractors could share the same facilities, and so the Air Force began negotiations to purchase the field. This was accomplished early in 1951 and soon the contractors set up their installations which would eventually transform Elmwood and the entire Valley.

Within two years there was a tremendous influx of skilled and unskilled labor with their families into Elmwood and the surrounding communities. People were needed not only for the aircraft assembly work, but for the construction of runways, buildings, housing and other related activity. Even though the fighting in Korea ceased in August of 1953, the demand for aircraft continued. There was some shifting to the development of commercial planes, but military contracts remained predominate. This additional activity increased the importance

of the Air Force Facility at Elmwood. The contractors leased facility space from the Air Force and were free, therefore, to bid for either military or commercial contracts.

The area around Elmwood boomed and land investors prospered from 1950 to about 1957. Then almost as quickly as it had started, the pace slowed and almost stopped. In the closing months of 1957 the United States began to shift its military emphasis from manned bombers to missiles. Part of this change was a result of the Soviet Union's orbiting the first artificial satellite in October of 1957. This dramatized the fact that the Soviet Union had developed and could use large boosters capable of carrying destructive warheads over vast distances. The United States had begun to alter its strategy before Sputnik, but the Soviet feat accelerated the American missile effort.

In late 1957 and early 1958 government contracts calling for construction of airplanes were either cancelled or drastically reduced. Some of the airplane manufacturers moved their Elmwood operations to other sites where rocket and missile developments were being established. Employment at the Air Force Facility in Elmwood was cut in half within the first six months of 1958 and additional layoffs soon followed. Some of these workers

were able to relocate at DeLong Air Force Base in the Valley where some missile testing was beginning. For the majority of employees, however, there was no work in Belhaven for many months.

The economic situation remained critical for the Valley until 1961 when another major defense contract project was well underway. Since 1961 the economic revival has been steady although there have been some minor setbacks along the way. For the most part, all economic indexes of today have surpassed those of the boom years in the early 1950's.

This brief discussion has brought the history of the Valley up to the present time. An examination will be made now of the significant factors and issues which characterize Belhaven Valley today.

2) Description

a) Setting: Belhaven Valley includes portions of two other Southern California counties besides Los Angeles. Precise locations and boundaries are not given in this study as they have no particular significance to the overall findings, and anonymity of the communities and leaders is desired. Belhaven Valley covers approximately 3,400 square miles and the population of this area is estimated to be 118,000. Within just the Los Angeles County portion

of Belhaven the population is 96,000 which means that the Los Angeles section contains the majority of the inhabitants. DeLong Air Force Base is composed of seventy-two square miles, while the Air Force Facility in Elmwood encompasses almost eight square miles.

The nature of the population has changed since 1950. Based upon a comparison of the 1950 and 1960 Census, the Valley population was younger, better educated and had an average income more comparable to the remainder of Los Angeles County in 1960 than it did in 1950. According to the 1960 Census, the mean age of a resident was 26.9 years. The median age was 24.2 years as opposed to 31.5 years in 1950. For the state of California in the 1960 Census, the median age was 29.0 years.

The median number of school years completed by residents was 11.9 years in the 1960 Census as against 10.2 years ten years before. The general rise of the level of education can be attributed to the arrival of the new inhabitants with scientific, engineering and technical backgrounds as a result of defense contracting jobs. Since 1950, 73 per cent of the new arrivals into the Valley had come because of job or business opportunities.

In 1960 the median family income was \$6,942 which showed an increase over the 1950 Census. Again the reason

can be traced to a larger number of skilled and professional people in the Valley. The 1960 data show a racial homogeneity in the Valley as well. There were 3 per cent Negro and .8 per cent Spanish surname, while the remainder were designated as Caucasian.

A survey was taken in 1957--perhaps not a typical year because of the economic instability--to determine the attitudes of the residents of the area. One significant difference was evident when compared to similar surveys for other portions of Los Angeles County. About 12 per cent of the population said they were uncertain of their future plans. This compared to figures of 5 to 6 per cent elsewhere which possibly suggests the rather unsettling influence that defense employment can have on an area.

b) Economic Basis: There are two important facts about Belhaven's economy that should be remembered. First, it has been geared almost exclusively to defense contract work either directly or indirectly. Second, until the last four years, the Valley was relatively isolated from Los Angeles, and as a result it developed primarily as a self-contained economic unit. Both of these conditions are changing today, but they have been a major influence upon the development and character of the Valley.

About 40 per cent of all employed residents in Belhaven are on payrolls dependent upon defense employment. Using a 1:1 ratio, another 40 per cent of the labor force can be assumed to be employed in non-basic activities indirectly supported by the basic industry.² This means that some 80 per cent of the labor force and their families in Belhaven are dependent in varying degrees upon the work at the Air Force Facility in Elmwood or at DeLong Air Force Base. The following Figure presents a breakdown of the labor force in Belhaven.

The labor market consists of approximately 32,000 employed residents including military as well as civilian. Of these no more than 6 per cent work outside the immediate area. The places of employment for these workers suggest the basic nature of the economy: DeLong Air Force Base: 26 per cent; Air Force Facility: 14 per cent; Elmwood area: 14 per cent; Centerville area: 33 per cent; rural Valley: 7 per cent; outside Valley 6 per cent. Unemployment has been in the 6.5 per cent range, which is higher than in most other Caucasian areas in Los Angeles. This rate, however, has been on the decline

²For a discussion of basic to non-basic employment ratios, see Arthur M. Weimer and Homer Hoyt, Principles of Real Estate, (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1954), p. 352; Homer Hoyt "Development of Economic Base Concept," Land Economics XXX, No. 2 (May, 1954), p. 185.

FIGURE 3

EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRIES

Industry	Per cent
Aircraft	29
Local Government	11
Federal Government	11
Trade, Wholesale, Retail	20
Finance	2
Construction	5.5
Agriculture, Mining	5
Transportation, Communications, Utilities	4
Service	8.5
Private Manufacturing	<u>4</u>
Total	100

Note:

These figures represent jobs by Belhaven (Los Angeles County portion) residents only, and these jobs are both in and outside the Valley.

Source:

Belhaven Valley Development Association, 1965.

for many months.

Even though DeLong Air Force Base has many more employees than the Air Force Facility, the significant difference is the greater dependence of Elmwood on the Facility. DeLong Air Force Base generates a larger payroll, but its effect is spread throughout most of the Valley. On the other hand, any increase or decrease of contracting at the Facility has a direct impact on the community of Elmwood.

DeLong Air Force Base employs a total of over 12,000 people (military and civilian) including employees of the Air Force contractors. Of this total, 75 per cent live off the Base. In effect, each job supports six persons: the worker holding the basic defense job, a worker in a non-basic activity, and their two families of two dependents each. This means that roughly 72,000 people in Belhaven are tied to the work at DeLong. The Base estimates its payroll to be about 13 million dollars a year. An additional 3 million dollars are spent directly in Belhaven for materials, supplies and equipment, while another 20 million dollars are released to the remainder of the County, some of which finds its way back into Belhaven for goods and services. It is evident, therefore, that the activities of the Base have a direct bearing on the economy of the Valley.

The Air Force Facility at Elmwood employs about 2,500. Its contribution to the economy is 20 million dollars a year. As mentioned previously, its greatest impact is on Elmwood rather than being more diffused over the Valley.

It has been estimated that by 1990 the Valley labor force will increase from its present number of 32,000 to over 173,000, out of a total population of over 500,000. To support this, over 50,000 basic jobs will be required, but the basic to non-basic employment ratio would be modified to about 1:2. This would mean each basic job will support two non-basic jobs and a total of nine people instead of six. This also assumes a diversification of the economy and a widening of the economic base of the area. As will be pointed out later, this is the goal of many of the leaders of the area today.

Even though there is a high degree of unionization within the labor force, the unions do not play an influential role outside labor-management questions. They are not active in the leadership circles concerned with government defense contracting. High union membership is found in the building trades, trucking and culinary jobs. The aircraft industry has been operating on an open shop basis and in these plants union membership is not extensive.

In addition to the defense-oriented nature of the economy, the agricultural output of the Valley continues to act as a stabilizing factor, although its relative importance to manufacturing has declined. Approximately 30 million dollars are put into the economy from agricultural production, in which only 5 per cent of the labor force are engaged. In 1963 about 13 million dollars of the 30 million came from crop-bearing land. Another 16 million dollars stemmed from poultry production.

Water is no longer the problem it was fifty years ago. It is now supplied by a County agency, irrigation districts, private water companies, and mutual water companies in the Belhaven Valley. When the Feather River project is completed in 1971, it will provide additional sources for the Valley. Until that time, estimates indicate there should be sufficient water to meet the demands of the anticipated residential and industrial growth. At present, agriculture accounts for 97 per cent of the water consumed, with the remaining 3 per cent divided between residential and industrial uses.

c) Issues: The nature of the issues in Belhaven reflects the economic conditions described. In one form or another the issues revolve around the problem of economic dependence upon defense contracting. An obvious

solution, but one which is not easily implemented, is diversification of the economy. While practically everyone in Belhaven is agreed upon this general policy, there is less accord on the specific means to accomplish it. Part of the disagreement concerns the nature of the community environment that residents want for the entire Valley.

Most of the people apparently would welcome the type of Valley that is foreseen in terms of population growth and economic development. Yet, there is a small group which does not wish to see Belhaven become another maze of small, overcrowded communities with no real separate identity as has happened elsewhere in the Los Angeles area. These people are not eager for the introduction of a great number of new industries, although they would accept limited diversification.

Some leaders have expressed the major issue facing their Valley in the form of a rhetorical question: Where do we go from here? There seem to be two roads open. The first would link Belhaven more closely with Los Angeles by actively expanding the Valley's economy. Belhaven would be developed into a new major metropolitan area with a population of 600,000 by the year 2,000. The other road would not encourage rapid changes in Belhaven but would simply try to maintain a stable economy with the present

resources. Some diversification would be sought, but while the Valley would be expected to grow, no large-scale development would be planned.

These decisions will have to be made before the future of Belhaven can be determined. Depending on which goals are sought, Valley leaders will work from different premises when planning their strategies and tactics. To be more precise, different leaders may be active if one direction is taken, while another group may step forward should the alternative course be pursued.

Subsequent Chapters will elaborate upon these issues. Before doing so, however, a closer examination should be made of the two communities, for their development, issues and leaders also influence the entire Valley.

B. Centerville

1) History: Centerville has been the hub community, the trading center for the entire Valley since the earliest days, and its significance in relation to the Belhaven Valley is the same today as when the community was founded in 1882. The point at which the County road in the Valley crossed the Southern Pacific tracks running between San Francisco and Los Angeles was within the boundaries of the original townsite. Because of this geographic location, and because there was water in the immediate vicinity,

Centerville had two advantages not enjoyed by most of the other settlements in Belhaven.

As mentioned previously, early land promotions attracted people to Centerville and the Valley. While Centerville was becoming the most important community within the Valley, its total population was not extraordinary. The earliest recorded statistic placed the population at 150 in 1889. There are no official Census figures for Centerville until 1930 at which time the population was 1,660. Before 1930, there was no significant statistical breakdown within the Valley and the area was treated primarily as one Census tract. The 1940 Census set the population as 2,550; the 1950 Census at 3,594 and the 1960 Census showed a population of 29,019.

The population of Centerville today, as estimated by the Chamber of Commerce, is over 38,000. Although the community has grown these past five years, this figure may be high, for the Chamber has considered a larger area than the Census Bureau when defining Centerville. Until incorporation is established, this discrepancy will exist; however, the population total is close enough to suggest the relative importance of Centerville to Elmwood and the entire Belhaven Valley.

The spectacular increase can be attributed to the vast influx of people into the Valley as a consequence of

defense contracting demands. It must be remembered that while Centerville was participating in this rapid expansion, the community was not directly dependent for its existence upon either the Air Force Facility or the Air Force Base. The community already enjoyed an established position in the Valley. Regardless of the rate of employment or unemployment in the Valley, Centerville was able to continue to build its traditional trading center economic base. In addition, new residents in other Valley communities preferred to shop in Centerville whenever possible, and so Centerville was assured of further economic activity. These facts are significant for they highlight the distinct difference between Centerville and Elmwood.

2) Description

a) Setting: Centerville is the most populated community in the Belhaven Valley, yet it remains unincorporated at this time. As such, its local government is the five-man Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors. The County is divided into five Supervisorial Districts, with Centerville a part of one of these Districts. Besides the election of the Supervisor, electors in Centerville also select representatives for school boards and other special districts. The Chamber of Commerce has been

acting as the city council and spokesman for the community. In this capacity, the Chamber works directly with the Supervisor and his Administrative Assistant for this portion of the District.

b) Economy of Centerville: Centerville is the primary retail and commercial center for the entire Belhaven Valley. The largest stores, some of which are part of national chains, are found in Centerville. In contrast, other communities in the Valley are composed primarily of local merchants. Most of the automobile dealers, for instance, are in Centerville and not in Elmwood. This means that Centerville profits from additional sales tax revenue.

The amount of payroll dollars generated within the community of Centerville, as defined by its Chamber of Commerce, was 83.274 million dollars for the year 1965. This was up from 78.840 million dollars in 1964. Also, according to the Centerville Chamber, the average family wage was estimated to be \$6,030, with per capita income at \$3,290 for 1965. (These figures, however, do not include farm payroll or income from sources other than wages and salaries).

Unfortunately there is not as much demographic data available for Centerville as for Elmwood because of

the former's unincorporated status. The basic economic difference between the two communities has been established however, and from this, a brief look at the issues in Centerville is appropriate.

c) Issues of Centerville: As might be expected, most of the issues revolve around the economic situation in the Valley. Centerville, however, because it is less dependent on contracts and more established, does have other types of questions for community discussion. Today, the principal issue is incorporation. A movement is underway now, and the election is expected to be held in September, 1966 at which time citizens either will approve or reject incorporation.

The proponents for incorporation say it is time for Centerville to have direct control in areas of zoning, building, taxing and planning. At the present time, approval must come from the Board of Supervisors in Los Angeles. Supporters of incorporation state that, in addition to the above advantages, tax revenues will be returned to Centerville which now are collected but go into the general fund of the County.

Another issue in Centerville is the desire by some of its citizens to create a cultural climate for the community by promoting the construction of an auditorium for concerts and plays. Similar activities in the arts are

being encouraged by various groups. A conclusion can be drawn at this time, therefore, that Centerville has progressed beyond minimum survival and existence to a stage where some people think it is time to consider additional community goals other than industrial and economic. In short, there is a wide variety of issues in Centerville which is one measurement of a community's maturity.

C. Elmwood

1) History: Since 1950, Elmwood has depended for its existence and development on its proximity to the Air Force Facility. Without this relationship, it is safe to say that Elmwood probably would not be distinguished from the other communities in Belhaven.

In terms of population, Elmwood has had much the same rate of increase as has Centerville. The first Census in 1930 recorded 1,007. In 1940, the population was 1,419, and in 1950, it was 2,000. From 1950 to 1958 there was a 700 per cent increase. Today, the population of the incorporated city is about 10,000. The community has not actually suffered a decline in residents, but again, the difference between the unincorporated and the incorporated areas accounts for the two figures.

Until 1950, Elmwood experienced the same phases of development as did most of the other communities in

Belhaven except Centerville. By itself, Elmwood did not have much to offer except a settlement for people who wanted to live in the Valley. Since 1950, there have been two important events in Elmwood which have influenced the community's development and shaped its reaction to the turbulent conditions of that decade.

The first of these had to do with community development. Around 1950, a conflict arose over the ownership and management of the Elmwood Irrigation District. A split occurred in the community and Elmwood became divided against itself. The specifics of the dispute are not essential, but basically the argument was over the future development of Elmwood. The conservative element desired that Elmwood remain small and rural. For this, no new irrigation tunnels or expenses were necessary. The more progressive group thought in terms of growth and industry. They suggested the advisability of building better sewers, streets and other facilities in the event more people migrated to the Valley. Initially, the conservatives won, and as a result, Elmwood in comparison to Centerville, did not prepare itself for the changes in the 1950's. This major community struggle created instability and affected the business climate which may have contributed to Elmwood's later economic problems.

The second event occurred in 1957 during a severe

economic decline in the Valley and in Elmwood. Again, among the leadership there was a split as to the course of action to be followed. Some leaders sought to have Elmwood declared a disaster area and thus be eligible to receive economic benefits from the federal government. The other group pointed out the lasting damage this designation would have and suggested more positive means to alleviate the conditions. This group prevailed and has remained in control ever since.³

The only other community split since the 1957 economic decline has been over the incorporation movement. This was finally approved in 1962. Even though there was vocal opposition at the time, incorporation is no longer an issue today. The subsequent elections have not been bitterly fought either, which suggests that few divisive positions have been taken by the candidates. For the first time since 1950, community stability is being developed within Elmwood, and its leaders are working together.

2) Description

a) Setting: Elmwood is the second largest community in Belhaven. Its government is a city council-manager form. There are five members on the city council elected at large by direct vote every even-numbered year. From

³Further details on this event will be found in Chapter IV.

these five, the Council elects a Mayor and Vice-Mayor. The City Administrator is hired by the Council and is retained at its discretion.

Elmwood is generally a more transient type of community than is Centerville because of the high mobility of aircraft workers and administrators. In a survey taken in 1963, it was found that over 50 per cent of the residents had lived in Elmwood for less than five years, while only 40 per cent had been there more than five years.

b) Economy of Elmwood: Despite Elmwood's growth, the community has never achieved the same degree of economic balance as Centerville. Practically all economic and commercial activity has been geared to the Air Force Facility. For various reasons, residents of Elmwood have preferred to shop in Centerville, so Elmwood during the 1950's was never able to establish many large and diversified retail stores. This same situation remains today. Elmwood has been described two ways which further suggest its relation and standing to Centerville. The first description is as a "satellite" of Centerville; the second is as an "incomplete" city because of its lack of many diversified stores and agricultural base.

About 60 per cent of the resident principal wage earners of Elmwood work in the community, including the

Air Force Facility. The remaining 40 per cent are employed as follows: 15 per cent, DeLong Air Force Base; 13 per cent, Centerville; 12 per cent, "Other" including both Belhaven Valley and Los Angeles.

Approximately two-thirds of the labor market is skilled or professional. That is, 38 per cent of Elmwood's labor force can be classified as craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers, while professional and technical workers account for another 28 per cent. If an additional 7 per cent is added for managers, officials and proprietors, except farm, this brings the total to almost 75 per cent.

In 1963 the mean income for the community of Elmwood was \$6,614. For the same year, 15 per cent had incomes of less than \$3,000 which is the figure designated as a level of "poverty" by the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington D.C. At the other end of the scale, 1.7 per cent had incomes of more than \$15,000 but less than \$20,000. Only .5 per cent reported incomes of more than \$25,000. Over 60 per cent had incomes of \$5,000 - \$10,000 with the largest single category, 16 per cent, showing incomes of \$5,000 - \$5,999.

c) Issues: At this time practically all community leadership efforts are concerned in some way with govern-

ment defense contracting. On one hand, attempts are made to ensure that Elmwood and the Air Force Facility obtain all the defense contracts they can. Yet, at the same time, every effort is being made to diversify the economy and to move Elmwood away from a one-industry relationship.

Some hope was raised for this in 1965 when the Air Force announced it would consider proposals for greater commercial use of the Facility. This did not mean the Air Force would abandon Elmwood but simply that vacant buildings and areas of the Facility could be turned over to companies having no connection with Air Force contracting.

A long-time dream of leaders concerned with the problem of the Facility has been to develop another international airport for the Los Angeles area in Elmwood. This would not be just an alternate field during bad weather, but rather a major terminal by itself. Until recently, a major drawback for this project had been the driving distance from Elmwood to Los Angeles. A freeway is now nearing completion, but this alone is not expected to make the site any more acceptable for a new airport.

A second commercial use of the Facility might be as an engine overhaul and aircraft maintenance depot for the airlines. To some extent, the field is used now as a

training site for commercial pilots. Community leaders have discussed with airline officials the feasibility of using the Facility more extensively for this purpose, but so far no interstate airline has transferred its operations to Elmwood.

In the Fall of 1965 the city of Elmwood annexed the area containing the Air Force Facility amid some opposition. This annexation had little immediate advantage, but it was done with the expectation--possibly the hope--that if any taxable economic activity developed there, Elmwood would benefit. By annexation, Elmwood did gain control over the zoning regulations which could be used to protect the type and height of the structures surrounding the Facility. Through zoning regulations, therefore, Elmwood could insure its principal "natural resource."

Within recent months, the City Council has spent more of its time on issues concerned with improving city conditions, such as streets and lighting. As mentioned previously, Centerville is considered to have better facilities and this is a source of irritation to the smaller community. Elmwood also has begun to draw up a Master Plan. This will be formulated by the County Regional Planning Commission and will be paid in part by federal funds.

D. Summary

This Chapter has been concerned with two major points. The first of these deals with the historical development of the Valley and the two communities in terms of the developmental model and can be summarized at this time. The second concerns the relationship between the political and economic changes experienced by the Valley and requires additional comment in this section.

Viewed broadly, Belhaven Valley during the past ninety years has developed from a purely functional type of community arrangement to clusters of more structured governmental systems. That is, the Valley initially contained only the most basic economic activities because it was sparsely populated with individual farmers. There was little in the form of communities. Recently, Belhaven has developed additional formal governmental arrangements including an incorporated city.

The stages of growth for the Valley and Elmwood and Centerville can be grouped into the following categories. (1) 1885-1920. This was the initial settlement period in which preliminary community relationships were established. During this time, there was little need for formal governing processes as there was little sense of "community" among the inhabitants of the Valley. (2) 1920-1933. This stage was marked by two characteristics.

First, there were recognizable and functional communities within the Valley with established patterns of political activity. Second, the Valley was marked by isolation, and as a result, there was little contact with the rapidly expanding communities in the Los Angeles area. (3) 1933-1958. This third period consisted of the impact of technological and industrial forces upon the Valley. Initially there was the establishment of the Air Force Base in 1933. Then, the Korean conflict created the need for the Air Force Facility in Elmwood, which brought even greater changes in the Valley. The entire way of life for the communities was altered, especially Elmwood's and many traditional leaders were replaced.⁴ (4) 1958-1962. This was another period of relative isolation from the rest of the Los Angeles area. During this time, the communities were working their way out of the economic problems which had beset them in 1957. For this period, the Valley became again more of a self-contained economic unit. (5) 1963-1966. This final period indicated that closer economic and social ties were being established with the Los Angeles area. The biggest contributing factor has been the construction of the freeway between Belhaven and the metropolitan area. Valley residents now speak of a new

⁴This change in leaders over time is discussed in Chapter V.

era. One community newspaper stated in a recent editorial that Belhaven was entering the "Industrial Age."

The theoretical developmental model suggests that four forms of progression may be observed. The first form assumes that once a stage is attained, the community will not turn back to previous phases. Since 1950, Elmwood and Centerville have had groups of individuals which did desire to see their communities return to previous conditions; that is, more rural and less industrial. In both cases, however, the progressive elements prevailed.

The second and third forms of progression can be grouped together. The second assumes that growth and development occur in a spiral form and even though a community might return to a previous problem, it will be handled on a higher level of decision-making and on a more rational basis. The third form of progression assumes that the stages are actually composed of recurring phases or problems.

Throughout the 1950's, the same type of problem faced the two communities. Prosperity would result from the first defense contracts, and withdrawal of these would create a depressed economic condition. Then new contracts would come in to fill the vacuum, followed by a slight dip. In each case, though, the degree of setback was lessened. Part of this can be attributed to the more sophis-

ticated handling of the problem by the leadership of the communities. The leaders became more knowledgeable and skilled, as suggested by the second form, in each succeeding situation.

The final form assumes "a branching out into differentiated forms and processes," a degree of specialization on the part of the community. If the number and diversity of community issues can be an indicator of specialization, then Centerville appears to have reached this stage ahead of Elmwood. Elmwood is still faced with the solution of one major problem. As a consequence, its leaders cannot afford at this time to be involved with other projects such as the ones in Centerville.

The above discussion of the two communities indicates that the developmental model is applicable to community studies. The model's utility lies in its ability to provide a framework for the comparative analysis of events within the two communities over a period of time.

The role of issues brings the discussion to the second major point in the Chapter, the relationship between political and economic changes in a community. The correlation of these variables can be stated as follows: As the economic base or conditions in a community change, so do the issues within that community. As a result, certain political adjustments are required to

solve the new issues. These political changes can take the form of new leaders or new institutions or arrangements. One author has noted: "the dynamics of population growth and expansion and the structure of the economic base of the community are two major determinants of the shape of the influence system."⁵ The incorporation of Elmwood and the move in that direction by Centerville are two examples of economic conditions affecting political arrangements. It is contended that the act of formally establishing political structural arrangements--incorporation--has been brought about to a considerable degree by the changing economic conditions in these communities.

The economic environment has affected the political arrangements in the defense-orientated communities in two ways. First, the community leaders wanted to be legally and formally recognized in negotiations with other governmental units, and so it became necessary to represent incorporated areas. One leader recounted an incident which illustrates the point. He was President of one of the Chambers of Commerce and was in Sacramento as a witness before a hearing on a bill of considerable concern to his community. The Chairman of the hearing asked him how

⁵Ernest A. Barth, "Community Influence Systems: Structure and Change," Social Forces, XL, No. 1 (October, 1961), p. 63.

many people he represented and the President replied proudly, "Over 20,000." The Chairman, not impressed, noted for the official record that the community was unincorporated and that the witness, as the President of the Chamber, represented only the Chamber. This type of treatment has occurred on other occasions.

Second, the economic environment has other effects as well on the political arrangements. The communities in this study have experienced a substantial influx of professional people from large metropolitan areas because of defense contracting employment. These new residents expect--as do their employers--that there will be living conditions reasonably comparable to those found in large cities. Demands are being made for increased educational, recreational and cultural facilities. The people want these activities and facilities in Belhaven, not in Los Angeles. Because these demands are local in nature, it becomes necessary for the communities to establish problem-solving mechanisms, generally in the form of local government.

The interviews with the people most active in the incorporation drives for both communities tend to support this conclusion. Defense contracting is seldom given as a reason for incorporation, but this does not mean there is not a direct link between incorporation and the defense

environment. Behind most of the other reasons for incorporation which have been more prominently stated is the ever-present factor of defense contracting and its relationship to the communities.

The movement toward incorporation by Centerville for generally the same reasons as Elmwood lends support to the notion that common forces may cause common reactions. Even though the two communities are different in their histories and economic bases, they have a mutual environmental variable: defense contracting. This environment tends to produce similar problems and both communities have felt that incorporation was a necessary step in meeting the demands which have been created by defense contracting.

It can be concluded, therefore, that a correlation exists between economic and political changes in defense-oriented communities as suggested by Hypothesis Four. The variable of defense contracting apparently has had an effect upon the political structures of Elmwood and Centerville. Unique demands have been made upon the governmental authorities as the communities developed a contracting orientation. The general nature of the communities' population changed as skilled and professional employees were brought into the defense installations. The increase in population might have acted as an intervening

variable upon the political structures, but growth alone did not account for all the new demands for better cultural facilities. The precise influence of defense contracting, however, remains to be measured.

CHAPTER IV

ELMWOOD AND CENTERVILLE: THEIR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REACTION TO DEFENSE CONTRACTING

The volume of defense contracting work in Belhaven Valley has varied considerably over the past fifteen years. This irregularity has had enormous economic and political effects on Elmwood and Centerville. Since 1950, four events have occurred to cause major contracting shifts and these have resulted in subsequent community readjustments. This Chapter will examine briefly these economic and political reactions of Elmwood and Centerville to the changing contracting activities.

The four events which prompted a change in defense requirements were (1) the entrance of the United States into the Korean conflict in June of 1950; (2) the shift in emphasis by the United States from manned bombers to missiles in 1957-1958; (3) the cancellation of the production of a supersonic aircraft in 1962; and (4) the increasing military effort by this country in Vietnam since 1965. All four policies have resulted in changes in the type and number of defense contracts for the two communities. Because of these policies, certain economic and political

reactions have taken place within Elmwood and Centerville which suggest the interrelationship between economics and politics.

One of the purposes of this study was to examine the consequences of defense contracting in a community. The previous Chapter outlined some of the social changes which occurred as a result of the boom in defense contracting and the rapid influx of employees into the Valley. How did the communities first react to the additional residents? What economic changes came about? What types of new problems did the increased numbers of residents create? Which people from the communities took active roles in handling these problems? What form did their action take?

This Chapter will endeavor to answer these questions. For purposes of organization, the discussion will revolve around the four major events from 1950 to 1965 mentioned above.

A. The Entrance of the United States into the Korean Conflict

The first time Elmwood and Centerville became involved with defense contracts was at the beginning of the Korean conflict. The Air Force purchased the Elmwood Airport in February of 1951, and within a year there were four defense contractors using the Facility. By the time

the Facility was fully converted to military use in 1953, the Korean conflict was over. Even though this type of manufacturing was less in demand, both the Air Force and the aircraft manufacturers realized the advantages of the installation and decided to remain. By doing so, they drastically changed Belhaven Valley.

The immediate community economic reaction to the development of the Facility was particularly jarring. For example, employment at the Air Force Facility rose to over 2,000 within two years after it was opened. For the most part, these new jobs necessitated bringing in new residents because many of the skills which were needed were not available in Belhaven. In addition to the technical employment opportunities at the Facility, there were demands for construction workers to build hangers, runways and houses.

The most pressing problem facing Elmwood and Centerville in the early 1950 period was the demand for additional community services by the increased number of residents. The local leaders were required to assume new responsibilities. For every new dwelling that was constructed, there had to be additional sewage, gas, electric and other utility services. Figure 4 indicates the number of residential building permits approved during the growth years.

FIGURE 4

NEW RESIDENTIAL DWELLING UNITS AS AUTHORIZED
BY BUILDING PERMITS, CENTERVILLE, ELMWOOD,
AND BELHAVEN VALLEY, 1950-1963

Year	<u>Centerville</u>		<u>Elmwood</u>		<u>Belhaven Valley</u>	
	Number	Valuation (\$000)	Number	Valuation (\$000)	Number	Valuation (\$000)
1950	350	2,610	190	1,676	540	4,286
1951	684	5,549	389	3,514	1,073	9,064
1952	884	7,781	454	4,088	1,338	11,869
1953	1,103	10,084	560	5,051	1,663	15,135
1954	2,217	22,920	1,320	11,532	3,537	34,452
1955	1,521	18,481	730	8,714	2,251	27,196
1956	1,616	19,939	1,132	13,345	2,748	33,284
1957	1,991	25,355	1,361	15,880	3,352	41,235
1958	348	9,776	352	4,559	700	14,336
1959	187	5,981	197	3,643	384	9,623
1960	27	5,349	75	1,970	103	7,319
1961	584	3,512	65	740	649	4,251
1962	80	2,855	61	2,042	141	4,897
1963	341	8,829	7	459	445	9,288

Source: County of Los Angeles, Department of County Engineer, Building and Safety Division, Report of Building Permits and New Dwelling Units, 1950-1963.

The task of providing these services was complicated because neither Elmwood nor Centerville was incorporated at that time. As a consequence, practically all permits, plans and approvals had to come from Los Angeles. Elmwood particularly had difficulties because there had been insufficient planning by its leaders. As early as 1949, a few of Elmwood's residents had foreseen the potential of the Valley and their community and had urged that steps be taken to prepare for possible future growth. This particular group, however, did not assume any positions of leadership until after the mass migrations had taken place in the late 1950's, and by that time it was much more difficult to cope with the problems.

There was one major attempt in 1952 to bring together those individuals most able to affect the growth and development of the Valley. Fewer than ten residents--mostly real estate developers and home-builders--formed a group to handle some of the common issues facing the Valley. Prophetically, these leaders stated that it was risky for the Valley to base its entire economy upon defense contracting, and that the first order of business should be a discussion of the ways to diversify the economy. Unfortunately, many people were either too busy selling land or earning high wages to be concerned about the future. As a result, this group was unable to develop

into an effective organization.

B. The Shift from Bombers to Missiles

By early 1957 the Valley was experiencing its greatest period of prosperity. Employment at the Air Force Facility was 6,465. Residential building permits reached a total of 3,352 compared to 540 in 1950. Sales and personal incomes also reached their highest levels. Yet, rapid as was the rise in the economy, its decline in August, 1957, was even more spectacular.

The United States in 1957 began to step up its missile production and to phase out its bomber and fighter program in direct response to the Soviet Union's first launching of Sputnik. This change in military policy had devastating effects on the economy of Belhaven, for there was little in the way of missile development in the Valley. Practically overnight, therefore, the aircraft contractors were forced either to transfer their employees and operations to other sites or to layoff these people.

The first major reduction of employees was announced in the fall of 1957: 1,400 workers were to be transferred from the Facility by March of 1958. This was completed on schedule and other contractors similarly reduced their work force. By the end of 1958, total employment at the Facility was down to 3,599. Figure 5 shows the employment trend at the Facility from 1953 to

FIGURE 5
EMPLOYMENT:
AIR FORCE FACILITY

Year	Total Civilian and Military
1953	365
1954	2,385
1955	2,748
1956	4,722
1957	6,465
1958	3,599
1959	2,578
1960	2,259
1961	3,390
1962	5,021
1963	5,239
1964	3,417
1965	2,163
1966 ^a	2,500 ^b

a. First three months

b. Estimate

Source: Public Information Office, Air Force Facility

1966. Hardest hit by this decline was Elmwood, for its entire existence at this time was dependent upon the Facility. Centerville, because of its trading center function, was less effected and was able to maintain approximately the same level of retail sales.

It has been estimated that 7,000 people--including families--left Belhaven Valley during the 1957-1960 crisis. Surprisingly, unemployment was never a severe problem in the Valley. Because most of the workers were skilled, they were not unemployed for long. Of those who remained in the Valley, many were transferred to the Air Force Base by their companies, while others began to commute into Los Angeles to other plants which could absorb their skills. Figure 6 indicates that there was a substantial increase in civilian employment at the Air Force Base in 1958, mainly from the Facility.

A detrimental repercussion to the economy was the sudden decrease in the demand for housing. The multitude of tract homes which had been built were left vacant. The vacancy factor was 6.7 per cent in early 1958, but it jumped to 16 per cent by 1960. Many of these homes had been purchased with no money down, so people did not hesitate to desert them. The existence of empty tracts added to the impression that Elmwood and Centerville were ghost towns. It would take another five years before this

FIGURE 6

EMPLOYMENT:
DELONG AIR FORCE BASE

Year	Military	Civilian	Total
1950	2,066	1,190	3,256
1951	2,240	2,301	4,541
1952	2,927	2,866	5,793
1953	3,322	3,279	6,601
1954	4,023	3,813	7,836
1955	3,642	5,556	9,198
1956	2,566	6,719	9,285
1957	2,802	6,531	9,333
1958	3,118	8,537	11,655
1959	3,024	8,942	11,966
1960	3,336	4,330	7,666
1961	3,323	5,155	8,478
1962	3,598	4,718	8,316
1963	3,611	5,066	8,677
1964	a	a	--
1965	2,500	9,500 ^b	12,000 ^b

a. Not available

b. Estimate

Source: Public Information Office,
DeLong Air Force Base.

image could be erased.

One of the most significant consequences of this period of economic decline was the establishment of the Belhaven Valley Development Association or the BVDA as it is known. This Valley-wide organization of businessmen was formed in October, 1957, for the purpose of promoting and developing the Valley. It was evident to most of the founders that without any formal local government in the Valley, there was a need for a Valley interest group to coordinate the efforts toward economic stabilization. With these motives, thirteen men established a non-profit corporation under the laws of California.

The founders were those individuals who already had an economic stake in the Valley. They were mainly real estate and construction people. For example, the first President of the BVDA was the developer of a major residential area in the Valley. Others who joined were equally anxious to protect their investments.

The first task of the BVDA was to establish itself in the Valley. Once the governing board was constituted, the public was invited to meetings at which time the purposes of the organization were explained, and a few other people were invited to join. The BVDA was never intended as a "mass" organization; it was to be limited to businessmen who could develop the Valley. Yet, in 1958 the

BVDA needed the support of the residents, and for this reason, public meetings were held. These also served as a forum to encourage community effort.

The BVDA began with an attack on two major problems. First, the internal condition of the Valley was chaotic. At that time there was little identity of Belhaven Valley as a unit. The residents thought only in terms of separate communities. Further, the communities were often divided over the course of action to be taken. This was true in Elmwood particularly. The BVDA saw as its immediate goal the unification of the Valley into one cooperative unit which then could proceed to handle its problems. Even though each community had different issues, the entire economic situation was due to the withdrawal of contracts and overreliance upon defense work.

The second problem was external; that is, the Valley's relations with other areas. To handle this, various committees were formed. There were two objectives: to publicize favorably Belhaven Valley, and to attract industry and payrolls to the Valley. To accomplish these, the BVDA hired an industrial consultant and also printed and distributed over 25,000 pieces of promotional literature. It advertised in financial papers the business opportunities open in the Valley. One of the biggest obstacles was the image that the communities were ghost

towns.

The leaders in the BVDA realized that advertising alone was not the answer. The basic problem still existed: there was no other substantial economic activity in the Valley besides defense contracting. When the BVDA began to attack this condition, it actively entered the political process.

The first step taken by the BVDA was to send a representative to Washington, D.C. early in 1958 for the purpose of contacting various legislative and executive officials and outlining the plight of the Valley. The delegate was the former Manager of the Elmwood Chamber of Commerce. He had been in the military and had developed contacts in Washington. His mission was to point out that the Valley, especially the Air Force Facility, still had the capabilities for government defense work, and that these should be utilized. In addition, the representative wanted to reassure the Pentagon and others that there were sufficient manpower skills in Belhaven despite stories to the contrary.

This Washington trip was the first of many, and since that time there has developed a yearly junket to the capital with about seven members from the BVDA. Within a few months after this meeting in 1958, a new military contract was channeled back to the Air Force Facility. There

is evidence to suggest that this contract was the result of the meetings in Washington.

In taking stock of the assets and liabilities of the Valley, the BVDA noted that transportation routes within the Valley were poor. This was especially true of the ten miles from Elmwood to Centerville. There was only a narrow two-lane road which impeded the movement of large trucks and their cargoes. The BVDA, therefore, contacted the proper State and County officials to have the highway widened into four lanes. After trips to Sacramento and Los Angeles, the BVDA acquired the necessary funds, and in 1959 the highway was completed.

Fresh from the success of this accomplishment, the BVDA then pushed for the development of a freeway from Los Angeles. This was considered absolutely necessary if the Valley was to become economically integrated with Los Angeles. To elaborate on all that the BVDA did in this period would go beyond the scope of this Chapter. Further details will be given later on. There is every reason to believe, however, that the BVDA in 1958 was the vehicle which moved the Valley out of stagnation. Because of the activity of the organization, the Valley was better able to withstand the next important adjustment in its continuing relationship with defense contracting.

C. A Contract Cancellation in 1962

An important psychological boost to the Valley came in December of 1958 when it was announced that a new supersonic plane would be flight tested at the Air Force Facility. Although this would not mean any increased activity for at least eighteen months, the fact that the Valley, especially Elmwood, could look forward to further economic recovery was encouraging. The effect of the new contract made it possible for the Valley and the BVDA to plan ahead for a few years, and for the BVDA to point out to other large companies that industrial activity was about to resume.

As Figure 5 on the employment at the Air Force Facility indicated, there was a sharp employment upturn in 1961. This reflected the production and testing of the new plane. For a two year period, activity increased and people returned to the Valley because of this major contract. During this time, however, the BVDA was extremely busy trying to attract other types of businesses to Belhaven to avoid an overreliance upon a single industry and contract.

Suddenly in 1963, the supersonic plane program was cancelled amidst a furor in the Pentagon and Congress. Originally sixty planes had been planned, but this number was reduced to three experimental models. The work at

Elmwood was to be completed in 1965 and then some of the testing would be transferred to DeLong Air Force Base. Once again, the number of employees at the Facility was cut in half; yet this time, there was a significant difference in the reaction of the communities and Valley. There was no economic decline as in 1957.

Three reasons account for the less severe reaction. First, the community leaders, particularly the BVDA, had been in constant communication with Pentagon officials since early 1960. As a result, the BVDA was informed as to the progress of the supersonic program. The Valley leaders were aware that there probably would be a cancellation, and they did not pin their economic recovery plans upon the program. Unlike the 1955 period, the leaders in 1963 realized that defense contracts do not last forever. When the cancellation notice came, there was no panic and the area took the news in stride.

Second, because of the increasing importance of DeLong Air Force Base in the field of rocketry and experimental flights, much of the final testing of the three prototypes was shifted to the Base. The workers were partially absorbed again as they were in 1958. This can be attributed somewhat to the efforts of the BVDA. While Elmwood suffered most heavily because of the closing of the program, the entire Valley did not lose economically

to the same extent it had previously.

The third reason for a less severe economic jolt was the fact that other industries had been brought into the Valley since 1957 and the economy was more diversified than before. This change in circumstance was the result of the activity of the BVDA.

With the reduction of personnel at the Facility to about 2,100 by 1965, the community leaders were content to stabilize the number at this level. They actually did not seek or encourage any defense contract which would build up employment quickly, and then, in time, necessitate a readjustment. The goal was for steady contract work, rather than spectacular projects which might create disequilibrium.

This type of projected use of the Facility was never implemented. With the greater involvement by the United States in Vietnam, the Air Force once again turned to the Facility to meet the country's war needs.

D. Recent United States Involvement in Vietnam

The demand for jet fighters in Vietnam made it necessary for the Air Force to contract for engine overhaul operations. To accomplish this, the contractors had to increase personnel at Elmwood. At the end of 1965 a contract was let which required an additional 400 people to be transferred to Elmwood. As long as the war contin-

ues, it is expected that at least this number of people will be used specifically for this type of work.

The addition of 400 workers at the Facility means that from 1,000-1,500 people are really moving into the Valley since most will bring their families. This additional spurt in employment and the subsequent economic activity have been greeted warmly, yet by now the communities of Elmwood and Centerville approach build-ups much more cautiously. As an example, for the first time since 1950 the Valley is on the verge of a housing shortage; however, the BVDA is attempting to prevent over-building and expansion as occurred in 1951. There have been meetings to plan and project needed requirements, but speculation and quick-profit schemes are discouraged as much as possible. No individual at this time knows precisely how much new activity will be generated in the Valley as a result of Vietnam. The assumption is that little beyond what has occurred will be needed. The primary economic target is still diversification and any added benefits derived from defense contracts will be considered helpful, but no longer will the Valley gear itself exclusively to this type of work.

E. Summary and Conclusions

The first important community reaction to the economic instability caused by defense contracting was the

formation of a group in 1957 specifically to cope with the problems. There actually were two such attempts, but the first one in 1952 was unable to gain much support. The important fact about the second group was that it was Valley-oriented and drew its members from all communities rather than from just one or two. These points tend to support Hypothesis Two which stated: "the greater the dependence of a geographic area on defense contracting, the greater the probability that a specific group for the area will be formed to cope with this dependency."

It is important to note that at the same time the BVDA was being organized, Elmwood and Centerville, as individual communities, were not forming committees to deal specifically with the economic situation. In fact, there was no significant difference in the way either Elmwood or Centerville reacted politically to the situation. Hypothesis One suggested that the more dependent a community was on defense contracting, the more likely the community would form a group to handle this problem. This was not the case; therefore, Hypothesis One is rejected. The residents in Elmwood were no more informed as to what action should be taken than were the people in Centerville. In addition, there were fewer resources in Elmwood which could be used to alleviate the economic conditions.

While it is true that after the events in 1957,

both communities, through their Chambers of Commerce, did establish committees to deal with problems related to contracting, none of these committees has become very effective or important. Even though Elmwood is more dependent on contracts, it did not do anything appreciably different from Centerville.

A second major finding of the Chapter was the fact that existing groups or governmental institutions in either community were ineffective by themselves and unable to handle the crisis in 1957. When a community and Valley problem arose it was necessary to form an intercommunity group outside the formal governmental institutions. As one author has stated: "Organized groups begin in response to changes in the relationships between individuals when existing institutions are inadequate to provide a means for the re-establishment of stability."¹ This appeared to be the case in Belhaven.

There seem to be two reasons for this. First, there was no sense of local government in the communities because of unincorporation. Second, during the crisis, it was much easier to recruit people for nongovernmental groups which could initiate immediate action than to wait

¹Harmon Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Society, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 73.

for the slower governmental processes to respond. The BVDA could not act entirely on its own, but it was able quickly to gather financial and community support in its attempt to alleviate the conditions.

The BVDA passed through three different stages of organization during the crisis period. The first was initiation where the goals and objectives were established. Next, the BVDA sought legitimation and approval from the residents in the Valley for its activities. Finally, the BVDA began to execute its program by actively participating in the political process.² Whether or not the BVDA leaders were aware of their efforts in each stage, it is interesting to note this patterned behavior.

Another indication of the political reaction of the communities to their economic condition was in the Congressional elections. It might be expected that disapproval or frustration from the economic situation would be manifested in a vote against the incumbent. Yet, from 1952-1962 the incumbent remained in office and was quite popular. Interestingly enough, he was a conservative Republican who had spoken often against the "central gov-

²Christopher Sower and Walter Freeman, "Community Involvement in Community Development Programs," Rural Sociology, XXIII, No. 1 (March, 1958), pp. 25-33. The above scheme was drawn from a discussion on community development, rather than organizational patterns. Yet, the similarity is considered appropriate.

ernment," but he was active in Washington trying to get contracts and other federal assistance for his district. Even though the Party registration of Elmwood and Centerville favors the Democrats, a more important electoral factor is what the people feel their Congressman is doing for them in Washington. Also, it might be speculated that the advantages of a Congressman's seniority would be recognized as a benefit to the District.

This mild political reaction to difficult events probably can be traced to a degree of civic optimism held by the residents. There has been a feeling that if a person is willing to make sacrifices in order to develop the Valley, then the rewards will be worth the struggle. It is difficult to measure this, yet when one talks to practically any of the residents who have lived in Belhaven for more than five years, this thinking is evident. It is assumed that this attitude has had a positive effect on the resolution of community conflicts and problems.

Economically, Centerville has benefited more and suffered less from defense activity than Elmwood. This is because Centerville never became economically dependent upon contracting, but was able to expand its traditional commercial center. Even when employment was reduced, Centerville remained the prominent community in the Valley. In addition, the transfer of workers to the Air Force Base

hurt Elmwood, but had no particular impact upon Centerville because most of those people continued to shop in the community.

One final comparison between the two communities indicates the difference in reaction. The greater dependence of Elmwood upon defense contracting is reflected in the amount of related news coverage in the local paper. Invariably Elmwood's newspaper will carry on the first page of every edition news about the Air Force Facility, employment projections, possible contracts or military equipment requirements. The same story, by contrast, may not appear even on a back page of the first section of the Centerville paper unless it pertains directly to that community. Until Elmwood is able to sever its close economic dependence upon defense contracting, it is expected that this issue will be the prevalent community topic of interest and concern.

CHAPTER V

LEADERSHIP STRUCTURES AND THE DEFENSE CONTRACTING ENVIRONMENT

One of the principal areas of investigation in this dissertation was the examination of the nature of the leadership structures of the two communities and the Belhaven Valley. Of particular interest was the influence of the defense contracting environment upon the leadership structures. An initial assumption of the research was that there might possibly be four completely different groups of leaders: one group for each of the two communities; one set of leaders for the Valley; and a fourth specific group for defense contract issues. To some extent, it was possible to differentiate these four leadership structures. In addition, an attempt was made to identify the characteristics of the leaders and the leadership structures. For example, what were the social backgrounds of the leaders? How did the leaders interact within the leadership structure? How formal was the network of relationships which linked the leaders together? What channels of communication were used by the leaders?

Many of the above questions are normally asked in

any leadership structure study. The research concerning the leaders of Belhaven Valley and two of its communities was unique because the presence of defense contracting has had an impact on the development and characteristics of the community leadership structures.

A. Identification of the Leaders

Based upon the methodology discussed in Chapter I, the following leaders were identified. For the community of Elmwood, there was a significant agreement among the respondents that at least two persons were considered the top influentials. With few exceptions, these two names were mentioned in every discussion about the leadership of Elmwood. These were the Mayor and the local newspaper publisher.

There was less accord on the identification of sub-leaders. Generally this group consisted of the City Administrator, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, and the four members of the City Council. Other individuals were named but not as regularly. The significant point seems to be that a gap exists between the degree of influence wielded by the Mayor and the publisher and that exerted by the sub-leaders. Even though the latter group can be identified, their total influence, as perceived, remains secondary in relation to the other two individuals.

In comparison to Elmwood, Centerville was found to have a more diffuse leadership structure. The determination of Centerville's influentials was less precise, although agreement was possible on five individuals. The persons most often identified as community leaders included: (1) the radio station owner; (2) the publisher of the local newspaper; (3) the President of the Chamber of Commerce; (4) the resident manager of one of the public utilities; and (5) the manager of one of the banks.

The greater diffusion of the leadership structure in this community, and the greater methodological difficulty can be attributed to three factors. First, Centerville is three times larger than Elmwood in population. This may make it more difficult for an individual to become well-known. Second, Centerville, unlike Elmwood, has no local government of its own. There is less opportunity, therefore, for a visible leadership structure to exist and to be recognized. In general, the Chamber of Commerce is looked upon as the local government, with various committee chairmen as influential, but only in limited areas. Finally, Centerville is concerned with more community issues than Elmwood which means more leadership opportunities. This suggests that in a community faced with only one issue, leaders will naturally gravitate toward that problem. In a community such as Centerville,

with many issues, more leaders may exist; yet they may not be as concentrated in one issue-area nor as easily identifiable with the community as a whole.

Not all of the community leaders are the ones most apparent to the public. This is especially true of the Centerville radio station owner. Some respondents said he was the most influential person in the Valley. He has lived in Belhaven since 1924, and his parents lived there before that time. He prefers to work quietly on community projects from behind the scenes. This person has widespread financial connections in the Valley, and through these he can, if he desires, influence the decisions on many issues.

Two other individuals also have this type of position from which to exert influence. These are the two publishers of the newspapers in Elmwood and Centerville. Both settled in the Valley as recently as 1954, but since that time they have been very active in community and Valley projects. These two individuals are well-known in the Valley, but they tend to work outside the public's view. Their greatest sources of potential or real influence of course are their newspapers. Residents of the Valley rely heavily upon these for information about the area. It is assumed, therefore, that the news content and editorials of these publications have some impact upon the

attitudes of their readers.

The third group of leaders identified was primarily connected with Belhaven Valley rather than with particular communities. There was some ambiguity in this leadership structure as well. The respondents and other residents interviewed most often would mention individuals who were members of the BVDA as being leaders, or the interviewees would simply state that the BVDA was the most influential force in the Valley without mentioning any specific names. A smaller number of respondents, however, qualified their answers. They either said that the BVDA was considered to be influential, but that the organization actually was not, or that there were no Valley leaders or spokesmen. The investigation into Valley leaders tended to elicit stronger opinions and reactions than similar research into the other groups. For the Valley, interviewees either were willing to concede that there were Valley-wide leaders, or they were somewhat indignant at the suggestion that there might be such a group.

Those individuals most often cited as Valley leaders were also identified as active in defense contracting issues. This correlation between Valley leaders and contracting issues suggests the overwhelming importance of defense contracting to the residents of the Valley and the easy identification of Valley leaders with this prob-

lem.

There was one noteworthy exception to the BVDA members who were considered Valley leaders. The Commanding General of DeLong Air Force Base was recognized as being influential in Valley affairs. Even though he was limited by military policy to certain kinds of activities, the General did participate in many Valley functions. For example, he was chairman for the Valley of a national fund raising drive. During this campaign, all previous contribution records were broken and the Valley set a new record. Many of the residents felt the response by the Valley was a personal tribute to the General, for he had worked closely with the Valley in helping to solve its defense contracting problems.

A final leadership structure pertained to contracting issues as they related to the entire Valley. As mentioned above, the most prominent individuals consisted of BVDA members. Particular people most often mentioned included the Executive Director of the BVDA; the two local newspaper publishers from Elmwood and Centerville; the public utility manager from Centerville; and the manager of a retail store for a national chain.

Only a few individuals were recognized as working on the contracting issue solely for either Elmwood or Centerville. There seemed to be a reluctance by the com-

munities to emphasize the fact they were faced with such an issue, and they preferred to identify this problem as Valley-wide. The person most often named for Elmwood was the Mayor. (The newspaper publisher was considered to be Valley-oriented.) Centerville, on the other hand, had a greater number of individuals identified, although most of these were really more active in the BVDA.

It was discovered that there are nine different groups concerned in some manner with defense contracting. This suggests that there should be a wide distribution of influence on this one issue. This, however, is not the case. Most of the important and effective work is conducted by a small number of men within a few groups. The next Chapter will discuss the activity of some of these specific individuals and groups in greater detail.

Of the nine groups, six are actually committees of the BVDA. Perhaps the most important one has been the Governmental Relations Committee headed by the Centerville radio station owner. The other five BVDA committees concerned with contracting problems include Aviation, Industrial Development, Four-County Development, Freeway, and Area Data Bank.

The seventh group in the Valley owes its existence to the BVDA although it is not officially part of the organization. This is the Belhaven Valley Industrial

Foundation. It was formed by seven members of the BVDA for the purpose of loaning money to companies moving into the Valley. Under California laws, the BVDA cannot perform this function, so another organization was set up to provide this needed service.

The final two groups are Chambers of Commerce committees. For Elmwood, the Airport Committee tries to obtain full utilization of the Air Force Facility, either militarily or commercially. Centerville has its Industrial Committee which provides information to businesses looking for new locations.

The above findings on the number of groups do not confirm what might have been expected. Elmwood, with its greater dependence upon contracting has had no more groups concerned with this problem than has Centerville, nor has the former's committee been any more influential compared to the other groups. This finding relates to Hypothesis One which was rejected in the previous Chapter. Elmwood, with its greater dependence upon contracting in 1958, did not form a committee in a shorter period of time, or in a manner significantly different from Centerville in order to handle the crisis. Even today, Elmwood does not rely primarily upon its own committee for assistance on this issue. The next section will suggest reasons for this.

With so few of the nine groups really effective,

why are there so many in existence with apparent duplications of purposes and functions? Perhaps the simplest answer is found in the fact that there is a tendency to create personal empires which continue to expand. When such an organization becomes so large that individuals begin to get lost, a new group is formed with a slightly different goal. There remains a great amount of overlapping membership in these groups, but each does attract a different type of individual. This is especially true between those working on BVDA committees and those on Chamber groups. The latter types express a higher degree of community loyalty and prefer to work exclusively for their community rather than for a Valley-wide organization. On the other hand, influential BVDA members are active in the Chambers.

This last point can be explained by the overwhelming importance of the BVDA in the area of defense contracting issues. As a result of its position, the Association has attracted into its committee system those people most interested in this issue. Some of these members will work on local committees, but usually this is only to follow-up the initial efforts made by the Association. Most of the important work has already been accomplished by the BVDA.

In summary, it can be stated that Belhaven commu-

ity groups and their particular leaders are not very active on issues relating to defense contracting. This is true regardless of how dependent upon contracting a community might be. Defense contracting is a Valley-wide issue, and a Valley organization has assumed the task of handling this question. The next Chapter will discuss how effective the BVDA has been with this problem.

B. Characteristics of the Leadership Structures

Three general reasons for the greater diffuseness of the leadership structures in Centerville than in Elmwood were previously noted in this Chapter. Centerville is three times larger than Elmwood; Centerville is unincorporated; and there are more community issues in Centerville. There is an additional factor stemming directly from the contracting environment which also causes a difference in the structures of the two communities. Individuals employed by companies doing contract work find it difficult to establish themselves in a community because they are constantly subject to transfers to other areas. As a result, the potential pool of residents who might normally be leaders is significantly reduced. This is particularly true in Elmwood which also has a smaller number of permanent residents to draw from than Centerville. Size alone, however, does not account for the fewer number

of leaders in Elmwood. Instead, the existence of a highly transient and mobile population severely limits those residents from participating in community affairs who might normally do so.

The findings indicated that very few employees from the defense contractors or government agencies participated in important community affairs. These people were either prevented by company or agency policy or by the nature of their work. Based upon their educational, social and economic characteristics, one would expect these individuals to be more active than they have been.

The corporations are concerned about their public image, so they do permit employee participation in non-controversial projects, such as charity drives. On sensitive issues relating to politics or contracting, however, most of the companies have rules against their personnel becoming involved.

While the contractors and government agencies have not provided many community leaders, nondefense companies have done so in greater measure. For example, the public utilities, particularly through their resident managers, have supplied community and Valley leaders. Furthermore, managers of companies recently located in Belhaven are frequently found in leadership circles. These people can expect to remain in Belhaven for longer periods than

employees in defense work. In both instances, the utilities and the new companies are eager for the Valley to progress and develop industrially. They are anxious to take part in directing the growth of the Valley and the communities; therefore they encourage their employees to be active.

The fact that defense contracting personnel tend not to participate in community activities, and that public utility and chain store personnel do accept a more active role has a significant implication for Elmwood. This means that the community has fewer potential leaders to draw from than Centerville simply because the utility companies and large retail stores are not located in Elmwood. Elmwood must recruit its leaders from the more permanent residents who are not hindered in community participation by company policy. With a population of only 10,000 compared to 30,000, this does not provide as many people from which to select.

Recruitment into the leadership structures in the Valley is an open and continuing procedure. It is not difficult to enter the leadership circles of the communities or Valley. Generally the recruitment of new members into groups is by personal invitation or other informal practices. Because of the homogeneous nature of the residents in the Valley, and the frequent contact in business

and social life, it is easy for an individual to inform others of his desire to join a committee or association.

Most of the leaders are in business and not in the professions. An exception is the President of the BVDA who is also President of the Junior College. The types of businesses range from small independent retail shops to incorporated family enterprises. Some of the wealthier businessmen have financial interests outside the Valley, although this is not common.

While the length of residence in the Valley or community may have some bearing on a person's movement into prominent leadership positions, there is no prescribed waiting period as is often found in some situations. Most of the leaders have resided in the Valley for over five years, although there are some exceptions. Of the twenty-four individuals interviewed and classified as being influential in a community or the Valley, fifteen have lived in the area longer than ten years. The following Figure presents a breakdown:

FIGURE 7
NUMBER OF YEARS IN RESIDENCE
FOR COMMUNITY LEADERS

	0-5 years	5-10 years	11-20 years	More than 20 years	Total
Number of People	3	6	7	8	24

Mention should be made of the training ground for some of the current leaders in the Valley. People who have lived in Belhaven for over fifteen years were often initiated into community activity through their memberships in Valley service clubs. Some of the clubs were formed as early as 1926. At first these groups simply served to bring people together in the Valley. Eventually, however, the scope of their functions broadened and the members gained experience in administering organizations and working on community projects.

The local Chambers which developed from these initial groups focused more on business problems. Most of the same individuals continued to belong to both the service clubs and the Chambers, and a network of informal relationships was established which still exists today. These groups in time, therefore, provided excellent training for their members who were to become leaders for the communities and the Valley. Other important changes in the leaders and the leadership structures over a period of time will be discussed in the following section.

C. The Community Leadership Structures over Time

Defense contracting in the 1950's had a profound impact upon the leadership structures of Elmwood and Centerville. Both communities experienced changes in their leadership structures which could be traced to the

influence of defense contracting. This section will discuss the relationship between the defense environment and changes in leadership structures as suggested by Hypothesis Five which stated: "The more rapid the impact of defense contracting upon the community, the more rapid a change in the overall leadership structure of the community."

Elmwood underwent a more rapid turnover in its leadership than did Centerville during the years from 1950 to 1959. The initial force which brought about new leaders in both communities was the changing economic situation. As Elmwood and Centerville became more related to contracting and industrial activity, certain new demands were made upon the existing leaders. Generally, one of two reactions occurred: either the leaders were unable or unwilling to handle the new types of problems and they were replaced, or the community issues multiplied so rapidly that it became necessary to increase the size of the leadership structures. The net result was about the same: a change in the composition of the structures.

Of the two communities, Elmwood replaced more of its leaders than did Centerville during the years of economic decline. From 1950 until after the slump in 1957, Elmwood was governed informally through its Chamber of Commerce by a small group of individuals described earlier

in Chapter III. These people, mostly small retail merchants, tended to resist community change and not to make any plans for future growth.

As Elmwood grew in population and as the new residents required and demanded additional services, it became painfully evident that revenues would have to be raised to pay for these services. Either the County or special districts would have to assume the responsibility. First, however, it would be necessary for the community leaders to propose steps to raise revenue. The traditional leaders of Elmwood refused to move in the direction of higher taxes or additional services. Not until after the economic problems had become acute in Elmwood did the other citizens demand changes. This action resulted in their gaining control of the Chamber and other organizations. Individuals with economic interests in the community desired to see Elmwood develop. Men, such as the current Mayor of Elmwood, began to assume positions of responsibility in the community. Eventually community approval was gained by these new leaders to begin to alleviate some of the conditions existing in Elmwood.

Centerville also saw the emergence of new leaders during this period of rapid community growth. Yet, there were significant reasons for the differences and degree of turnover in the leadership structures. An examination of

these differences will indicate some important characteristics about each of the leadership structures.

The first reason can be traced to the difference in size of the structures for the two communities. The number of leaders for Elmwood before 1955 was less than ten, while Centerville's structure included over fifteen. Even in the 1950's the leadership in Centerville was more diffused than Elmwood's. As a consequence, it was more difficult to replace leaders as quickly or as thoroughly in Centerville because there were more people involved.

A second reason for the difference in the degree of leadership turnover in the two communities derived from the nature of Centerville's leaders. Because of the community's historical importance in the Valley as the trading center, Centerville had attracted most of the founding families of Belhaven as residents. Long-established families were more prevalent in Centerville than in Elmwood. In contrast to the traditional leaders in Elmwood, those in Centerville were firmly rooted in community positions by virtue of their length of residence and economic control.

Another difference between the two communities should be noted. During the 1950's and especially during the economic crisis in 1958 there was no major attempt to replace Centerville's traditional leaders. This was not

necessary for two reasons. First, the potential power centers of the community expanded as rapidly as did the community population. The leadership structure, therefore, was able to absorb new leaders without having to remove traditional ones. Second, the traditional Centerville leaders were flexible and more willing to accept or initiate changes than were their counterparts in Elmwood.

The pioneer families were well protected during this period of growth and disruption, even if they did lose direct control over community affairs. Most of their investments were secure whether Centerville grew or not. If the community expanded as it did until 1957, their landholdings would produce huge profits from the land speculation. On the other hand, if Centerville remained a small community, but still the hub of the Valley, the first families reasoned they would be in no worse position. Therefore, they were willing to let the community follow the normal turn of events.

As a result, over a period of time and economic change, there was a turnover of varying degrees in the traditional leaders of both Elmwood and Centerville. The economic dominants of both communities lost their relative influence during the 1950's as the communities grew and as the economic base changed. These findings can be compared to other studies which will assist in the explanation of

the data.

Robert Schulze found that the economic dominants of a community of 20,000 population tended to withdraw from public offices and voluntary associations over a period of time.¹ In the community of Cibola during the 1950's the economic dominants were principally resident managers of companies. Gradually, however, they removed themselves from public view, and leadership positions were filled by other individuals.

Two explanations were advanced by Schulze. First, he discovered that the large corporations were not interested in becoming directly involved in community affairs, so they cautioned their employees about such activity. Second, he noted that there was a change in the relationship between the community and the larger society around it.² Cibola became integrated with its surrounding geographic and commercial area, and as a result, many of the traditional networks of personal relationships among the local economic dominants were dissolved. Absentee-ownership became more common, and the managerial class of the community became more transient. As Schulze pointed out,

¹Robert Schulze, "The Role of Economic Dominants in Community Power." American Sociological Review, XXIII, No. 1 (February, 1958), pp. 3-9.

²Ibid., p. 6.

the direction of the political and civic life of Cibola passed into the hands of middle-class business and professional men who actually occupied no positions of economic dominance in the community.

A similar finding was made by Clelland and Form.³ In the communities which they investigated, the economic dominants of the satellite communities withdrew from elective office as business became integrated with national markets. These two studies suggest that economic relationships among communities have some effect upon leadership structures. Further research along these lines might prove useful.

The above findings can be used as a basis for comparisons in this study. In Elmwood and Centerville, generally only the contracting firms discouraged their employees from participating in community affairs. These were for the same reasons found in Cibola, but there non-defense companies were involved. In contrast to Cibola, however, the resident managers of public utilities and national companies in Belhaven were encouraged to be active and to assume positions of leadership.

The difference in the findings appears to be a

³Donald Clelland and William Form, "Economic Dominants and Community Power," American Journal of Sociology, LXIX, No. 5 (March, 1964), pp. 511-521.

result of the relative geographic isolation of Belhaven compared to Cibola. Up to now, the Valley has not become fully integrated with Los Angeles, and most of the residents still regard Belhaven as a distinct community. The same type of close personal relationships which were destroyed in Cibola have continued to exist in Belhaven. In addition, the leaders and residents in the Valley have experienced a common economic hardship which has acted as a bond holding the people together. Until the Valley is no longer so isolated, and economic development is not the principal problem, it can be expected that the resident managers will be influential and that the leadership will remain cohesive.

This section can be concluded by partially confirming Hypothesis Five. To substantiate this hypothesis entirely, additional variables would have to be isolated in order to determine the precise influence that defense contracting has on the leadership structure. Yet, tentative conclusions can be drawn. The data do indicate that there is a relationship between defense contracting and changes in leadership structures. As the economic bases of the communities changed, so did the leaders. This was shown both in Belhaven and Cibola. The new economic conditions in Belhaven brought about new inputs into the political system which then affected the leaders because

they were expected to handle these new demands.

As the community problems caused by defense contracting activities became more complex, it was increasingly necessary to widen the leadership circles in order to obtain new individuals and ideas to effect solutions. This finding also tends to confirm the statement made by another writer. Barth noted that the expansion of community issues and problems "produces new positions of influence and new sources of power."⁴ Without the stimulus of increased demands for streets, houses, schools and other facilities, it seems unlikely that the leadership structures of Elmwood and Centerville would have changed as rapidly as they did.

D. The Defense Environment and Leadership Procedures

How does the defense contracting environment influence the internal workings of the leadership structures? Is there also an internal response or reaction to the defense environment?

The leaders of Elmwood appear to be more in agreement on matters relating to contracting than are the leaders in Centerville. Thus, Hypothesis Six is confirmed. The reason stems from the limited number of issues present

⁴Ernest A. Barth, "Community Influence Systems: Structure and Change," Social Forces, XL, No. 1 (October, 1961), p. 63.

in the former community. Centerville has several issues, while Elmwood is still faced with the one overwhelming problem of dependency upon defense contracting. As a result, Elmwood's leaders have few alternative policies to pursue regarding this issue. They must direct their attention to the diversification of the economy.

In contrast, Centerville has a broader scope within which the leaders may work for the development of their community. For example, some leaders are encouraging as much association with contracting activities as possible, short of permitting the community to become totally dependent upon defense contracting. Other leaders wish to see the community develop without any major industry and emphasize its role as a residential area for the Valley. If real disagreement over these two policies should ever create a community split, then serious problems could arise. Up to this point, however, no such conflict has occurred. Instead, Centerville can enjoy the luxury of discussing the merits of a defense contracting economy versus a residential community. This opportunity is not open to the leaders of Elmwood since it is not so diversified. It can be concluded, therefore, that the amount of agreement among community leaders concerning contracting problems is correlated to the degree of community dependency upon defense contracting.

With some caution, it can also be stated that the Elmwood leadership structure is more cohesive as a result of the contracting environment. Hypothesis Seven is thus substantiated. This conclusion is based upon previous findings which have indicated that Centerville's leadership structure is more diffuse than Elmwood's. In addition to the difference in size of the populations of the two communities, Elmwood presents a picture of a more cohesive structure because of the single problem around which the leaders must work. Additional supporting evidence can be drawn from the interviews as well. As one respondent said, "The leadership is pretty solid on all issues."

The leadership of Elmwood, when compared to Centerville's, is higher in agreement on contracting policy and more cohesive in its structure. Hypothesis Eight suggested that Elmwood's leaders might also operate through more informal procedures. The findings indicate that this is not the case. At this time only an indirect relationship can be shown between the defense environment and the methods by which a community's leaders conduct their business. Additional research is needed.

The data provide limited information about the nature of the decision-making process for both communities. Some inferences can be drawn which are only tenta-

tive at this time. Before the impact of defense contracting on the Valley, the communities were less formal in their governing procedures. The interviewees spoke of the slower pace of life in Belhaven and the less complicated nature of the issues. In addition, there was an established network of informal personal relationships among the community leaders which constituted much of the leadership structures.

Since the introduction of contracting into the area, Elmwood has become incorporated and Centerville is expected to follow. In effect, the decision-making processes are becoming more formal and are being influenced by the defense contracting environment. This tends to link defense contracting and the modes of operation by the community leaders.

The political relationships in Elmwood are more stable and formal since incorporation. The Mayor pointed out that the City Council has now replaced the Chamber of Commerce in importance because the electorate knows that the Council, as an elected body, is more responsive. Evidence such as this tends to support the contention that the defense contracting environment can affect the community decision-making procedures.

E. Summary of the Findings

In terms of the models suggested by Form and

Miller which were discussed in Chapter II, the leadership structures of Elmwood and Centerville are characterized by a "stratified pyramidal structure centering in a top group of policy-makers." The other models are not as appropriate, for the communities lack many heterogeneous interests or segmented power pyramids. Based upon the methodological techniques used in this study, the leadership structures of Elmwood and Centerville were found to be composed of two to five top influentials with a layer of subleaders exerting lesser control.

There were significant differences, however, between the two community structures. Elmwood's was smaller in number, more cohesive, more in agreement about contracting issues, and more formal in its decision-making procedures. These characteristics can be attributed to such factors as the difference in the size of the communities, the role of first-families in the Valley, and the presence of incorporation.

The defense contracting environment caused changes in the composition and the rate of turnover in the two community leadership structures. The measurement of the influence of contracting upon the structures is rather imprecise at this time; nevertheless, it is believed that the data do confirm a correlation. Besides the replacement or increase in individuals within the leadership

structures, there also has been an improvement in the caliber of the leaders. Many of the respondents in this study noted that the present leaders are more familiar with economic, social and political problems than the previous leaders of ten years ago. There is a tendency today toward specialization by the leaders, particularly those who also are active in the BVDA. The new demands made by the residents for better community facilities have required that the communities recruit individuals who are knowledgeable in these special areas and who can deal with other leaders connected with these issues.

The people coming into the Valley because of defense employment have tended to bring with them a more cosmopolitan view of life than has existed in Belhaven before. These new residents are often upper managerial and ranking military officers who do not wish to be suddenly isolated in Belhaven away from the type of living they have known in other communities. For the Valley to attract and to keep these people, it must satisfy as many of their demands as it can. Therefore, leaders who are willing and who have ideas on how to develop the communities and Valley are sought.

To attain these new community goals, the leaders have been required to work more actively within the political process. They must be effective on all levels of

government. Further, their knowledge of issues and techniques has had to expand during the past ten years in order to be competitive with other communities seeking the same funds or contracts. One Congressional Administrative Assistant observed a growing "maturity" the past few years in the actions of the leaders in the Valley. They are also more politically alert and organized than they were before 1958. All of these changes, therefore, can be traced to the initial and continuing impact of defense contracting activities.

This Chapter has shown that community leadership structures can function as an adjustment mechanism for a community. This mechanism must reflect and adapt to its changing environment if it is to remain vital and dynamic. To a large extent, the leaders in Belhaven Valley have adjusted accordingly to their surroundings over a period of time. In the next Chapter, the focus shall be specifically on the workings in the political process of one group which has been beneficial to the Valley.

CHAPTER VI

INTEREST GROUP POLITICS AND DEFENSE CONTRACTING

Since 1957, organized interest activity on behalf of Belhaven Valley has been conducted primarily by the Belhaven Valley Development Association. Its efforts have been to stabilize defense contracting activity and to encourage other types of businesses to locate in the Valley. While the goals of the BVDA have been economic in nature, the organization often has employed political techniques to achieve the desired results. It has gone beyond the customary Chamber of Commerce activities and has become in effect an interest group¹ engaged in legislative and administrative lobbying.

Political science has not been overly concerned with the examination of interest groups functioning in a defense contracting environment. The BVDA is such a group. It was created as a result of a contracting crisis, and it continues to operate today in a tenuous and

¹For an excellent reference on interest groups, see David Truman, The Governmental Process, Political Interests and Public Opinion, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951).

unstable economic climate. The relationship between the BVDA and its environment is an important point which needs to be examined. For example, what impact does the contracting environment have upon the internal characteristics of the BVDA? How are the strategies and tactics of the organization affected by the fact that it is operating in a highly sensitive political arena? What is the role of an interest group trying to influence contracting policies? These are some of the questions which this Chapter will attempt to answer.

A. The BVDA: Its Organization and Leaders

1) General Description

The BVDA is a private California non-profit corporation established for the economic development and general promotion of Belhaven Valley. Its membership is over 220 units (meaning both individuals and businesses). Dues are one hundred dollars a year and these are the sole financial support for the organization. As its name suggests, the Association is Valley-wide in orientation, and it discourages internecine rivalry among Valley communities. The BVDA publicizes "Valley" development and promotion on the premise that it makes little difference where a new business locates as long as it does so in Belhaven. In the long run, the Association believes that

every community benefits from this policy, although in the short run some may prosper more than others.

The BVDA is governed by a self-perpetuating twenty-five-man Board of Directors. An individual may serve on the Board as long as he desires. The four officers of the Board-- President, Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer-- are elected for one year terms. Generally these persons are not re-elected consecutively, although many members have held office for more than one term. There is also one full-time paid employee known as the Executive Director.

Of the 220 paid memberships, about one third are from people or firms in Los Angeles that have local interests in Belhaven.² Only Valley residents serve on the Board of Directors. Various individuals who were interviewed did state that the one hundred dollars yearly dues tend to discourage those not seriously interested in the aims of the Association. Recruitment of new members is primarily through invitation by active members, although general membership drives are held occasionally. Prospective members are invited to a couple of meetings where recruitment procedures common to many other organizations are followed.

²The total membership list was not available for extensive analysis.

Some idea of the varied activities of the BVDA is indicated by its twenty-one permanent committees: Area Data Bank; Auditorium; Aviation; Belhaven Valley Trade Show; Belhaven Expansion Plan; Belhaven Publicity; Cultural Development; Executive; Financial; Four-County Development; Four-Year College; Freeway; Goodwill Tours; Governmental Relations; Industrial Development; Meetings and Program; Membership Relations; Reception Greeters; Special Projects; Tourist Promotion; and Water.

Most of the work for the Association has been conducted by the committee chairmen and their five to ten committee members. The committee chairmen are selected primarily for their special interests or backgrounds. In much the same way that Congressional committee chairmen develop an acknowledged expertise in a particular subject-matter, so do some of the Association chairmen. This is especially true of those members on the Aviation, Freeway, Governmental Relations, Industrial Development and Water committees. These committees are the most important to the issue of defense contracting.

2) The Leaders

In most organizations, the major share of the work often falls upon a small group. The BVDA is no exception as the twenty-five Directors are generally the most active members. They determine the overall policies of the

organization, subject to the approval of the membership. This concurrence is usually automatic. The Directors also serve as committee chairmen. Only six Directors are not chairmen, but three of these Directors are vice-chairmen.

Certain other characteristics about the Board should be noted. There is a pattern of continuity on the Board. At least ten of the present twenty-five Directors were instrumental in founding the BVDA. The interviewees said that no Board member has ever been compelled by other members to resign, nor has any Director quit in protest over the organization's policies.

A second characteristic concerns the geographical distribution of the Board. Even though representation from the entire Valley is desired, almost half of the Board members are residents from Centerville. This suggests the importance of that community in relation to the Valley and also its ability to provide leaders. Figure 8 lists the places of residence of the Directors.

Members are more apt to be selected because of their occupations than their places of residence. The third characteristic of the Board is the nature of these occupations. Of the twenty-five Directors, twenty-two are in business rather than in a profession. Yet, there is a variety of the type and size of the businesses represented. Figure 9 indicates the occupational backgrounds

FIGURE 8
 BVDA BOARD OF DIRECTORS
 GEOGRAPHICAL
 DISTRIBUTION^a

Place of Residence	Number of Board Members
Centerville	11
Elmwood	6
Desert City	3
Valley View	2
Running Springs	1
Vista Verde	1
Clearwater	<u>1</u>
Total	25

^aOctober, 1965

FIGURE 9
 BVDA BOARD OF DIRECTORS^a
 OCCUPATIONAL
 BACKGROUND

Occupation	Number of Directors
Banking, Investments	6
Resident Manager of Branch Plant, Store	5
Builder, Contractor, Real Estate	4
Owner Local Retail Store	2
Newspaper Publisher	2
Education	2
Civil Engineer	1
Accountant	1
Advertising	1
Franchise Auto Dealer	1
Total	<u>25</u>

^aOctober, 1965

of the Board members.

An attempt has been made in the past three or four years to select new Board members on the basis of their special aptitudes. For example, when the current President of the Belhaven Junior College moved into the area three years ago, he was immediately invited to become a Board member. The next year he was elected Vice-President, and today, after only three years in the Valley, he is President of the BVDA. In view of past recruitment practices, this individual became President very quickly. The Board of Directors believed that by elevating him to the Presidency, he could best serve the aims of the Association. He brought with him experience with community economic committees and a professional background in education.

Previous Chapters have suggested the increasing importance to Belhaven of educational and cultural facilities as a means of attracting new industries. The Board reasoned, therefore, that having a professional educator as their President and official spokesman would emphasize the intention of the BVDA to develop the Valley in areas other than economic.

What are the backgrounds of some of the other important individuals in the BVDA? The Governmental Relations Committee, the single most important group specifi-

cally concerned with defense issues in the Valley, is headed by the radio station owner of Centerville. He was previously described as perhaps the most influential person in the Valley today. Other members of the committee include the publisher of the Elmwood newspaper (Vice-Chairman), the Centerville publisher, and the Chairman of the Industrial Development Committee.

The purpose of the Governmental Relations Committee is to provide a liaison between national, state and county officials and the Valley on issues regarding defense and other economic programs. It is the group which works most directly with the officials in Washington. Actually, it is the individual members who make this committee so important to the BVDA and the Valley.

The chairman of this committee is a member of a pioneer family in Belhaven. In addition to the radio station in Centerville, he owns the local bus company, a retail store, land and other investments in the Valley. Even though he was one of the founders of the BVDA in 1957, he has never been a Board member. This is by his choice, because he prefers to work behind the scenes. He devotes much of his time to a wide range of Valley activities in addition to his own business interests. His influence also extends beyond the Valley, and for this reason his help to the BVDA is immeasurable. He has

direct access to the State capitol and to the Governor's office, having been appointed by the Governor to one of the State Boards. In addition to this duty, he also serves as a member of other State and local committees.

Through the radio station owner's many activities, he maintains contact with all the important issues in the Valley. Despite his desire to avoid prominence, this individual was mentioned by every respondent as being extremely influential. It is not a coincidence, therefore, that such a person is Chairman of the most important defense contracting group.

The Vice-Chairman of the Governmental Relations Committee, the Elmwood publisher, was identified as one of the top two leaders in that community. His real expertise is in the area of freeway development, but because that project is tied so closely with the development of the Valley, one would expect to find this person on the Committee.

The third member of the Governmental Relations Committee is the Chairman of the Industrial Development Committee. This group has the task of contacting industrial prospects and then providing them with general and technical data on plant sites or other favorable information about the Valley. The Chairman is currently associated with a major real estate development in the Valley

where he has lived since 1935.

A fourth member of the Governmental Relations Committee is the Centerville publisher. Currently, he is serving as Chairman of the Aviation Committee which will be discussed later. Before doing this, however, a concluding comment about the Governmental Relations Committee should be made.

This committee has brought together four of the most influential people in the Valley. The reason seems to be that the vital issues attract the most powerful individuals. Those already possessing influence are best able to place themselves, or to be placed, on the committee of their choice. In this case, it is the Governmental Relations Committee. Because of the issue involved and the contact it offers with governmental officials, it is considered the most glamorous and important committee.

Another BVDA committee on which prominent individuals serve is the Aviation Committee. The purpose of this group is to promote greater use of the Air Force Facility and the Air Force Base. The Chairman is the Centerville publisher who has lived in the Valley since 1954 when he bought the paper. Before moving to Centerville, he was graduated from the Naval Academy in 1939 and then served with the Navy until 1953. During his service, this individual came into contact with various people connected

with government contracting. It was this previous experience which moved him into the Chairmanship of the Aviation Committee when it was formed in 1959.

The Vice-Chairman of the Aviation Committee is the branch manager of a large national retail store in Centerville. He has lived in Belhaven since 1962 and was President of the BVDA in 1964. In contrast to the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman has been in merchandising with practically no prior contact with government defense officials.

One final BVDA leader should be mentioned. He is the Executive Director, the only full-time paid official of the organization. As such, he is the central figure in the BVDA as well as one of the most influential. His primary function is to coordinate the various activities of the BVDA and to act as liaison between the Directors and other groups. He has lived in Belhaven since 1951, coming from the Los Angeles area where he had served in a similar administrative capacity with a local Chamber of Commerce. In Elmwood, where he originally settled, he was the Manager of the Chamber until 1957. That year he helped to found the BVDA and became the Executive Director.

Soon after this, he was sent by that group to Washington, D.C. to negotiate for a return of defense contracts. This was an appropriate assignment because during World War II he had served in Washington and had

developed various Pentagon contacts.

When the Industrial Foundation was established in 1964, this individual also became the Executive Secretary for that group. Although the job is not full-time, it is paid and is quite similar to his position with the BVDA. Because the same members are in both associations, this person holds both jobs with no conflict. His dual role highlights his unique position in the Valley. He is the only full-time individual actively working on the issue of economic stabilization. In this capacity he has attended many meetings in Washington and elsewhere for the two groups.

All of the BVDA members interviewed mentioned they had some contact with the Executive Director in their work for the Association. He schedules meetings, agendas and other BVDA activities. Because he is in touch with all other members and is aware of BVDA and Valley happenings, this individual is regarded by others as valuable and essential to the BVDA.

Internally, the BVDA operates informally. An observation of the communication patterns, especially among the Directors, suggests that much of the business of the organization is conducted outside the weekly formal meetings. This manner of decision-making can be traced to four characteristics: a relatively small number in the

leadership group (twenty-five); their homogeneous social backgrounds; their long-time acquaintance; and their general agreement on what policies need to be followed.

3) The BVDA Over a Period of Time

The BVDA was originally established during an economic crisis when local governmental action was unable to meet community problems. As conditions improved, the BVDA altered its scope and purposes to coincide with the overall development of the Valley.³ Even though the BVDA is still the most active organization in the Valley on contract matters, it has undergone changes in its organizational structure and goals. In terms of organizational analysis, such changes are very important for the effectiveness and success of any group. Essential to any organization, is its ability to adapt to changing environmental conditions and to keep its goals flexible and in relation to realistic accomplishments.

Three additional writers have noted the above phenomenon of organizational change, and their comments may provide a better understanding of the BVDA. Amitai Etzioni employs the terms "epigenesis" to describe the

³These points are discussed in greater detail by Harmon Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Society, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.; 1964), p. 73; and Truman, op. cit., pp. 101-108.

transformations of political units.⁴ Epigenesis deals with changes in units as they acquire functions not previously performed by the units. New demands from the surrounding environment are incorporated into the organizational structure. In effect, organizational changes stem from social changes.

This model helps to explain why the scope of activity for the BVDA today is no longer limited to the issue of economic recovery. First, the economic decline has been halted and previous high economic levels have been regained or surpassed. Today this is not the key problem; instead, attention is directed to further economic development and stability in the Valley. Second, the environmental inputs have changed since 1958, and as a result, the BVDA has had to adapt to these. For example, now the Valley must provide cultural and recreational facilities in order to attract new businesses. Even though these are directly related to the economic well-being of the Valley, they were not considered when the BVDA was first organized. Indeed, at that time, they were relatively unimportant.

The installation address by the President of the

⁴Amitai Etzioni, "The Epigenesis of Political Communities at the International Level," American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII, No. 4 (January, 1963), pp. 407-421.

BVDA in 1965 further illustrates the widening scope of the group's activities. The President outlined a seven-point program for the coming year: (1) provision of more spiritual, educational and cultural institutions; (2) encouragement of population movements into the Valley; (3) continuation of the freeway development; (4) improvement of the water resources; (5) construction of a large civic auditorium; (6) stabilization of federal contracts; and (7) reduction of land costs to attract new industry.

This greater diversity of activity within the BVDA can be explained by the tendency of organizations to expand into new areas once the initial reason for formation no longer exists. Samuel Huntington notes the necessity of organizations to have "functional adaptability" rather than "functional specificity."⁵ When a particular function is no longer required--such as economic recovery--an organization faces a major crisis. It must either adapt to the new conditions in which it exists, or it must disband. The pattern for most groups is to continue and for members to seek new ways or justifications for perpetuating the organization.

In the early 1960's when Belhaven Valley had

⁵Samuel P. Huntington, "Political Development and Political Decay," World Politics, XVII, No. 3 (April, 1965), p. 396.

reached previous economic levels, a group with the single purpose of recovery was no longer necessary. As a consequence, the BVDA broadened its scope and spoke more in terms of stability rather than recovery. In short, the organization adopted a new set of goals. Even though these are related to the BVDA's initial objective, one question which arises is whether or not these additional activities are essential, or whether they are pursued simply to perpetuate the organization. In the final section of this Chapter, an answer will be presented.

Another writer observed a significant transformation of a group over a period of time which is similar to the experience of the BVDA. Edward Cook in his study of a Pennsylvania interest group--the Pennsylvania Economy League--discovered it began as a research agency.⁶ Gradually the League became more active, and eventually it no longer confined its function to research but began to wield a great deal of influence in public policy formulation. In much the same way, the BVDA has moved from a Chamber of Commerce type organization involved with promotion to a Valley-wide interest group actively engaged with political decision-makers at all levels of government.

These comments indicate that an effective interest

⁶Edward F. Cook, "Research: An Instrument of Political Power," Political Science Quarterly, LXXVI, No. 1 (March, 1961), pp. 69-87.

group must adapt itself to the surrounding environment. To the extent this is true, defense contracting should have a direct influence upon that group.

4) Conclusions

The following conclusions can be drawn about the general organizational nature of the BVDA and its leaders. The Association has made every attempt to be Valley-oriented and to avoid any impression it is a special-interest group of Belhaven businessmen. The recruitment process of the BVDA, therefore, has tried to select people from various communities and occupations whenever this was feasible.

All these efforts by the BVDA may be regarded as legitimizing the organization. By appearing to represent all interests and areas, the Directors are striving for a sense of legitimacy and acceptance by the general population.

Another quality of the BVDA leaders has been their desire to appear professional and business-like in their contact with government officials. This attitude of seriousness and resolve by the Directors conveys a favorable impression to the rest of the members and the Valley. The leaders do not wish to be considered just another businessmen's club or a Valley Chamber of Commerce. They want to be known as an organization that is politically and

economically well-informed and one that is respected by business and public officials.

This emphasis on technique by the Directors is similar to the idea advanced by Edgar Litt.⁷ He suggests that the civic-booster, Chamber of Commerce type of community leader, is being replaced by men of the managerial class. These persons are generally more technically qualified than the earlier leaders and are more attuned to the complex problems with which they must deal in community politics.

The leaders and members of the BVDA have a great deal of civic pride about their communities and Valley; yet most are quite practical and realistic in their assessments and outlook. Perhaps some exhibit too much optimism about the future, but this kind of thinking undoubtedly has been a stimulus to recovery and development. Enthusiasm alone, of course, is not enough to attract industry. For this reason, leaders of the BVDA have sought those individuals possessing the skills needed to effect stability in the Valley.

Persons active in the BVDA are quite likely to be members of local Chambers and other groups. About one-third of the Directors have served as Presidents of Cham-

⁷Edgar Litt, The Political Cultures of Massachusetts, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1965).

bers. Even though the BVDA is perceived as the most effective organization in the Valley, there is no attitude of superiority by the Board members in relation to local leaders. The high rate of overlapping membership in both the Chambers and the BVDA accounts for this. While the Directors believe that the BVDA and its activities are more important than those of the communities, and that the organization is more influential, they also freely acknowledge the essential functions served by the local Chambers.

During the interviews those individuals active in both the BVDA and Chambers did not express any feelings of mixed loyalties or a "conflict of interest." These members explained their ability to work in the two types of organizations because each was committed to a different phase of the same problem, the improvement of the Valley. Such issues had to be handled on both the community and Valley level.

B. The BVDA: Its Strategies and Tactics in the Political Process

This section is concerned with the manner in which the BVDA seeks to improve Belhaven which has been its goal since 1957. Essentially it has followed the basic principles of gaining access and persuading the decision-makers.

The BVDA has become the most influential group in

Belhaven on issues relating to defense contracting. The Association has replaced the local Chambers of Commerce in importance when discussions are required with governmental officials, defense contractors or businessmen. Thus, Hypothesis Three of this study is confirmed: "the greater the dependence of an area on defense contracting, the greater the probability that an intercommunity group will replace local community groups in importance for issues concerning defense contracting."

A principal reason for the increased importance of the BVDA stems from the much smaller role local groups are able to play within the Valley. Chambers of Commerce and local groups, for instance, are limited in their ability to perform the same functions as the BVDA, and they must concern themselves almost exclusively with more narrow issues. The separate communities by themselves have little to attract new companies. For this reason, there has arisen the need for a group to promote the entire Belhaven Valley. Furthermore, when the Valley is considered as a unit, more desirable features appear evident. This explanation of why the BVDA has assumed its superior position also suggests the nature of its strategy.

1) The BVDA: Its Strategy

The strategy of the BVDA is simply "to get its story across" to those officials who make the decisions

regarding defense contracts. Various means are used, but the most important one appears to be personal meetings with Department of Defense officials. The Association considers itself the single spokesman for the Valley, and acts as if it represents the entire area. In reality, the BVDA represents only its membership. Over the past nine years, however, the Association has conveyed the idea to others that it alone is composed of all the important Valley leaders and, therefore, should be recognized as speaking for the Valley.

"Getting its story across" also means emphasizing the advantages of Belhaven to the national government. This includes the fact that the government already has invested hundreds of millions of dollars at both the Air Force Facility and the Air Force Base. To try to duplicate or transfer these facilities elsewhere would be wasteful. The BVDA points out the type of contract work best suited for the Valley and adds that there exists a ready pool of manpower skills which can be tapped. Finally, the Association calls attention to the Valley's favorable flying weather, ample industrial land, and increasing suitability for transportation facilities.

In addition to dealing with government officials, the BVDA must also interact with the defense contractors.⁸

⁸The reader's attention is directed to the analytical model in Chapter I, p. 14 which diagramed the commun-

Basically, the same approach is taken; that is, indicating to the contractors the advantages of fully using the Facility or Air Force Base whenever possible. Often the relationships between the contractors and the BVDA are quite cordial. The aerospace firms maintain memberships in the Association and have representatives at the weekly meetings. Plant managers frequently are guests and speakers at luncheons.

There are times when the BVDA must compete with these companies. The defense contractors also lobby in Washington. Their purpose is to gain contracts, and they have little concern with legislation unless it pertains specifically to a project or a contract. Most of these corporations now have their own lobbyists instead of relying upon law firms to represent them.⁹ One can imagine therefore the financial resources available to these companies as compared to the BVDA. The competitive struggle between the Association and a defense contractor may occur when a firm agrees to fulfill a contract at a particular site, while the BVDA is arguing that the Belhaven facilities should be the recipient of the work. More often, however, the BVDA is apt to be working with, rather than

ications network.

⁹For a discussion of defense corporation lobbying in Washington, see Zeigler, op. cit., pp. 123-126.

competing against, the defense contractors.

2) The BVDA: Its Tactics

The single most important means employed by the BVDA to communicate with Washington officials is an annual trip to the capital each Spring. The purpose of the conference is to meet directly with the men who make decisions effecting Belhaven. Access to the Pentagon and other government agencies is arranged through the assistance of their Congressman.

The practice of sending a delegation started in 1957 when the current Executive Director was the sole representative. Now, approximately seven members attend this week of intensive discussions with administrative and legislative personnel. There may be different individuals attending each time, but many have gone more than once. Part of the trip is financed by the BVDA, while some delegates pay their own expenses. The cost of the week is about one thousand dollars per person.

A program is printed prior to departure for Washington which lists the agencies and people to be contacted. On the cover, a note clearly states that 80 percent of the Valley economy is geared to defense contracting, and that Belhaven possesses such installations as the Facility and Air Force Base.

An examination of the week's agenda reveals the

types of problems the Valley leaders must deal with, and the people with whom they must confer. It is apparent that a wide range of issues is discussed, and that the delegation is trying to impress upon the Washington officials the complexity of the economic situation. The BVDA does not go back to plead for the passage of one bill or one project. Rather, it tries to resolve an economic condition which can be alleviated only with the cooperation of many agencies and levels of government. In 1965, seven members attended the conference: (1) the Centerville radio station owner; (2) the Mayor of Elmwood; (3) the publisher from Elmwood; (4) the President of the Industrial Foundation; (5) the Executive Director of the BVDA; (6) a municipal judge for the Valley, who before his appointment had been even more active in economic projects; and (7) the Administrative Assistant for the County Supervisor.

The agenda for that year may be useful as an illustration of the interaction between the BVDA leaders and Washington officials. Initially, the BVDA delegation met with the two California Senators and the Congressmen from similar communities in the State whose districts also were faced with contracting problems. The purpose was to reassure these representatives that Belhaven was not attempting to take contracts away from the other areas,

but that it was actually in a position to help the State as a whole. The BVDA emphasized that the unusual installations in Belhaven would help California continue to receive its fair portion of defense contracts. To accomplish this, the BVDA asked for the cooperation of all California representatives.

The first agency meeting was with officials from the Department of Defense. The perennial question posed by the Belhaven delegation to DOD concerns the future plans for the Air Force Facility. Because there has never been a "Master Plan" for this installation by either the Air Force or Department of Defense, the story changes from year to year depending on world, economic and technological conditions. Some years DOD prefers not to commit itself, while at other times, it will suggest that either the Department or a civilian company will be establishing new uses for the Facility.

Another important meeting was held at the Pentagon with officials from the Office of Economic Adjustment. Their function is to aid communities in readjusting to defense cutbacks. The BVDA delegates informed the Office of the economic situation as they saw it. The Office, in turn, presented to the Valley leaders a local area survey which it had previously prepared, and it also tried to give assistance and ideas about the manner in which the

Valley might diversify or transform the economic base of the area.

Specific issues also were discussed with individuals from the Department of the Air Force. There, an attempt was made to determine what Air Force contracting requirements were anticipated in the coming year. The delegation also wished to emphasize to the Air Force what effects the loss of contracts has upon housing, schools and retail trade. Because the Air Force controls both the Facility and Base, the talks with this Department were important. Many of the overall policy statements, however, were covered in the DOD conference.

One of the major users of the Air Force Base is the National Aeronautical and Space Administration. Meetings with this agency were held to ascertain their projected use of the Base and Rocket Propulsion Laboratories located there. NASA is one of the largest employers in the Valley, so their future plans can have an impact on the economy.

Conferences were held with the Labor Department to discuss the requirements and availability of skilled manpower. The Small Business Administration was contacted about present and future SBA industrial loan policies to the Valley. The BVDA leaders wanted to learn of any possible changes in the law which might affect the amount of

money that can be borrowed for projects such as the ones initiated by the Industrial Foundation. A similar meeting took place with the Federal Housing Administration to obtain their reaction to the opening of a 5 million dollar private housing project in the Valley for senior citizens.

Three other agencies were contacted during the 1965 trip. The Federal Aviation Agency discussed with the delegates what impact the supersonic transport programs might have on the Valley. The BVDA hopes that some of the research and development for the SST can be carried out at the Elmwood Facility. The Civil Aeronautics Board was questioned about commercial service into the Valley and the possibility of extending flights from the local airport to other cities. Finally, a water reclamation project for Centerville was discussed by the delegation with representatives from Health, Education and Welfare.

In addition to the annual trips to Washington, the BVDA leaders meet with federal officials in Belhaven. The Pentagon sends survey teams to all parts of the United States to confer with local leaders about mutual problems. These Washington people have been making regular stops in Belhaven the past three years, often as a follow-up to the Spring Washington conferences.

The frequent contacts between Washington and Belhaven have enabled the BVDA to establish permanent

lines of communication and even personal friendships with some of the decision-makers. These relationships may not prevent the Valley from losing a contract, but through these sources the Valley leaders often are able to learn in advance any news about impending changes. This gives the area more time to plan for whatever adjustments may be necessary.

On the other levels of government, the BVDA works closely with their County Supervisor and his Administrative Assistant. The County is limited, compared to the national government, in what it can do to alleviate local economic conditions. Yet, because the Supervisors are the local government for those portions of the Valley still unincorporated, there is frequent contact between the Board of Supervisors and Belhaven residents.

The key individual at this level of government is the Administrative Assistant. For over twenty-five years he was in business in the Valley before becoming the AA for this area. The BVDA leaders feel they have a direct contact with the Supervisor because of their personal friendship with his Assistant.

On the State level, the BVDA focuses its attention more on the commissions and administrative agencies than on their Assemblyman or Senator. For example, the Highway Commission has been the key target for the freeway proj-

ect. The legislative representatives have been helpful in arranging appointments and in supporting budget items, but the decisions affecting Belhaven are often made by administrative agencies.

The fact that a greater amount of time is spent by the BVDA with administrative people than with legislators at all levels of government tends to support Hypothesis Nine. Although this Hypothesis referred to communities, instead of organizations, the finding is still relevant. The significance is that for defense contracting most of the key decisions are made by public officials other than legislators. As a consequence, interest group activities must concentrate on the executive branch. Another effect, particularly upon the BVDA, is the lack of a highly partisan feeling among its leaders regarding the decision-makers. The BVDA leaders are able to work with administrations and representatives of both parties. While some of the leaders are active in political parties, they are also aware of the necessity of establishing cooperative relations with all those people who could help the Valley. The opinions expressed by the BVDA leaders about their Congressman and other officials were based upon what they have done for the Valley, rather than upon their philosophy of government.

C. The BVDA: An Evaluation

1) Accomplishments

The following major projects, all initiated by the Association, have produced tangible results in the economic development of Belhaven: (1) an engine modification contract in early 1958 after most other aircraft contracts were cancelled in Belhaven; (2) initiation of construction of the freeway by obtaining 22 million dollars in State highway funds; (3) location in the Valley of the Federal Aviation Agency Center which employs over 300 people; (4) negotiation of a 5 million dollar plant which uses some mineral resources of the Valley in its product; (5) formation of the Industrial Foundation; (6) publication of industrial and statistical reports for distribution to interested businesses; and (7) sponsorship of an annual Valley trade show.

In addition to these, the BVDA also has worked to create a favorable business climate in Belhaven. This has been done through the Washington trips, advertisements, statistical publications and innumerable discussions and conferences. Probably the best way to evaluate these efforts is to examine the economic condition of the Valley today and compare it to 1957. It must be remembered that some of the work by the Association may not be fully evaluated for sometime to come because the freeway and other similar long-range projects were not intended to produce

immediate results.

Much of the Valley's recovery can be attributed to the BVDA. A recent editorial in the Elmwood paper may reflect the feelings of most of the residents. The article noted that the Association cannot take full credit for everything that has led to recovery and development in the Valley. Yet, there is every reason to believe that had there been no such Valley group in existence, the conditions today in Belhaven would be considerably less desirable than they are.

Certainly, some of the early successes in obtaining contracts and in attracting new businesses stem from the Association's work. More recently, in 1964, when there was a reduction in employment at the Facility almost equal in number to the 1957 cutback, there was no Valley recession comparable to the earlier period. While conditions, generally, were different, there were sufficient similar circumstances which could have triggered another economic decline. Most observers felt that the efforts of the BVDA accounted for the less severe reaction to the cancellation of the contract.

Not everyone in Belhaven is favorably inclined toward the Association. The group is criticized at times because it is continually creating new projects, even before old ones have been completed. The BVDA's answer

is that each of these programs is essential to their overall goals. This apparently is a valid justification, for without convincing evidence that the Valley is building and expanding, new industries would be even more reluctant to settle in Belhaven. Any slight reduction in economic growth might have far-reaching consequences that could require another five year period for recovery.

2) Summary and Conclusions

This Chapter has suggested that the BVDA, as an interest group, has been affected by its defense contracting environment. Since the organization's founding in 1957, it has reflected the changing economic, social and political conditions in the Valley. Its initial goal was economic recovery; today, it seeks the general development and improvement of Belhaven. The Association's expanding role in Valley activities is illustrated by the increase in size of its Board of Directors. Until three years ago, thirteen men constituted the governing body. Then another twelve were added to correspond to the greater number of community projects requiring attention.

Since 1957, the BVDA has replaced the Chambers of Commerce and other local groups in importance, especially on matters related to defense contracting. Most of the residents realize that the economic problems of Belhaven can best be solved on a Valley-wide basis, and the only

organization established for this purpose is the BVDA. Yet, the local groups do play a vital role, and the Association has encouraged them to be more aggressive in their efforts to attract new industries. Another function which the BVDA has performed effectively on behalf of Belhaven has been to keep the elected and public officials alert and responsive to the conditions in the Valley. The group has been the principal link between the relatively isolated Valley and the decision-makers in Los Angeles, Sacramento and Washington D.C.

Leaders outside Belhaven have come to regard the BVDA as the spokesman for the Valley. This was evident during the interviews with public officials and representatives from the defense contracting firms. Most of the respondents and interviewees stated that on matters of Valley-wide interest, such as industrial development, the BVDA was the most articulate and respected organization in the Valley.

Two questions can assist in drawing general conclusions about the findings in this Chapter. How much can an interest group do to stabilize its community's economic condition which is based primarily on defense contracts? Can a local interest group exert much influence on decision-makers outside the community who are concerned with defense contracting? It is contended that a group such as

the BVDA can be very effective in stabilizing its community's economy, and that to a lesser degree it can be influential in the larger political arena where contracting decisions are being made.

Actually, there are two types of decisions associated with defense contracting: the overall policy of the weapon or space program, and the determination of the specific location and agents to implement these policies. In the first area, local groups are not actively involved. Within the second, however, there is an opportunity for them to present their case and to indicate to the decision-makers the advantages of the particular facilities in their communities. It is in this capacity that the BVDA has been the most effective. The final Chapter will elaborate upon this point.

CHAPTER VII

THE DISTRIBUTION OF LEADERS IN BELHAVEN VALLEY

An important characteristic about individual leaders is the extent to which each is active in more than one issue-area. A knowledge of the distribution of influence in a community aids in the description of the leadership structures. If an individual is influential in several issue-areas, he can be described as "polymorphic," in contrast to "monomorphic" should his influence be limited to a single area.¹ Political scientists have studied these types of leaders for communities in general. So far, however, little research appears to have been done regarding the distribution of leaders in defense-oriented communities. This Chapter will present a brief description of the important issue-areas and their prominent leaders in Belhaven Valley.

Various writers have noted a relationship between

¹Robert Merton, "Patterns of Influence: A Study of Interpersonal Influence and of Communications Behavior in a Local Community." Communications Research 1948-1949, ed. P. F. Lazarsfeld and F. Stanton, (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), pp. 180-219.

community issues and leaders. Barth feels that certain specific issues may produce different community influentials. He further states:

the failure to consider the impact of issue content on the selection of influentials has led to problems in building models adequate to describe structures of community influence.²

Polsby suggests the researcher select issue-areas as his focus of study of community power. The issues may give a better indication of the distribution of community power because there may be different sets of leaders for various issues.³ A general picture of the power structure may fail to distinguish small, but significant, clusters of leaders.

The research in Belhaven, therefore, proceeded on the basis that there might be different leaders for different issues. Three means were employed to verify this assumption. First, community activities and memberships of ten identified leaders were examined.⁴ Second, select community issues were noted to determine which people were

²Ernest A. Barth and Stuart D. Johnson, "Community Power and a Typology of Social Issues," Social Forces, XXXVIII, No. 1 (October, 1959), p. 29.

³Nelson W. Polsby, "How to Study Community Power: The Pluralist Alternative;" Journal of Politics, XXII, No. 3 (August, 1960), pp. 474-484.

⁴The ten leaders were identified in Chapter V. They are listed in Figures 10 and 11 in this Chapter.

the most active and possibly the most influential. Finally, a study was made of the memberships of the committees reputed to be the most important in community and Valley issues. On the basis of these methods of investigation, there was a crosscheck of names on the membership lists in various organizations or community activities.

The delineation of the issues was also necessary. Elmwood and Centerville provided more specific issues than did Belhaven Valley. Three major community issues in Elmwood since 1960 have been diversification of the economy, incorporation of the city, and annexation of the Air Force Facility into the city limits. As indicated in Chapter V, Elmwood has had few residents participating in community activities. The incorporation issue in 1961-1962 had the greatest number of people, yet there were less than ten individuals who could be identified as leaders of either side of the issue. The group most actively supporting incorporation included the present Mayor, three members of the current City Council, and the local publisher. The opponents included a few small merchants, most of whom had opposed the plans of the progressive leaders in the 1958 economic crisis.

On the other two issues facing Elmwood, there have been even fewer leaders. For example, only the Mayor and publisher were recognized as active in efforts either to

diversify the economy or to annex the Facility.⁵ In all three of these issues, therefore, the same two individuals are recognized as the most influential. This finding reconfirms the previous observation made about the small leadership structure in Elmwood.

In a study of New Haven, Robert Dahl suggested three issue-areas which could produce influential leaders. These were urban development, education, and political nominations.⁶ Elmwood has neither urban development nor a significant political nominating process. Even the issue of local education does not provide any marked leadership group. Although there is an elected Board of Education, no one member exerts a great deal of influence in relation to the others. Of more significance, however, is the fact that education in Elmwood is not a particularly stirring community issue, and it has not created sufficient attention to attract forceful leaders. The newspaper acts as a major forum for whatever problems about education have to be discussed, and the residents apparently look to the paper for guidance on these matters.

No other community issue-areas, therefore, aside

⁵The City Administrator was active, of course, but in a professional capacity.

⁶Robert Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 175.

from the three already discussed provide influential leaders. There are other Elmwood residents who are active and prominent, but they are in Valley projects working primarily through the BVDA. Of the six Elmwood residents who are on the BVDA Board of Directors, all are significantly less active in their own community, with the notable exception of the publisher. Most of the potential or actual community leaders apparently have decided that Elmwood's future development can best be handled through the BVDA instead of local groups. This would explain why five of the six BVDA Directors from Elmwood are more active in the larger group than in the local Chamber of Commerce. Given the choice between devoting time for Elmwood or for the Valley, these leaders apparently feel greater dividends will be realized by the development of Belhaven.

Since 1960, the three major issues in Centerville have been incorporation, economic and industrial development, and civic improvement. As expected, these issues attract more participating individuals than did those in Elmwood.

The incorporation move is currently underway, and its leaders hope to have the proposition on the ballot for approval by September, 1966. Of the five individuals officially leading the drive, the most prominent is the

newspaper publisher. The other four leaders are active in Chamber work and local businesses. None, however, has been identified before in this study as being influential in any other area. There is no major organized opposition to the incorporation; therefore, no opposing leaders have been identified.

The other two issue-areas for Centerville are handled primarily through the community's Chamber of Commerce. At the present time, there are no major development projects, but there are a number of smaller ones. Civic improvement is a general category which includes cultural, recreational and community services. Within this group, various Centerville residents have been identified previously. For example, the President of the BVDA is on the Education Committee for the Chamber of Commerce. The County Supervisor's Administrative Assistant is on two committees: Parks and Recreation, and Planning and Zoning. The Fire Committee is headed by the son of the radio station owner.

The Chamber committees which are more concerned with economic and industrial issues are staffed by many of these same people. An annual event sponsored by Centerville is the Belhaven Valley Fair which attracts thousands of people and highlights the industrial and agricultural products of the area. The committee which plans this

event is an important one. Among its members are the radio station owner, his son, and the Administrative Assistant for the Supervisor. The radio station owner is also on the Economic and Business Service Committee which assists companies in obtaining information about Center-ville. The Tax Committee is composed of the Supervisor's Administrative Assistant, the radio station owner's son, and the bank branch manager among others. The Trades Committee which coordinates shopping-area problems has the branch manager for a national retail store as a member. Finally, the resident manager for a public utility company serves on the Industrial Committee.

The scope of Valley projects is illustrated by the names of the BVDA committees. These suggest the types of programs which currently are being undertaken. In order to determine further the distribution of leaders in the Valley besides those in the BVDA, it was necessary to identify the leaders in two other groups which have a Valley orientation. These are the Industrial Foundation and the only independent bank in Belhaven.

The Foundation has eight officers and one paid Executive Vice-President who is also the Executive Director for the BVDA. All are members of the BVDA. Two of these officers have been mentioned before, the municipal judge for the area and the radio station owner's son.

Others include the branch manager for the independent bank, an active Centerville rancher, a businessman from Los Angeles, and three other businessmen from Belhaven.

The second Valley organization is the independent bank. It has nine men on the Board of Directors. Three are very active in civic and Valley projects. The Bank manager is on the BVDA Board of Directors and the Board for the Industrial Foundation. A second member is also on the BVDA Board and the third Director is a City Councilman for Elmwood. The remaining six bank Directors are ranchers in the Valley.

These descriptions illustrate the activities and the overlapping memberships of the ten leaders in the Valley. Figure 10 ranks the extent of participation in civic and Valley projects. Figure 11 traces, as fully as possible, the memberships of these ten persons.

The following conclusions can be drawn about the nature of issues and the distribution of leaders in Belhaven. Practically all community or Valley issues are related in some way to defense contracting. This underscores the influence of the defense contracting environment upon the communities and the leaders. Even the non-industrial projects are pursued with the hope that upon their completion new companies will find Belhaven a more desirable place in which to locate.

All of the individuals discussed in this Chapter

FIGURE 10

EXTENT OF LEADERSHIP PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY AND VALLEY PROJECTS

Leader	Community Issues				Valley Issues			
	Incorporation Moves	Contracting	Industrial Diversification	Civic Improvement	Contracting	Industrial Diversification	Valley Improvement	Total Projects
Publisher, Elmwood	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	7
Publisher, Centerville	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	7
Radio Station Owner	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	7
Mayor, Elmwood	x	x	x	x	x		x	6
Bank Manager, Centerville			x	x	x	x	x	5
Public Utility Manager, Centerville		x	x		x	x	x	5
President, BVDA				x	x	x	x	4
Supervisor's Administrative Assistant				x	x	x	x	4
Retail Store Manager, Centerville		x		x	x		x	4
Executive Director, BVDA				x	x	x	x	4

FIGURE 11
LEADERS AND THEIR MEMBERSHIPS

Publisher, Elmwood:	BVDA: Board of Directors, Chairman Freeway Committee, Governmental Relations Committee; Elmwood Chamber of Commerce, Elmwood Airport Committee.
Publisher, Centerville:	BVDA: Board of Directors, Aviation Committee; Incorporation drive, Centerville.
Radio Station Owner:	BVDA: Chairman Governmental Relations Committee; Centerville Chamber of Commerce committees: Belhaven Fair, Economics and Research; Elks, and numerous other Belhaven Valley clubs.
Mayor, Elmwood:	Chamber of Commerce: Kiwanis; Moose; Veterans of Foreign Wars; Democratic State Central Committee.
Bank Manager, Centerville:	BVDA: Board of Directors, Area Data Bank, Financial, Auditorium Committees; Centerville Chamber of Commerce: Tax Committee.
President, BVDA:	BVDA Symphony Association; Centerville Chamber of Commerce: Education Committee.
Public Utility Manager, Centerville:	BVDA: Board of Directors, Meetings Committee Chairman.
Executive Director, BVDA:	Executive Secretary, Industrial Foundation.
Supervisor's Administrative Assistant:	Centerville Chamber of Commerce committees: Planning and Zoning, Belhaven Valley Fair, Tax; BVDA.
Retail Store Manager, Centerville:	BVDA: Board of Directors, Aviation Committee.

have participated in defense contracting projects in some way. This is a common bond for all of the leaders. Further, there would appear to be some correlation between those who are leaders and those who are active in contracting issues. All those who are active in projects relating to contracting cannot be called influential, yet all influentials in Belhaven have participated extensively in contracting projects.

Defense contracting also affects community issues as well. The issue of incorporation for Centerville is indirectly tied to the problem of defense contracting. Once incorporated, Centerville will be able to negotiate directly and legally with other government and private officials. The community will be able to direct its growth more carefully and no longer be dependent upon the County. Another benefit from incorporation which relates to the defense contracting environment is an expected change in attitude by many of the residents. For the first time residents may feel they belong to a well-defined community. This has been a problem especially to the defense employees who have settled in the area but who have not regarded Centerville as a separate and distinct community.

Another characteristic of the leadership in Belhaven is the length of time many individuals have worked

with each other on the same projects. Continuity of leadership was noted for the BVDA and this is true for other groups as well. The Freeway Committee for Belhaven was founded by the Elmwood publisher in 1958 and he remains the Chairman. Of the original eighteen members, ten are still active today in the Valley, some with this same committee. This pattern can be noted on other committees, and this tenure often results in a high degree of competency about the committees' projects.

The overlapping memberships and the long-time acquaintance of the leaders account for the informal communication channels which were noted earlier. Even though a particular committee may meet officially only once a month, there is every reason to expect that its members will come into contact with each other through another activity before the scheduled meeting.

This informality and overlapping membership is significant to the Valley. As one respondent stated, "It tends to break down suspicions" among the people in Belhaven. Chapter III mentioned there was some rivalry among the communities, particularly between Elmwood and Centerville. Conflict and competition apparently are lessened by having leaders from both communities work together on common projects. Without the entire Valley's cooperation, certain programs like the freeway would never have been

possible. The Chairman for the Freeway Committee remarked that only when Belhaven presented a united front to the State was any action taken. Common crises and cooperative efforts have given the residents of Belhaven a group feeling and identity. This certainly has been sustained by overlapping memberships.

Thus, it can be concluded that the pervasiveness of defense contracting is a major influence in the distribution of leaders in Belhaven Valley. It is the issue to which all leaders must direct their attention and consider in the solution of other problems. It would be difficult to isolate any major projects from this one overriding concern. The leader who rises to a position of influence in one capacity, therefore, will find himself of necessity involved with many facets of this problem and this must lead to a multi-committee membership. This finding contrasts with Dahl and others who have found a greater degree of specialization by community leaders.⁷ The difference in the sizes of New Haven and the communities in Belhaven may account in part for these findings, but this variable alone probably does not produce the types of leadership distributions found in various communities.

⁷Ibid., p. 169. See also, Robert Agger, "Power Attributions in the Local Community: Theoretical and Research Considerations," Social Forces, XXXIV, No. 4 (May, 1956), pp. 322-331.

Within the general area of economic development there has been some move toward specialization by the leaders. This is especially evident in the BVDA. Yet, this activity still revolves around one basic issue. As long as there remains this single crucial concern in Belhaven, it may be expected that as potential leaders come forward, they will gravitate toward the defense contracting problem. It can be stated, therefore, that the leaders in Belhaven have been influenced by environmental factors in their choice of leadership activities and roles.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The relationship between two community political systems and defense contracting has been examined in this dissertation. The development of the leadership structures and the modes of operation by the community leaders have been analyzed as they relate to the defense contracting environment. Of particular importance was the reaction of the communities to their changing environment and the emergence of an intercommunity interest group whose purpose was the establishment of economic stability within the area.

The basis of the investigation into the comparative reactions of the two communities was nine hypotheses. Of the nine, seven were confirmed, or partially confirmed, and two were not accepted. The findings of these hypotheses can be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The greater the dependence of a community on government defense contracting, the greater the probability that a specific group for the community will be formed to cope with this dependency. This hypothesis was not accepted. Both Elmwood and Centerville formed committees

to handle defense contracting about the same time, even though Elmwood was more dependent upon contracting.

One intervening variable noted was the difference in the availability of leaders in the two communities. Centerville had a greater number of eligible residents from which to recruit leaders. Elmwood had greater need for a group to handle the defense contracting situation, but it could not react in this regard any differently from Centerville. It can be concluded, therefore, that factors in addition to the degree of dependency, such as the size of the leadership structure, will determine whether a community will form a special group for their defense contracting problems. In future studies these other factors should be isolated to determine their influence.

2. The greater the dependence of a geographic area on defense contracting, the greater the probability that a specific group for the area will be formed to cope with this dependency. This hypothesis was confirmed. The BVDA was formed specifically in response to an economic decline in the Valley resulting from cuts in defense contracting. By comparison, areas adjacent to Belhaven did not create similar organizations because the element of defense contracting was not present in their communities.

Two basic circumstances present in Belhaven Valley prompted the leaders to favor an area-wide organization

over the establishment of separate community groups. First, the leaders in the various Belhaven communities realized that their common economic problems were Valley-wide and should be solved on this basis. The entire Valley had to be organized, for no single community possessed the financial or political resources to cope with the economic conditions. Second, the geographic isolation of Belhaven necessitated the formation of a single Valley group. The only identifiable local government within the Valley was the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors which seemed too remote for the type of action needed. Acting separately, the communities were helpless in the Valley. In a group, and united, the residents of Belhaven presented a more formidable political unit.

3. The greater the dependence of an area on defense contracting, the greater the probability that an inter-community group will replace local community groups in importance for issues concerning defense contracting. This hypothesis was confirmed. The BVDA has assumed an overwhelming importance on matters relating to defense contracting in comparison to the local groups. Even though Elmwood and Centerville, through their Chambers of Commerce, have established groups for the solution of contracting problems, the most effective work has been conducted by the BVDA. The reasons for the prominent posi-

tion of the BVDA can be traced to those suggested in Hypothesis Two. Contracting is a Valley problem, and because of their isolation the communities have realized the need for united action. The satisfactory accomplishments by the BVDA in defense contracting problems have assured its growth and perpetuation in Belhaven. Residents who have desired to seek leadership positions have gravitated toward the BVDA because it deals with the most important issue and it offers the greatest number of opportunities in all facets of Valley activity. The ability to attract new leaders from the entire area adds to the stature and prestige of the Association and strengthens its importance in the Valley, while the once-dominant Chambers are now primarily concerned with local matters.

4. The greater the number of economic changes an area experiences, the greater the probability there will be corresponding political changes as a result of those economic changes. This hypothesis was tentatively confirmed. A correlation was indicated between economic and political changes in Belhaven. These changes resulted in part from defense contracting activity within the Valley. Further research is needed to clearly determine the precise influence contracting has on political structures of a community. This study suggested, however, that many of the new community services stemming from increased eco-

conomic activity resulted in greater political activity. The demands by the residents for improved civic and industrial facilities compelled Elmwood and Centerville to alter their traditional political relationships and to create more effective ones to meet the new requirements. For example, committees were formed specifically to handle economic problems through political channels. The recent incorporation of Elmwood and the similar action anticipated by Centerville have some relationship to the changed economic bases of the communities. A greater need exists today for these communities to have legal status. This will enable them more effectively and directly to solve their economic and social problems resulting from defense contracting.

5. The more rapid the impact of defense contracting upon the community, the more rapid a change in the overall leadership structure of the community. This was partially confirmed. Elmwood experienced a greater impact upon its way of life and underwent a more rapid change in its leaders, especially during the economic crisis in 1958. New community services were desperately needed in Elmwood as early as 1952, yet the leaders at that time were unwilling to take the necessary steps to provide better roads, houses and schools. Not until 1958 were these traditional leaders finally replaced by a group that was

willing to establish taxing districts and seek other means to raise money.

Centerville also experienced a change in some of its leaders, although not as quickly or thoroughly as Elmwood. In both communities leadership structures were changed for the same basic causes, but there were significant differences in the two structures which affected the rate of change. Centerville's traditional leadership structure was larger and more firmly established, thereby making rapid transformations much more difficult. This difference between the original leadership structures makes it difficult to compare the impact of defense contracting upon the two structures. Nevertheless, it can be tentatively concluded that the introduction of defense contracting did influence to some extent the nature of community leadership structures. In addition to the replacement or increase in the number of individuals within leadership structures, there also has been an improvement in the caliber of the leaders for both communities. The present leaders, when compared to their predecessors, are perceived to be more knowledgeable about economic, social and political problems. This is due in part to the demands by the residents for better community facilities. To achieve these, the most able individuals are sought and recruited into the leadership structures.

6. The greater the dependence of a community on defense contracting, the greater the probability the community and its leaders will be in agreement on community policies relating to defense contracting. This hypothesis was confirmed. Because Elmwood has greater dependency upon defense contracting, it has fewer alternative courses open. The leaders are faced with implementing basically one policy, the diversification of the economic base of the community. As a result, there is less opportunity for disagreement among the leaders.

By contrast, Centerville is not dependent entirely upon defense contracting. The leaders are able to discuss secondary community issues, although defense contracting is the primary question. They may even argue the merits of a contract-oriented community versus a residential or industrially diversified community. It is expected that Elmwood eventually will develop a more diversified economy, and then its leaders will be in a position also to debate the advantages and disadvantages of various contracting policies.

7. The greater the dependence of a community on defense contracting, the more cohesive the community's leadership will be. This was partially confirmed by the findings for the previous hypothesis. Cohesiveness apparently is related to agreement on policies. A variable

other than defense contracting may account for Elmwood's leadership structure being more cohesive than Centerville's. This is the former community's smaller leadership structure. Until it is determined what effect size has on cohesiveness, the hypothesis can be only partially confirmed. Regardless of this variable, it appears that defense contracting creates a cohesive structure because Elmwood has to provide a favorable business climate in order to attract industries. To do this, it is essential to avoid community splits which can disrupt normal business activities. The leadership also must be united when it confronts other governmental officials in discussions on contracting issues. For these reasons, the defense contracting environment has a direct influence on the cohesiveness of community leadership structures.

8. The greater the dependence of a community on defense contracting, the greater the probability the community's leaders for contracting issues will decide these issues through informal channels in addition to formal community meetings. This hypothesis was partially accepted. Elmwood's leaders operate through formal political channels primarily because the city is incorporated. Yet because defense contracting is so pervasive in the community, the leaders discuss this condition frequently at informal gatherings. A significant change in leader-

ship procedures has come about since the incorporation of Elmwood in 1962. The decision-making processes have become more formal because of the legal role played by the City Council. Incorporation has greatly altered the political procedures in Elmwood. To the extent incorporation was a result of defense contracting activities, then that environmental variable has also affected the decision-making processes in that community.

9. The greater the dependence of a community on defense contracting, the greater the probability the community's leaders for contracting issues will confer with administrative and executive agencies instead of legislative representatives. This hypothesis was not accepted because there was insufficient data to compare Elmwood to Centerville. The findings indicated that the community and Valley leaders devote most of their time to communications with administrative rather than legislative officials. Decisions regarding defense contracts usually are made by personnel in the executive branch; therefore they are the targets for lobbying. The hypothesis assumed that the more dependent community would seek members in this branch of government. It was impossible to test this hypothesis because of the lack of effective leaders working specifically for either Elmwood or Centerville. Based upon the data concerning the BVDA, it can be concluded

that the group directed most of its efforts at executive and administrative officials. This was true at all levels of government. At the State and County levels the administrative branches could also be of more assistance to Belhaven. For example, the original freeway plan was approved primarily by administrative personnel, although the State Legislature appropriated the funds.

From the conclusions of the nine hypotheses, one might expect to find the following conditions and characteristics present in a defense-oriented community. The community has undergone significant economic and political changes since the introduction of defense contracting activities in its area. The leaders of that community have either been replaced or the number has increased. The modes of operation by those leaders have also been altered, and the leaders have developed an expertise on specific subjects. The leadership structure is cohesive in nature and in agreement on what policies to pursue relative to contracting issues. The leaders frequently discuss defense contracting problems informally among themselves and more often discuss contracting questions with administrative rather than legislative officials. There will also be a special group to handle the issues of defense contracting. It will be an area-wide organization if defense contracting affects more than one commun-

ity. If not, the community will have its own interest group. This defense contracting group will assume greater importance in relation to similar local groups because the community leaders will eventually realize the necessity of presenting a unified viewpoint to Washington officials.

The description suggests various implications about the political process. The fact that there are specific groups and individuals acting on behalf of a community in matters of defense-contracting raises a question about the role of the average citizen. It is commonly recognized today that many problems of public policy are so complex and technical that they are outside the realm of competence or comprehension of the general electorate or even the average legislator. As a consequence, greater reliance is placed upon the scientific and technical expert who officially may act only in an advisory role, but whose influence in fact may go beyond that function. To some extent these experts can alter the traditional notions of representation.

Such an implication may face local community political systems as well. The leaders in Belhaven have had to absorb quickly a great deal of knowledge about military and technological developments in order to converse intelligently with appropriate personnel in Washington. Frequently, these local leaders have not had access to

sufficient information or material to thoroughly understand the problems under consideration. Instead, they have had to rely upon government officials for interpretation of technical data. Some of the Belhaven leaders have considered the advisability of hiring a retired military officer or a technical expert to represent them specifically on problems requiring this specialized competence.

The difficulties encountered by community leaders in handling defense contracting issues suggest the peculiar nature of the issue. Defense contracting is uniquely different from the more common community problems. First, contracting can create rapid political, economic, and social changes in a community. Second, defense contracting can produce changes in the basic composition of the population of a community when new residents crowd into the area. Third, because of its relation to national security, defense contracting is not a subject readily open to debate among leaders or the general citizenry. As a result, there may be limited information from which the community can make a decision. Even though some government agencies try to keep community leaders informed about future defense needs, this is not always possible. It becomes necessary, therefore, for community leaders to remain flexible and to be prepared to readily assist their

communities in adjusting to an unexpected increase or decrease of defense contracting. This means also that the community electorate must rely upon a small group of its leaders, who in turn are subject to limited information from yet a smaller group of decision-makers. So-called community issues thus become questions not really discussed or decided to any extent within the community, but determined in Washington by officials not directly responsible to the local community.

Such groups as the BVDA help the local communities to retain some measure of control and to establish a direct line to the national decision-makers. Without this type of organization, the general populus is relatively helpless in making known its demands. There is some skepticism however, about the effectiveness of local interest groups. Bauer *et al.* concluded from their study on trade legislation that, "There is reason to doubt the efficacy of community organizations on national policy issues."¹ This is certainly true about the formation of defense contracting policies. Yet, the BVDA has had some notable success with decisions regarding the implementation of contracting policy. It has been able to gain access to

¹Raymond Bauer, Ithiel De Sola Pool and Lewis Dexter, American Business and Public Policy: The Politics of Foreign Trade, (New York: Atherton Press, 1963), p. 314.

those individuals who make the decisions about contractors and sites for defense contracts. Having made these important contacts, the BVDA leaders are then in a position to indicate the advantages of Belhaven with regard to the technical requirements of the contracts. This form of persuasion is supported by legislative representatives from Belhaven and California. At what point political considerations begin to outweigh technological capabilities can not be stated. To the extent there is this intervening variable, it can be suggested that the BVDA has been the group which has injected political factors into the contracting process relating to Belhaven. The Association has crystalized political support at times and this is assumed to have had some influence upon the defense decision-makers.

As an interest group the BVDA has used government at all levels to re-establish community equilibrium. This finding tends to support the analysis made by Truman.² In the future, it may be anticipated that other communities faced with defense contracting problems will be forced to form organizations similar to the BVDA to counteract the claims made against the government by the Belhaven group. As Truman pointed out, interest group activity also re-

²David Truman, The Governmental Process, Political Interest and Public Opinion, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), pp. 101-102; 104-106.

quires a certain degree of equilibrium and one group will emerge to counterbalance another.³ The conclusion can be drawn, therefore, that the efforts of the BVDA may have effects upon and implications for other communities and groups.

The credit for the success that has been effected in Belhaven goes specifically to the leaders of the Valley. Even if it is true that defense contracting issues and decisions are removed from the control of local leaders, nevertheless the experiences of Elmwood and Centerville have indicated the necessity of foresight and planning by community leaders. They could not prevent the cancellation of a supersonic plane in 1962, yet through their previous planning and work, the leaders were able to forestall another major economic decline such as occurred in 1957.

The accomplishments by the Valley leaders can be attributed in part to a similar ability possessed by some effective business leaders. Robert Guest makes an appropriate observation which relates leaders to their socio-technical environment. He states: "the degree of success or lack of success [of business leaders] depends upon management's skills in anticipating the reciprocal effect

³Ibid., p. 106.

of technology and organization."⁴ This has been the experience of the BVDA leaders. To the extent they have assessed correctly the changing environment in which they live, they have been able to determine what community and organizational goals or changes were needed, and what was the most feasible way of achieving them. This would seem to be an important and practical manner in which local leaders in defense-oriented communities can fulfill their responsibility for handling the needs of their citizens.

The leaders in such communities are concerned with both immediate and long-range goals. Short-range objectives concern economic stability of the communities. Long-range problems relate to the issue of war and peace and the consequences of reduced or discontinued defense contracting. The leaders must plan and prepare for such eventualities in order to prevent a major crisis within their communities. Diversification of the economy becomes the goal since this type of economic base allows conversion to non-military production most easily.

Should defense contracting ever be completely eliminated in Belhaven a change in the leadership structure could be expected once again. Those leaders who

⁴Robert Guest, Organizational Change -- The Effect of Successful Leadership, (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1962), p. 135.

might be replaced would be those who owe their present positions to their military and industrial contacts or backgrounds. One such individual could be the Executive Director of the BVDA. Other community and Valley leaders, however, may be expected to remain in prominent positions. For example, the President of the BVDA with his educational background might not be affected if "peace suddenly breaks out." In the normal course of events, one can expect that there will be only a gradual reduction in disarmament and defense contracting and this will bring about a related transformation in the leadership structures. The important point to consider is that a change in leaders can come as a result of either an increase or decrease in contracting activities within a community.

It is necessary to know more about leaders in contract-oriented communities. Are certain types of leaders required with specific kinds of social backgrounds? Why are some leaders more effective on issues pertaining to defense contracting than they are on other community problems? The data from this study suggested that there were few essential differences in the competency of the community leaders which could be traced to their previous business or governmental experiences. This does not mean, however, that more effective leaders could not be recruited if additional knowledge about this question were

available.

Further research is also needed into the types of political institutions best suited for a defense contract-oriented community. What kinds of institutions are most effective in a defense environment? This dissertation indicated that in at least one case an area-wide interest group has been able to resolve community contracting problems. It was further suggested that local government must be flexible in relation to its social, economic and technological environment. This observation, however, did not indicate specifically the types of structural arrangements which can meet this requirement.

Additional studies should continue to investigate the relationship between economics and politics, especially within a defense environment. One important step would be to isolate each of the fifteen situational variables listed in Chapter I to determine their relationship to community leadership structures and the defense contracting process. The assumption is that these variables, either singly, or in clusters, affect the composition of the leadership structures and their manner of procedure in the political process.

This connection between economics and politics has been noted before by many writers. In most cases, economics has been considered the independent variable, while

politics has been the dependent variable. The works of Karl Marx, Charles Beard and more recently Seymour Lipset⁵ treat the economic-political relationship in this manner. In contrast, political science in its literature has regarded politics as the independent variable which affects economics.

A major conclusion in this study is that politics is both an independent and dependent variable. Political action and leadership affects and is affected by the economic activity within a community political system. As a result of political activity, such as that conducted by the BVDA, certain economic consequences are manifested. Specifically, in defense-oriented communities, these may be in the form of new defense contracts or new businesses. Similarly, the defense contracting environment influences the nature of political procedures which are developed to control the environment as much as possible. As the findings in Hypothesis Nine indicated, political access is sought where defense contracting decisions are formulated. The structural arrangements on the national level which affect these economic decisions eventually influence the local communities and their political activity. For these reasons, therefore, the defense contracting process sug-

⁵Seymour M. Lipset, Political Man, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1960), p. 24.

gests a two-way flow between local and national governments and between economic and political variables.

This examination of the relationship between community political systems and defense contracting has suggested the interrelationship between economics and politics within a community context. This study can be used as a guideline for future investigation. Because some of the conclusions to these hypotheses are still tentative, additional research is needed to verify them before generalizations can be made beyond the two communities of Belhaven Valley.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

A. GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Informant:

Name:

Title:

Occupation:

Community where employed:

Place of residence:

Length of residence in community:

2. What would you say are your major interests in relation to the community of ()? (Examples, industrial development, schools, freeways etc).
3. Would you say you think more in terms of (community) or the Belhaven Valley? Why?
4. What do you see as the major problems, projects or issues facing either your (community) or the Belhaven Valley?
5. Whom do you feel you could go to, including your personal acquaintances, for advice as to what should be done in regard to these problems?
6. Whom do you regard as the most influential persons as far as having a say or determining what decisions shall be made in regard to the community of ()?
7. Whom do you regard as the most influential persons as far as having a say or determining what decisions

shall be made in regard to the Valley? (See if respondent distinguishes between these two areas).

8. Whom do you regard as the most influential persons as far as having a say or determining what decisions shall be made in regard to community or area problems and issues concerning government contracting¹ or related economic and political activities?
9. How do you account for the fact there is (or is not) a difference in the membership of these groups?
10. From your recollection, has there been a noticeable change in membership composition of these groups over the past five years, such as in the backgrounds and experiences of these members?
11. Have most of these members been residents of this area for more than 5 years? No____; Yes____; DK____. How easy is it for a new resident to become a member of these groups?
12. What effect has the need for maintaining government contracts had on the membership of these groups?
13. Do you recall the main reasons for the Air Force Facility being established?
14. Which persons from this area were particularly influential in bringing this about? Are they still here?
15. What is the local government doing about economic and contracting issues and problems? Do you agree with these policies?

¹Questions 6,7, and 8 are drawn from Robert E. Agger, "Power Attributions in the Local Community: Theoretical and Research Considerations," Social Forces, XXXIV, No. 4 (May, 1956), p. 324.

16. Are there any particular government officials (either local, state or national) to whom you try to get your desires known concerning community problems? Why this person over any other?
17. What role does your Congressman play in the economic situation relating to your community?
18. What role do your two Senators play?
19. What effect on your lines and established patterns of communication to Washington was there when a new Congressman was elected?
20. Who do you think the Washington government officials view as community leaders? The local government officials or the BVDA? Why?
21. Are these leaders considered to be representing a unified viewpoint or various community views?
22. Who do you think the military officials in Washington at the Facility, and the Base view as the community leaders?
23. Who do you think the government contractors view as community leaders?
24. Is there any other information which would be helpful in this project?

B. BVDA Questionnaire

1. How did you become a member of BVDA? When?
2. On what basis were other members selected?
3. Has there been a noticeable change in the membership in the past 5 years? Yes____; No____; DK____. Is there a constant circulation of new members?
4. Have the backgrounds and work experiences of the members changed much in the past few years?
5. What are the goals of the BVDA?
6. What is the BVDA's relation to Elmwood and Centerville, especially to their community leaders?
7. What experiences have you had personally with government or military officials?
8. How is the internal work of the BVDA carried on?
By committee?
9. How are the final policy decisions reached?
10. Is there any conflict between the BVDA's policies and those of the local communities?
11. Do you have any particular sources of demands and pressures from the community?
12. Is there any one person with whom you usually work or from whom you seek advice in the BVDA?

C. Mail Questionnaire

These are additional questions which perhaps can be more quickly answered in writing. Please fill out as many of these as you can and return in the addressed envelope.

1. Name:

Age:

Education: (Check highest category):

High School graduate _____
 College _____ Major _____
 College graduate _____
 Graduate school _____ Major _____
 Advanced Degree _____

2. Community positions held and the year:
3. Community organization memberships and year:
4. Political organization memberships or activities and year:
5. Do you recall the initial reaction of the community to the establishment of the Air Force Facility? If so, please answer the following questions:
 - a) Was there much adjustment for the citizens of the community? If so, what kind of adjustments?
 - b) How were the local leaders affected by the establishment of the Facility? For example, were new demands for services etc. placed on them?
 - c) Were the local leaders required to assume new responsibilities or did their jobs remain about the same?

6. Besides the BVDA, what other groups, associations or organizations are currently involved in the economic issues in the community or area?

7. Have any of these groups assumed a predominant position or assumed influence once held by other groups? If so, why has this come about?

8. Are there any groups or community leaders resisting economic change or growth? Yes____; No____. Are there any who do not care to see this community change any more or get any bigger? Yes____; No____. Could you identify these groups and indicate why they take the position that they do?

D. Questionnaire for Public Officials

1. What particular problems have you encountered from the Elmwood and Centerville area?
2. Is there anyone in particular to whom you could go for advice in solving these problems? Anyone in government? In the community?
3. Do you view the BVDA as speaking unitedly for the area or as an interest group with special interests?
4. Do you find much division of opinion between the communities and their leaders over economic questions?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Agger, Robert A., Goldrich, Daniel., and Swanson, Bert E. The Rulers and the Ruled, Political Power and Impotence in American Communities. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964.
- Bauer, Raymond., Pool, Ithiel De Sola., and Dexter, Lewis A. American Business and Public Policy: The Politics of Foreign Trade. New York: Atherton Press, 1963.
- Bell, Wendell., Hill, Richard J., and Wright, Charles R. Public Leadership, A Critical Review with Special Reference to Adult Education. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1961.
- Benoit, Emile., and Boulding, Kenneth. Disarmament and the Economy. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.
- Chin, Robert. "The Utility of System Models and Development Models for Practitioners," in The Planning of Change, Bennis, Warren., Berne, Kenneth., and Chin, Robert. (eds). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962.
- Coleman, James. Community Conflict. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957.
- Dahl, Robert. Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.
- _____, and Lindblom, Charles, E. Politics, Economics and Welfare, Planning and Politico-Economic Systems Resolved into Basic Social Processes. New York: Harper and Bros., 1953.
- Easton, David. The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953.
- Form, William H., and Miller, Delbert C. Industry, Labor and Community. New York: Harper and Bros., 1960.

- Greer, Scott. The Emerging City, Myth and Reality. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1962.
- Guest, Robert H. Organizational Change-- The Effect of Successful Leadership. Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1962.
- Havighurst, Robert J., and Morgan, H. Gerthson. The Social History of A War-Boom Community. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1951.
- Hunter, Floyd. Community Power Structure, A Study of Decision Makers. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953.
- Janowitz, Morris. (ed.) Community Political Systems. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961.
- Jennings, M. Kent. Community Influentials, The Elites of Atlanta. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1964.
- Lipsett, Seymour M. Political Man. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1960.
- Litt, Edgar. The Political Cultures of Massachusetts. Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1965.
- Milbrath, Lester W. Political Participation, How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics? Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965.
- Mitchell, William C. The American Polity, A Social and Cultural Interpretation. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1962.
- Peck, Merton J., and Scherer, Fred. The Weapons Acquisition Process. Boston: Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1962.
- Polsby, Nelson W. Community Power and Political Theory, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.
- Press, Charles. Main Street Politics, Policy-Making at the Local Level. East Lansing: Institute for Community Development, 1962.
- Presthus, Robert. Men At the Top: A Study in Community Power. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

- Smith, Edward K. A Guide to Economic Base Studies for Local Communities. Boston: Bureau of Business and Economic Research, Northeastern University, 1955.
- Truman, David B. The Governmental Process, Political Interests and Public Opinion. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.
- Walker, Charles R. Steeltown, An Industrial Case History of the Conflict Between Progress and Security. New York: Harper and Bros., 1950.
- Williams, Oliver P., and Adrian, Charles R. Four Cities: A Study in Comparative Policy Making. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963.
- Zeigler, Harmon. Interest Groups in American Society. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1964.

Articles

- Agger, Robert E. "Power Attributions in the Local Community: Theoretical and Research Considerations," Social Forces, XXXIV, No. 4 (May, 1956), 322-331.
- Anton, Thomas F. "Power, Pluralism and Local Politics," Administrative Science Quarterly, VII, No. 4 (March, 1963), 425-457.
- Bachrach, Peter., and Baratz, Morton S. "Decisions and Nondecisions: An Analytical Framework," American Political Science Review, LVII, No. 3 (September, 1963), 632-642.
- Barth, Ernest A. "Air Force Base-Host Community Relations: A Study in Community Typology," Social Forces, XLI, No. 3 (March, 1963), 260-264.
- _____. "Community Influence Systems: Structure and Change," Social Forces, XL, No. 1 (October, 1961), 58-63.
- _____., and Stuart D. Johnson, "Community Power and a Typology of Issues," Social Forces, XXXVIII, No. 1 (October, 1959), 29-32.

- Bonjean, Charles M. "Community Leadership: A Case Study and Conceptual Refinement," American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII, No. 6 (May, 1963), 672-681.
- _____, and Olson, David M. "Community Leadership: Directions of Research," Administrative Science Quarterly, IX, No. 3 (December, 1964), 278-300.
- Clelland, Donald A., and Form, William H. "Economic Dominants and Community Power," American Journal of Sociology, LXIX, No. 5 (March, 1964), 511-521.
- Cooke, Edward F. "Research: An Instrument of Political Power," Political Science Quarterly, LXXVI, No. 1 (March, 1961), 69-87.
- Dahl, Robert A. "Business and Politics: A Critical Appraisal of Political Science," American Political Science Review, LIII, No. 1 (March, 1959), 1-34.
- Danzger, Herbert M. "Community Power Structure: Problems and Continuities," American Sociological Review, XXIX, No. 5 (October, 1964), 707-717.
- D'Antonio, William V., and Erickson, Eugene C. "The Reputational Technique As A Measure of Community Power: An Evaluation Based on Comparative and Longitudinal Studies," American Sociological Review, XXVII, No. 3 (June, 1962), 362-376.
- Etzioni, Amitai. "The Epigenesis of Political Communities at the International Level," American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII, No. 4 (January, 1963), 407-421.
- Form, William H., and Sauer, Warren L. "Labor and Community Influentials: A Comparative Study of Participation and Imagery," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, XVII, No. 1 (October, 1963), 3-19.
- Freeman, Linton C., Fararo, Thomas., Bloomberg, Warner Jr., and Sunshine, Morris H. "Locating Leaders in Local Communities: A Comparison of Some Alternative Approaches," American Sociological Review, XXVIII, No. 5 (October, 1963), 791-798.
- Hoyt, Homer. "Development of Economic Base Concept," Land Economics, XXX, No. 2 (May, 1954), 182-186.

- Huntington, Samuel P. "Political Development and Political Decay," World Politics, XVII, No. 3 (April, 1965), 386-430.
- Long, Norton E. "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games," American Journal of Sociology, LXIV, No. 3 (November, 1958), 251-261.
- Marcus, Sumner. "Studies of the Defense Contracting Process," Law and Contemporary Problems, XXIV, No. 1 (Winter, 1964), 19-31.
- Michel, Jerry B. "The Measurement of Social Power on the Community Level: An Exploratory Study," American Journal of Economics and Sociology, XXIII, No. 2 (April, 1964), 189-196.
- Miller, Delbert C. "Decision-Making Cliques in Community Power Structures: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," American Journal of Sociology, LXIV, No. 3 (November, 1958), 299-310.
- _____. "Industry and Community Power Structure: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," American Sociological Review, XXIII, No. 1 (February, 1958), 9-15.
- North, Douglas C. "Location Theory and Regional Economic Growth," Journal of Political Economy, LXIII, No. 3 (June, 1955), 243-258.
- Polsby, Nelson. "How To Study Community Power: The Pluralist Alternative," Journal of Politics, XXII, No. 3 (August, 1960), 474-484.
- _____. "Three Problems in the Analysis of Community Power," American Sociological Review, XXIV, No. 6 (December, 1959), 796-803.
- _____. "The Sociology of Community Power: A Reassessment," Social Forces, XXXVII, No. 3 (March, 1959), 232-236.
- Reiss, Albert J. Jr. "The Sociological Study of Communities," Rural Sociology, XXIV, No. 2 (June, 1959), 118-130.
- Rossi, Peter H. "Community Decision Making," Administrative Science Quarterly, I, No. 4 (March, 1957), 415-443.

- Schulze, Robert O. "The Role of Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," American Sociological Review, XXIII, No. 1 (February, 1958), 3-9.
- Sower, Christopher., and Freeman, Walter. "Community Involvement in Community Development Programs," Rural Sociology, XXIII, No. 1 (March, 1958), 25-33.
- Walton, John. "Substance and Artifact: The Current Status of Research on Community Power Structure," American Journal of Sociology, LXXI, No. 4 (January, 1966), 430-438.
- Wolfinger, Raymond E. "Reputation and Reality in the Study of 'Community Power,'" American Sociological Review, XXV, No. 5 (October, 1960), 636-644.

Unpublished Material

- Erickson, Eugene (Washington State University)., Hill, Duane (Colorado State University)., Holloway, Robert (University of Chicago)., and Kuroda, Yasumasa (University of Southern California). "The Relation of a Defense Environment to the Social and Political Structures of Communities." A research design, 1963.
- Hill, Duane., and Kuroda, Yasumasa. "Political Vocabulary." University of Southern California, 1963.